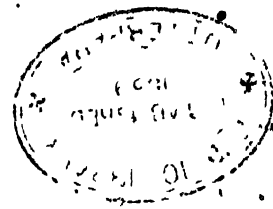
The National Magazine

July – 1887

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# THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE

## NEW SERIES.

No. I.—JULY 1887.

### *PRELIMINARY REMARKS.*

THE beginning of most things in this world requires a preface, in some shape or other, and journalism does not admit of any exception to the rule. Like a new Session of Parliament, a new periodical must begin with something like a speech from the Throne—to explain its scope and object and to establish its claim to public patronage. But the life of newspapers and magazines in India, is, like the life of man, uncertain, as is the drop of water on a lotus leaf, and, at the outset of an undertaking such as ours is, nothing could be more unwise than to be lavish in promises and predictions, or to make a flourish of trumpets, before entering the threshold. For our part, we would fain avoid saying anything by way of a preface, justifying the omission on the plea that ours is not a new venture. But our critics might say that there can be no such thing as resurrection in this earth, and that what we call revival, is in reality equivalent to new birth. Whether there be or not any force in a contention like that, we cannot, for the sake of appropriateness, begin too abruptly, and we must give some explanation of

our plans and situation, however much we may desire to follow the principle of the maxim which says that speech is silver but silence is gold.

On an occasion like the present, the wisest course would be to adopt the style and verbiage of the kind of speeches which are usually made by the representatives of Royalty, when pestered by deputations and addresses. But whatever privileges Royalty and Viceroyalty may have, under no circumstances is duplicity considered as pardonable in private citizens. Even if we had the privilege of practising a little deception, still we are as yet too little versed in the newly patented art of Self-Government, to have mastery in that language, by which the veterans in the business can manage to conceal their thoughts, while professing to give expression to them. If we apprehend rightly, diplomacy and its language do not form a part of the curriculum prescribed by our paternal Government, for our political training. In the estimation of a certain class of politicians, we are mere children, and we must learn to stand on our legs before we attempt to run or walk. Whether we accept this view or not, we are not sorry that we are not initiated in the mysteries of the diplomatic art. At the same time, we must say that we can see no reason whatever to run mad with ecstasy, as some of our countrymen did, in having the privilege of managing pounds, ferries and roads.

We have already stated, in our prospectus, that our journal will partake more of the character of a reservoir that derives its supply from outside, than of a medium for forcing our own ideas on the attention of the public. Our part in this business is somewhat similar to that of dealers who bring the produce of the fields within the reach of consumers. We do not propose to produce much from our own resources. But we apprehend that we supply a real want by creating a medium for collecting and disseminating the ideas and researches of the eminent scholars who have kindly offered to contribute to our journal.

The very names of these writers are a guarantee that the *National Magazine* will not be the organ of any particular class or creed. Our object would be to promote good feelings between all classes of the community, and not to widen the breach which now unfortunately splits society. The interest of the country will be our principal consideration. Far be it from us, that we should betray our national interest, for any personal advantage. But, at the same time, we must say that we cannot bind ourselves to abuse our rulers, in season and out of season, or to acsribe to them every sort of unworthy motive, in all their acts. Our impression is that the persons who have to administer the affairs of a country cannot always afford to be strictly just or impartial according to our ideas of right and wrong. There are times when they do conduct themselves in a manner to deserve the censure of the public and the Press. But it is hardly proper to abuse them for the least dereliction of duty, whether apparent or real. We cannot expect them to play the part of heroes and martyrs, instead of acting like practical men of the world.

As in politics, so in matters relating to religion and social institutions, our Magazine will be thoroughly national in fact, as it is in name. Although we are now politically a subject nation, it does not necessarily follow that our civilization and our religion have greater imperfections than those of Europe. With the highest respect for other forms of faith, we confess to having a partiality for the religion of our ancestors—a religion to which the Hindus, as a nation, are indebted for all those domestic and social virtues which are the brightest features in their character. It may be that there are certain dogmas and rituals, in our national religion, the *rationale* of which it is difficult to explain according to the principles of European Ethics or Theology. It may be that there is an element of priestcraft in the Brahminical Shasters, as in every other religious system. But, upon the whole, the amount of good which has been done, by the civilizing influence of the Brahminical religion, is simply in-

calculable. Other nations may in pity or contempt speak of us as 'mild Hindus.' But we have as little reason to be ashamed of the absence of savage-like ferocity and vindictiveness in our character, as Lord Canning had in being styled Clemency Canning. Were other nations as inoffensive and peace-loving as the Hindus, this Earth would be a paradise!

The essence of the Hindu religion is that it regulates our action, in all those matters, where we are apt to go wrong. Its legislation embraces all the details of our lives—our food, drink, hygiene, sanitation, education, costume and domestic relations. It teaches us to be respectful and obedient to our parents and to our preceptors; it inculcates us to be humane towards even the lowest forms of animal life; it regulates our food and diet; it forbids, in the most peremptory manner, the drinking of spirituous liquors; it prohibits the free intercourse of the sexes; it enjoins adult males not to remain unmarried; it insists upon the marriage of girls before maturity—ensuring by all these regulations, the highest degree of conjugal felicity.

We are conscious of the defects and drawbacks in our social arrangements. But our belief is that the fabric which has been built up by Manu and Yagnyavalkya cannot be replaced by a better one. We, therefore, look upon with alarm the actions of those so-called reformers who have made it the business of their life to declaim against child marraige, enforced widowhood, caste and zenana, as if these were the direful springs of the woes unnumbered, under which the country is groaning. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of these questions. To avoid being misunderstood, we simply declare here that we have greater faith in the Holy Rishis who have built up Hindu society, than in reformers of the type of Mr. Malabari.

We may sometimes admit discussions as to religious and social topics, in order to place before our readers the facts and arguments that can be adduced to controvert our views. But, after what is said above, there can be no mistake as to

our principles and policy. As for the rest, we rely upon the indulgence of our constituents and readers. Considering the fate which has overtaken most of those who have preceded us in this line, we cannot be too sanguine. Yet we hope for the best, taking into our heart the advice of the author of *Hitopadesha*, that, in the cultivation of letters, we should regard ourselves as immortal.

# PYTHAGORAS IN INDIA.

*Pythagoras und die Inder. Eine Untersuchung ueber Herkunft und Abstammung der Pythagoreischen Lehren von Dr L. v. Schroeder, Docent an der Universitat Dorpat. Leipzig, Otto Schulz. 1884.*

THE object of this *brochure* which has, in our opinion, received less attention than it deserves, is to show that Pythagoras really derived his distinctive doctrines from India. It is well known that a mass of doubtful traditions has accumulated round the imposing personality of Pythagoras. The ancient notices of him are exceedingly meagre,* but they have been extensively embellished and added to by Apollonius of Tyana, Iamblichus, and other imaginative biographers. However, the sceptical spirit of the nineteenth century is little disposed to leave these pleasing romances undisturbed. The accounts of Greek and Roman writers have been carefully sifted by modern criticism, and the result arrived at is that so much may be regarded as satisfactorily established; that Pythagoras was a Greek of Samos who lived in the sixth century before Christ; that he settled at Croton in Italy, where he collected round him a society of followers and pupils, governed by strict regulations, and that he died about 500 B. C. Later writers tell of wonderful journeys which Pythagoras undertook in order to acquire the wisdom of foreign nations, and they represent him as sitting at the feet of Ægyptians, Phœnicians, Chaldæans, the Magi of Persia, Indians, Arabs and Jews; they send him even to the Thracians and the Druids of Gaul: but none of these journeys, not even that to Egypt, is attested by ancient and credible authorities. These statements are accordingly unhesitatingly dismissed as "not proven" by Zeller, the most distinguished modern historian of Greek philosophy, who is of opinion that the philosophy of Pythagoras was most probably a genuine product of the Hellenic mind, and in no wise influenced by the philosophical systems of other nations.

* Our authorities become more copious as we recede from the philosopher's own time and more meagre as we approach it; before the beginning of fourth century they entirely fail.—ZELLER'S *History of Greek Philosophy*, translated S. F. ALLEYNE, Vol. I., p 334.

Nevertheless, Herr v. Schroeder is inclined to believe that these traditions contain a nucleus of truth; they represent at any rate the impression which his doctrines made upon the inhabitants of Greece and Italy, who evidently regarded them as foreign and exotic products. He accordingly examines the most distinctive tenets of the Pythagorean School, with the object of discovering whether they contain any evidence tending to show that they originated upon foreign soil. His work is divided into seven chapters. The first treats of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; the second of the prohibitions of Pythagoras; the third of the Pythagorean theorem and irrational quantities; the fourth of the doctrine of the five elements, the fifth of the system of Pythagoras and the Sánkhya philosophy; the sixth is devoted to points of smaller importance, and the seventh deals with the fanciful, mystical, and symbolic character of the Pythagorean system.

'None of the Pythagorean doctrines is better known,' and none can be traced back to the founder of the school with greater certainty than that of the transmigration of souls.' This statement of v. Schroeder gives a view, which is apparently universally accepted. But considerable difference of opinion prevails as to the source from which Pythagoras derived his doctrine. Gladisch held the view that it was originally derived from China. Roth and others trace it to Egypt. Even Zeller, though on the whole of opinion that the doctrine arose in the natural course of development of Greek thought, does not altogether reject the hypothesis of its Egyptian origin. He also admits [illegible] the view that the belief in the transmigration of souls, the oriental origin of which is rendered probable by its affinity with Egyptian and Indian beliefs, may have been brought into Greece by the first immigrants, though it must long have remained restricted to a narrow *coterie*.* With regard to the hypothesis of the Greek origin of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the author shews, we think conclusively, that it cannot be found in any Greek writer earlier than Pythagoras, and it may fairly be presumed that those in whom it is found are indebted to him for it. The hypothesis, a very shadowy one at best, that the doctrine may have formed part of the original intellectual capital of the Aryan races, is disposed of by the fact that there is no allusion to it in the Rig-Veda

* Herr v. Schroeder quotes from ZELLER's *History of Greek Philosophy*. I find it difficult to trace the quotation in the English translation.

or in Homer. The evidence for its existence among the Getæ and other Thracians, and among the Druids of Gaul may be dismissed as insufficient.

But the theory of the Egyptian origin of the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls cannot be so easily disposed of. The chief authority in support of it is Herodotus. The important passage in which he affirms it, is found in Herodotus II, 123. It runs as follows :—

The Egyptians were the first to promulgate the doctrine that the human soul is immortal, and when the body perishes, enters into the frame of other animals in succession, as they happen to be born, and when it has in this way traversed the cycle of all land and water animals, and also of birds, it again enters into the body of some human being that happens to be then coming into existence, and it completes the whole of this revolution in three thousand years. Some of the Greeks also have made use of this notion, in earlier and later times, as if it were the product of their own brains. I know their names well enough, but I withhold them.

It is evident from this passage that Herodotus attributes the tenet of the transmigration of souls to the Egyptians, and that he is of opinion that certain Greeks had borrowed from them. No doubt he refers to Pythagoras, Empedocles, and the Orphic writers. But, as Zeller points out, it is clear that the supposition of the Egyptian origin of the doctrine is due to Herodotus himself, as these writers promulgated it as their own invention.

I do not propose to reproduce at any length Dr. v. Schroeder's refutation of the notion that the Egyptians held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. The upshot of his investigations is that "the Egyptian monuments, though they have much to do with death and dying, furnish us with no clear evidence to show that the Egyptians believed in metempsychosis. In fact, if they had held the doctrine in the Pythagorean sense, they would hardly have lavished such reverential care on the preservation of the bodies of the dead. We must suppose that Herodotus misunderstood on this point his Egyptian instructors, as he did on so many other points."

It remains to consider whence Pythagoras can have derived the doctrine, if he did not derive it from Egypt. Dr. Schroeder confidently answers—from India. "The Indian nation is the only one of which we can affirm with confidence that it believed and taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls before the time of Pythagoras."

We know for certain that the Indians believed in the transmigration of souls in the sixth century before Christ. More than that we know that this doctrine had at that time an overpowering

influence on the people of India, its thinkers, its priests and its ascetics. Buddha was only one of many preachers that traversed the country in search of salvation, or possessed with the idea that they had found it.

This salvation was no other than release from the cycle of life, from unceasing birth and death, from the bonds of perpetual transmigrations. If we suppose Pythagoras to have travelled in India, how deeply must he have been impressed with the sight of a great and gifted people occupied with one overmastering idea, the intolerable burden of perpetual re-birth, and the means of escape from it.

The idea of transmigration appears to have arisen independently in India. It sprang up in the time of the Brahmanas, when great importance was attached to sacrificial ceremonies, and the idea seems to have prevailed that the neglect or careless performance of them might involve terrible consequences. In this gloomy time we first meet with the notion of repeated death, the belief that the powers of destruction are not satisfied with the dissolution of our body, but unrelentingly pursue the soul through many future stages of existence Thus the notion of repeated birth comes into existence, evoked by the terrible idea of repeated death.*

Whatever may be thought of Dr Schrader's views as to the genesis of the idea of metempsychosis, there can be no doubt that it has always been predominant in India "It is never asked whether the transmigration of soul takes place, but how are men to escape from it? It is generally and implicitly believed. This fact seems to show that it was naturally and logically deduced from premisses supplied by the earliest Indian culture. Indian scepticism is sometimes bold enough, it presumes to tamper with the highest and holiest object, but never, so far as I know, attacks the doctrine of the transmigration of souls"

The notion of Pythagoras that the body is a prison in which the gods have enclosed the soul by way of punishment, falls in admirably with Indian notions. The soul only succeeds in freeing itself and leading a blessed life in a higher world, if it is made worthy and capable of this happiness, otherwise it has to expect not only the punishment of life in a body, but also the sufferings

* The author states that Oldenberg in his Life of Buddha first put this matter in the proper light. He seems to think it quite possible that the Indo Aryans were partially influenced by some superstitious notions derived from the aborigines of India He also tries to account for the genesis of the doctrine by that sentiment of natural justice which originated in Europe the belief in purgatory

of Tartarus. In the same way, the Indians hold that souls, according to their actions, sink into hell, or transmigrate through the world of bodies, or at last attain a blessed existence in the Moon The Pythagoreans also conceived of the Moon as the abode of the blessed (and indeed also the Sun, but the Moon appears to be principally meant), and it was supposed to contain planets and animals, larger and more beautiful than those of Earth.

"In this connexion, I may refer to a well-known tenet of the Pythagoreans, mentioned by Aristotle, that the 'gay motes that people the sunbeam' are souls, of course the souls of good and pious men. With this I would compare an Indian notion found in the *Śátapatha Brahmana*, that the rays of the Sun are the good and pious, that is to say, no doubt, the souls of the good and pious"

Pythagoras, like Buddha, professed to remember his former births. This was not the privilege of every mortal, but of the holy master, the founder of the order

Taking the above points of resemblance into account, it will hardly be disputed that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as held by Pythagoras coincides so closely, even in details, with that held by the Indians of his time, that the hypothesis of his having borrowed from them gains a high degree of probability.

It is well known that Pythagoras imposed various ascetic observances on his followers Among these is mentioned a prohibition to eat flesh and beans With regard to the first there is considerable uncertainty as various authors deny that Pythagoras absolutely interdicted the eating of flesh But there can be none as to the fact that Pythagoras imposed upon his followers certain restrictions with regard to the eating of flesh. It seems probable that he allowed them only to eat the flesh of animals offered in sacrifice. There can be no doubt that in the time of Pythagoras, the same tendency to restrict the eating of flesh was prevalent in India Manu speaks of the eating of flesh offered in sacrifices as *daiva vidhih*, while he stigmatizes eating of it under any other circumstances as *rákshasa vidhih*.

The prohibition, to eat beans has always been a puzzle to the Western world, to the ancients no less than to the moderns. But it appears that in proscribing this vegetable Pythagoras was only dutifully following his Indian teachers. In the *Maitráyani Sanhita*, (about the tenth century before Christ), the following rule is laid down for the sacrificer:—"He must eat no beans."

The same is found in the *Káthakam*. It is also expressly stated in the *Taittiriya Sanhitá* that beans are "not fit for sacrifice, impure, unholy." The above coincidence is a very striking one and cannot be altogether fortuitous.

The merits of Pythagoras as a mathematician are well-known. To him is ascribed the discovery of the truth that the square of the hypothenuse is equal to the squares of the sides enclosing the right angle, He is also said to have discovered irrational quantities. But the proof of the Forty-seventh Proposition of the First Book of Euclid, given in the *Elements*, is stated by Proclus to be due to Euclid himself. The general opinion of those who have studied the subject seems to be that Pythagoras discovered the geometrical truth by observing that $9+16=25$; and that he then applied this doctrine to a right-angled triangle, the sides of which were to one another as 3, 4, 5. He is supposed to have been led to the discovery of irrational quantities by considering the case of an isosceles right-angled triangle.

Now, we possess evidence that the Indians were before the time of Pythagoras acquainted with the principle which he is supposed to have discovered. In the *S'ulva Sútras*, which date from about the eighth century before Christ, and which have been made known to the Western world by Dr. G. Thibaut's paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for 1875, we have certain rules laid down for the measuring and laying out of altars. Von Schrœder quotes from Cantor's lectures on the history of mathematics. The testimony of this writer is the more important as he wrongly supposes the *S'ulva Sútras* to be a comparatively late work and influenced by the Alexandrian geometry. Cantor observes: "The principal objects in the arrangement of altars are to fix their position with regard to the east, and to make them of a rectangular shape. The line from east to west, which must be set off first, is called *prácht*. When the *prácht* is found, the right angle is marked out with the help of a cord. The length of this line from east to west is 36 *padas*. At both ends of it a peg is fixed into the ground. To these pegs is fastened the end of a cord 54 *padas* long, in which, at a distance of 15 *padas* from the end, a knot is made. If now one stretches out the cord on the ground, and holds the knot fast, a right angle is made at the end of the *prácht*. It is clear that the process is correct, and that it depends upon the describing of a triangle the sides of which are as 15, 36, 39, or as 5, 12, 13."

It follows that the Brahmans of the Vedic time knew the Pythagorean theorem, and that they taught it in the way in which Pythagoras himself is supposed to have taught it.

But in the construction of altars other tasks had to be accomplished. Cantor observes:—

If an altar of a given form had to be enlarged, the form of it must remain the same in all its relations. Accordingly, it was required to know how to construct a geometrical figure, resembling a given figure and bearing a given proportion of magnitude with regard to it.

The area of an altar of normal size is always the same without regard to its shape. It was therefore required in the second place to know how to turn one geometrical figure into another of the same area.

For the geometrical extraction of the square root, Baudháyana gives the following rules:—The cord stretched diagonally across an equilateral rectangle produces a square of double area. The cord stretched diagonally across an oblong rectangle produces a square, the area of which is equal to the sum of the areas of the square which the cords stretched along the longer and shorter sides produce. This second case may be tested in the rectangles the sides of which are 3 and 4, 12 and 5, 15 and 8, 7 and 24, 12 and 35, 15 and 36.

This, says Cantor, is evidently the Pythagorean theorem exemplified in numbers. It is interesting to observe that the theorem is considered in the two cases in which it is probable that Pythagoras himself considered it. It is also worthy of remark that Baudháyana himself did not quite understand the subject with which he was dealing, as the examples 15 and 36 are only a repetition of 5 and 12. This shews clearly that he was merely reproducing a traditional rule, which he did not himself comprehend.

But still more striking analogies between Pythagorean and Indian methods present themselves. We continue to extract from Cantor—

The application of these principle in the *S'ulva Sútras* is of a twofold nature, corresponding to the problems which present themselves in constructing an altar. A line can be so altered as that its square increases in the ratio $1 : n$ and a figure can be changed into another of the same area. The discovery of the side of a square 2, 3, 4, 10 or 40 times as large as one given, is done by gradual and repeated applications of the Pythagorean theorem inasmuch as we start with an isosceles right-angled triangle, and the hypothenuse of the triangle is continually taken as one side of the next, the other side of which is equal to that of the triangle first considered. In this way we get names for $\sqrt{2}$, $\sqrt{3}$, and so on, made by combining the numerals with the word *karana*. So *dvikarani* $= \sqrt{2}$; *trikarani* $= \sqrt{3}$; and so on.

Here we have irrational quantities arrived at in the same way as they were by Pythagoras.

After this who can doubt that, if Pythagoras really came to India, he brought thence these geometrical principles to Greece?

And as the Indians are, according to Cantor, the arithmetical people *par excellence* of the ancient world, it is easy to understand the important part which number played in the Pythagorean philosophy.

The fourth chapter of Dr. v. Schroeder's pamphlet treats of the doctrine of the five elements. This doctrine is closely connected with that of the five cosmical bodies. We read that Pythagoras supposed Earth to originate from the cube, fire from the pyramid, air from the Octahedron, water from the Icosahedron, and the fifth element from the Dodecahedron. As the doctrine of the five cosmical bodies is universally ascribed to Pythagoras, it is highly probable that he was also the author of the doctrine of the five elements, which was certainly held by Philolaus, though Zeller thinks it probable that the Pythagoreans borrowed the four elements from Empedocles, and added a fifth. There is however nothing improbable in the supposition that Empedocles borrowed from Pythagoras the doctrine of the four elements, as he borrowed that of the transmigration of souls, and the prohibitions with regard to the eating of flesh and beans.

Now it cannot be doubted that the doctrine of the five elements was one generally diffused among the Indians and not restricted to any particular school.

The notion is indeed so familiar among the Indians, that a common phrase for expressing the fact that a man is dead, is to say of him, *panchatvam gatah*, *panchatám yayau*.

We know from Megasthenes that the Indians were acquainted with the doctrine of the five elements in the fourth century before Christ, and it can be shown that it was known and adopted by Buddha.

So it seems an obvious conclusion that if, as appears to be probable, Pythagoras taught the doctrine, it was derived by him from his Indian teachers.*

Though the Pythagoreans were, as is well known, a religious and political, rather than a scientific association, they possessed a philosophical theory of the universe. It naturally suggests itself to us to enquire whether a connexion can be traced between this and any Indian system.

The only Indian system which we can trace really far back is the Vedantic, which is as far as possible removed from that of

* Scholars have been long puzzled by a mysterious Greek word *hoikas* used by Philolaus to denot the quintessence or fifth element. Dr. v. Schroeder conjectures that it may be the Sanskrit word *ákasa*.

Pythagoras. But the Sánkhya system is generally supposed to be one of the most ancient, though many of its oldest memorials have perished. The treatises in which this system is systematically set forth, are comparatively modern. It is traditionally asserted that Buddha followed in many points the Sánkhya system, and the latter could only escape the charge of atheism by its combination with the theistic Yoga. At any rate, we are justified in attributing two distinctive pecularities to the old Sánkhya system.

(1) The migration of a multitude of individual souls, which are not absorbed into a World-soul, through many bodies; the object of philosophy being the final release of these bodies from the prison of the body.

(2) The idea of divinity plays no part in this system, is of no philosophical importance, and is not employed for the purpose of explaining the mystery of the Universe.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the first of these peculiarities is to be found in the system of Pythagoras. With regard to the second, some doubts may, at first sight, suggest themselves. But Zeller shows clearly that the idea of God had no part in the philosophical system of Pythagoras, and was not employed by him for the explanation of the Universe. His conclusion is: "Though it cannot be denied that the Pythagoreans believed in gods, and though it is probable that they were so far affected by the monotheistic tendency, which gained so much influence in Greece, since the time of Xenophanes, as to evolve from the plurality of gods the idea of unity with more emphasis than the popular religion, still the idea of divinity appears to have been wholly without importance for their philosophical system."

But we may trace a further resemblance between the Pythagorean and the Sánkhya systems. It is well known that the philosophy of Pythagoras attached the greatest importance to numbers. But it is also admitted that the word Sánkhya is derived from *sankhyá* (number). In what sense the Sánkhya philosophy is called a philosophy of number has never been satisfactorily explained, but this is no doubt due to the fact that we possess no really ancient Sánkhya treatises. It seems hardly too bold a conjecture to make, that the Sánkhya philosophy was so called, on account of the great importance which it attached to numbers.

Moreover, Pythagoras, though he did not teach a development of God in the world, seems to have taught that the world developes from a less to a more perfect condition. The same doctrine is adopted in

the Sánkhya philosophy. Of this philosophy Deussen says, that it contains a very intelligent theory of the development of the world to the goal of self-consciousness and consequent emancipation.

Some minor points in the Pythagorean philosophy in which Dr. v. Schrœder seems to detect Indian influence are (1) the importance attached to music, which was highly cultivated in India in ancient times; (2) the assiduous study among the followers of this school of medicine combined with music and charms; and (3) the decidedly monastic organisation of the Pythagorean community, which may very well have been borrowed from Indian systems.

Of greater importance, in Dr. v. Schrœder's opinion, than the analogies which have lately been brought forward, is the mystical and symbolical spirit of the Pythagorean philosophy, which harmonizes so completely with the way of looking at things which we find in Indian literature of the epoch which commences about the beginning of the tenth, and ends in the eighth or seventh century.

Pythagoras seems to have attached a mystical importance to certain numbers to an extent which it is impossible for moderns to conceive. Four, he tells us, *is* justice, five, marriage, seven *is* the critical time. The reasons he gives are almost more ridiculous than the statements themselves. "Justice consisted of the equal multiplied by the equal, or, in the square number, because it returned equal for equal. * * * * * So seven was the critical time because, in the opinion of the ancients, the climacterical years were determined by it; five, as the union of the first masculine with the first feminine was called marriage, one was reason because it was unchangeable; two, opinion, because it is variable and indeterminate.*

Dr. v. Schrœder has found some fantastic Indian notions which may fitly be compared with these. In the *Maitráyaní Sanhitá* we find the following mystical applications of numbers:—"He offers three Upasads; there are three worlds; he does this in order to obtain the three worlds." Again: "He uplifts the voice three times, for the gods are three times true (*i. e.*, in thoughts, words, and works)." Dr. v. Schrœder pursues the subject at some length, but probably the reader will be satisfied with the few samples of the mysticism of Greece and India given above.

The author thinks that his theory derives great support from the statement of Heraclitus which attributes to Pythagoras a love of knowledge and extensive erudition rather than creative genius.

* ZELLER'S *Early Greek Philosophy*, translated by S. F. ALLEYNE, Vol. I., p. 420.

Whether he has proved his case, our readers will be, to a certain extent, enabled to judge from the brief summary of his arguments which we have given above. To us they appear almost convincing.

It may be remarked that, though scepticism may have overshot itself in throwing doubts upon the traditional stories with regard to the distant journeyings of Pythagoras, it is hardly necessary, for the purpose of Dr. v. Schrœder's argument, to suppose him to have actually travelled in India. There seems to be evidence which makes it highly probable that he spent some time in Persia, where he may very well, to borrow the words used by Clemens Alexandrinus, have "listened to the Brahmans."

In conclusion, we cannot do better than reproduce the picture which Dr. v. Schrœder draws of the life of Pythagoras, in accordance with the results arrived at in his pamphlet.

"Pythagoras appears to have been a serious and ardent man, who could not satisfy in his own country the strong desire for knowledge with which he was inspired, and therefore travelled to visit those foreign nations of whose wisdom he had heard by report. His course led him to the East—eventually to India, and there he found what he sought. He plunged into the study of Brahmanic wisdom and learning with astonishing zeal, and not only did he learn to understand their conception of the world and of life, but captivated by the seriousness and depth of their thoughts, he lived into them, so to speak, and to a great extent made them his own.* A natural *penchant* for the strange and fanciful may have possibly prepared him for their reception and considerably intensified the fascination and attraction, which their intellectual importance exercised upon his mind. While the philosophical and mathematical speculations of the Indians captivated his imagination and his intellect, the earnest longing for release from the bonds of transmigration, with which he saw the nobler characters around him possessed, and which caused them to associate themselves, to a remarkable extent, in monastic orders, pointed out to him, in ethical matters, the way he ought to walk Richly laden with the wisdom of India, deeply and thoroughly initiated in their way of thinking, strongly impressed with the peculiar character and high importance of that distant strange world of culture, he returned home into the Græco-Italic world, and introduced into it educational seeds, the

* Englishmen are accustomed to smile at the enthusiasm which leads Germans thus to objectify their conclusions. But the actual facts of Csoma de Koros's life are at least quite as strange as this ideal sketch of the wanderings of Pythagoras. See Mr. RALSTON'S Introduction to his *Tibetan Tales*.

high importance of which for the intellectual development of Greece, and consequently of the whole West, only later centuries were able fully and adequately to appreciate.

"Carrying and developing in his mind those strange thoughts and views, he felt the necessity of gathering around him a circle of pupils, to whom he might communicate, and through whom he might disseminate, what filled and stirred his soul. So he founded an order after the model of those half-religious, half-scientific associations which he had seen in the East, and yet in close connexion with the Dorian institutions which were established in his native soil. Here he taught his wisdom, his philosophy and mathematics, and exhorted his disciples to a serious and worthy life, always pointing out to them the same lofty goal, emancipation from the prison of the corporeal world, from the fetters of transmigration. Whether the result was due to the profundity, the strangeness and importance of these thoughts, or to the imposing personality of the Master, it cannot be denied that striking success crowned his efforts; enthusiastic and admiring disciples crowded around him; and though brute* violence, after a succession of years, destroyed the material existence, the social importance of the order, it continued to exist in a spiritual sense, and retained its influence for centuries.

"The words of the Master were respected with unquestioning faith; his *ipse dixit* passed among his followers as gospel, as the truth, which at once crushed all doubt; until at last ever increasing reverence exalted the wonderful man to the rank of a god, and legend wove around his person and his deeds such a web of the miraculous, the supernatural and the incredible, that later ages are only able approximately to discern the real form and features of the man through the dense veil of mythical invention."

C. H. TAWNEY.

* See ZELLER'S *History of Early Greek Philosophy* translated by S. F. ALLEYNE, Vol I., page 357. "The Pythagorean *Synedria* formed the centre of the Aristocratic party: they therefore became the immediate object of a furious persecution which raged with the utmost violence throughout Lower Italy. The meeting houses of the Pythagoreans were everywhere burnt; they themselves murdered or banished and the aristocratic constitutions overthrown."

## *KAISAR-I-HIND!*

A JUBILEE ODE.

I.

Queen-Empress! whose Imperial sway
O'er realms so wide and vast extends,
To thee each loyal subject sends
True greetings on this joyful day.
Whether from o'er the boundless wave
Circling that younger Britain, strong and brave,
The far Australia;
Or from the wintry storms that rise
'Neath Canada's inclement skies;
Or from the surging tides that lave
The shores of utmost Africa;
From far across the summer seas
That bound the golden Chersonese;
Or thine own glorious England, proud and free,
On this thy glorious Jubilee;—
Not less our India honours thee,
Kaisar-i-Hind!

II.

And surely 'tis a happy day—
For was it not thy joy to prove
The strength of all thy peoples' love?
How, when the voice of danger shook
Thy realms,—united nations hurl'd
Defiance at thy foe? They would brook

No insult to thy wide and righteous sway.
Thus taught they the astonished world
How diverse tongues and diverse creeds
Can join to serve thy lightest needs,—
Brave children of the mother land, and we
Who know thy worth and follow thee
Eager to prove by valiant deeds,
Devotion to the Empress-Queen!
Still wave thy banners joyously,
Kaisar-i-Hind!

III.

Kaisar-i-Hind! in name and power,
'Twas but to-day, with noiseless tread,
The great White Bear from out the North
Approached thy distant Empire. In that hour
A million gleaming swords leaped forth
Flashing defiance. First the tidings spread;
And from thine universal empire rose, O Queen,
A swelling flood of proud devotion, loyal love,
Like to the impetuous flood of Indus old
That breaks his puny barriers vainly bold,
And rolls resistless to the sea.
So our long-waiting hearts have leapt to prove
E'en to the death our loyalty,
Till German, Frank, and Muscovite have seen
Thine Indian Empire owns but thee,
Kaisar-i-Hind!

IV.

From the Eternal Halls of Snow,
Unto the incense-breathing hills
Of Sweet Ceylon;
From where the sacred streams of Ganges flow,
To where the branching Indus fills

The plains thus fertile; from Nepaul;
From pleasant Cashmere's happy vales;
From Rajputana's rocky steeps;—there fails
No sign of glad allegiance. All
Breathe the same steadfast spirit. Thou hast won
Our heart's free love, O Empress-mother, Noble Queen!

And on this day,
This proud Imperial day, on which we see
Thy long-desirèd Jubilee,—
O earnestly we pray
That the same God Who shelters us and thee,
The one true God, Whose shining face appears
Above the mist of struggling creeds; Who hears
Alike our various prayers; that *He*
May make most glad thy Jubilee!
May with His own right hand sustain thee still,
May keep thee safe from every shade of ill,
Grant thee long happy years of earthly life,
Preserve thy realms from foreign foe and Civil strife;
And when thy fruitful days of peace are past,
Call thee unto His kingdom at the last.

L. E. B.

# *BUDDHISM.**

OF all religions, Buddhism has still perhaps the largest following. Though banished from its original home, it is still professed by not less than 500 millions of people or more than one-third of the human race. Its supremacy is undisputed in almost all the countries and islands of Eastern and Southern Asia. Its ascendancy is supreme in China, Japan, Thibet, Nepal, Burma, Siam, and Ceylon. So great was its influence at one time, that it materially affected the beliefs of even those who were most hostile to it. The Brahmins, while denouncing it as heresy, have adopted many of its principles and doctrines. Nay, there can be very little doubt that its ideal of holy life, with its monks, nuns, relic worship, steeples, bells and rosaries, served as the prototype of the Christian faith.

The life and doings of the founder of such a religion cannot fail to be interesting, and although the story has been told over and over again, your readers will, it is hoped, excuse this repetition. Buddha or Gautama, as he is called by his followers, lived and flourished in the sixth century before Christ, according to the evidence furnished by ancient coins and inscriptions, and the prevailing era and traditions of the Southern Buddhists. Sâkya Muni was by birth a Ksheytria and a prince and heir-apparent to the throne of his father. He enjoyed the sweets of married life and was blessed with a son. But at the age of thirty he left his paternal abode and his wife, and turned an ascetic. His renunciation of the world, in the prime of life, shews the true religiousness of his nature, which rose triumphant over all domestic ties and the allurements and temptations of wealth and power. The sights of misery and suffering, which he frequently saw, made him sick of the world, and after declaring to his father and his wife his intention of retiring from the world, he, in spite of their remonstrances, left his father's palace one night, when the

* There is not much that is original in this paper. But the story is told in a popular manner, and may not be altogether uninteresting.—ED.

guards were asleep, and rode away with his charioteer as his only companion. The story of his turning away from the door of his wife's lamp-lit chamber, and his denying himself a parting caress to his new born babe, is one of the many touching and sublime episodes of his life. At dawn of day he sent back his companion, the charioteer, with his horse and his jewels to his father. Having cut off the hairs of his head, and exchanged his princely dress for the tattered clothing of a poor passerby, he went on alone a homeless beggar. In answer to all the arguments advanced by the charioteer with a view to take him back to his family and home, Buddha said, "I have tasted domestic felicity to the fullest extent, as also all worldly pleasures, and have found that they only increase my desire for further enjoyment, which does not give me peace of mind. The world is unsubstantial. Those who are chained to it have their cupidity and desires enhanced and multiplied: where then is satisfaction? Such desire is the origin of all pain and misery. How happy are the men who are without such desires and wants! Those who have no love for any earthly object, no longing for any sensual pleasure, it is they who have gained true knowledge and have achieved complete victory over the passions of the human heart. Perfect peace reigns in their minds. They have no love of life and no fear of death. They are above birth, disease and death. I therefore renounce the world."

Further on he says to the charioteer: "After crossing myself this shadowy sea of life, which is full of pain and misery, it is my object to conduct the whole race of mankind to the realms of everlasting bliss."

For sometime after his renunciation Sákya Sinha studied the philosophy of the Brahmins. At first he became the pupil of a famous Brahamin in Vaisali. Subsequently he tried another Brahmin, still more famous, in the town of Rajagriha in Behar. But after learning all that they had to teach he was not satisfied; he did not see the way to salvation. He then entered the forest near Gya, and practised those austerities which are supposed by many to lead to heaven.

But he found that neither fasting, nor self-torture, nor penance, nor *yoga*, in which he spent full six years of his life, availed him anything, and when the weak, emaciated, haggard-looking hermit, with his mind tossed about in doubts, as to what was to be his ultimate doom, fell senseless to the ground, the thought struck him, on regaining consciousness, as a lightning flash from above in the

depths of his inner soul, that the true road to salvation lay not in self-infliction in a mountain cavern, but in preaching truth and a higher moral life to his fellowmen. Thenceforth he became a public preacher, and in conformity to his orginal resolve lived for others to the good old age of eighty, when the period of his sojourn in this earth ceased.

It is said in the Buddhist Scriptures that during the period of his penance and fasting, when Sakya Muni sank down in religious despair, *Maya* the enemy of mankind wrestled with him in a bodily form. We find in the New Testament that Christ was also tempted by Satan in a similar way during the forty days of his fasting in the wilderness.

The first disciples of Jesus of Nazareth were fishermen of Galilee, and the first converts of Sakya Muni, who, unlike the Brahmans, preached not to chosen disciples of the twice-born castes, but to the people, were not patricians by birth. Jesus sent his twelve disciples "to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick." Sákya Muni sent forth his sixty disciples to the countries round about with the words: "Go ye now and preach the most excellent law."

The secret of Buddha's success lay in the fact that he admitted all classes and castes to the powers and privileges of religious ministers. There are men even in the lowest classes, who would rather command than obey—who would rather teach than learn. The religious system of Buddha opened out a career to such men, and he failed not to make a violent attack on the exclusive and sectarian character of the Brahminical faith, by publicly addressing people in the following burning word:—

"Oh ye down-trodden castes and races, come unto me! I will readily embrace you all. My religion is as extensive as the heavens above and under the canopy thereof, the Brahman and the Chandala, (the vilest of the Sudras) men and women, rich and poor, old and young, shall all live on a footing of perfect equality."

Christ similarly said to his disciples, "Go ye and preach the Gospel to every creature." And when the "Scribes and Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying, why do ye eat and drink with publicans and sinners?" Jesus answering said unto them, "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." And that "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." It will thus be seen that both Buddhism and Christanity are on the same level, as regards their cosmopolitan character.

The chief characteristics of Buddhism are, that it ignores the efficacy of sacrifices in the matter of the salvation of the human race, as also the necessity of a mediator between God and man. And in this respect it stands quite unique and contra-distinguished from all other systems of religion in the world. Hinduism, Judaism and most other religions hold the necessity of sacrifices in view to propitiating the divinity; and Christianity looks upon all such as typical of the great sacrifice of the Lamb of God, as Christ is designated in Scriptural language. According to Sákya Muni, our own conduct and actions are the only means by which we can attain salvation; and such notion necessarily tends to create a spirit of self-sacrifice and an exalted tone of moral life, which form the most prominent features of the Buddhistic faith. Love to all men, abstinence from all harm to every sentient creature, and self-denial and mortification of the passions, are the great duties which Buddha laid down upon all his followers.

In common with the six schools of Hindu philosophy, Buddha believed in the theory of the transmigration of the human soul, and in the law of *Karma*. He taught that the condition of a man's life, past, present and future, is the result of his own actions. That what he sows, he must reap. That every good deed must have its reward and every evil deed its punishment. If it follows from this that even the Omnipotent God cannot prevent the consequences of our own actions, it equally follows that according to Sákya Muni, God never interferes with the functions of human will, and that our moral responsiblity is therefore absolute, inasmuch as our will is free.

Dr. Hunter says that "a system like this, in which our whole well-being—past, present and to come—depends on ourselves, leaves little room for a personal God." I fail to see why this remark should be specially made against Buddhism. If it is not in the power of man to do good or evil deeds without divine interference he cannot justly be held morally responsible or liable to rewards and punishments. It is unreasonable to suppose that Sákya Muni, most part of whose life was spent in meditation and devotion did not believe in the efficacy of prayer and in divine grace. But he taught that our happiness and misery are entirely dependent on our own deeds, as we ourselves are the chief responsible agents, and evidently, with a view to make us practically good moral men. There are several passages both in the Old and in the New Testament in which it is said that we are responsible for our own acts and that we must either go to

heaven or hell according as we prove righteous or unrighteous in our thoughts and deeds in this life. This is all very well. But it will be seen on the other hand from the following passages in Apostle Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, that the New Testament fully endorses the doctrine of pre-destination.

"According as he hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love." —*Chapter I, Verse 4.*

"Having pre-destinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will."—*Chapter I, Verse 5.*

"In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being pre-destinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will."—*Chapter I, Verse 11.*

If Budha's tenets seem somewhat to detract from the Majesty of the Most High, the words of Apostle Paul tend to destroy altogether the moral responsibility of man, and convert him into a mere automaton. The former view is by far the most beneficial as it tends to keep men in the path of virtue whilst the latter engenders a feeling of hopelessness, and at best tends to make them indifferent as to what course they should adopt, when surrounded by temptations or oppressed by doubts. Although Gautama lays chief stress on our own conduct, as the means of our salvation, he does not, as far as I am aware of positively prohibit our placing reliance on the Supreme Being or ignore His moral Government of the Universe.

The charge of atheism so often brought against the religion of Buddha appears to be altogether groundless. It is true that we seldom meet with the name of God among the public utterances of Sákya Muni, as preserved in Buddhistical scriptures. But it is illogical to infer, from this circumstance alone, that he did not believe in the existence of the Deity. It may be that the metaphysical controversies in the Hindu Darsans or Schools of Philosophy touching the existence of the Great First Cause led him not to dwell on this subject in its speculative aspect. Or it may be that he was so deeply impressed with this truth, that he did not think it worth his while to discuss the question. In any case he did all in his power, both by precept and example, to promote the cause of true morality and therefore of practical religion.

It is not quite reasonable to suppose that one who believed in a future state of existence, and in heaven and hell, did not believe in the very existence of supreme Ruler of the Universe. The sole aim of life according to the doctrines of his religion was the

attainment of *Nirvana* or the absorption of the human with the Great Divine Soul. This *Nirvana* of Sákya Sinha cannot be total annihilation as some scholars are pleased to surmise. In the view usually taken of it, the existence of the Divine Spirit is necessarily implied in it.

It seems absurd that one who laid so great a stress on the moral responsibility of man had no belief in the existence of the Moral Governor of the Universe. But fortunately we are not left to mere conjecture in this matter. In the 25th Adhai of Lalita Vistara Buddha says:

"Seeing that men are following after vain things and unrealities I feel boundless compassion for them. If mankind will turn from such unrealities than relying upon Brahma (that is God) I will preach unto them the religion of truth. Now falling prostrate at the feet of Brahma (that is God) all men are to ask me for this religion. Wise men will call (that is consider) this religion the purest religion."

The words "Brahma" and "Brahma Kruma" as used in the third and fourth lines of the first and the second verse respectively, and quoted above, ought to set at rest for ever the question of Buddha's belief in the existence of a Personal God and in Divine Providence.

Buddhism was evidently a reaction against Brahminical discipline and division of social labor. While the Brahmans exercised supreme authority as expounders of law and religion, and excluded the Sudras, and to a certain extent the two other sections of the twice-born class, namely, the Kshetriyas and the Vaisyas, from all power and privileges in matters spiritual, Sákya Sinha, the greatest of reformers, that India and perhaps the world ever produced, levelled a tremendous blow against the institution of caste, and proclaimed to the world in words of burning eloquence, the great and glorious doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man.

There is no denying the question that Buddhism exercised a most beneficial influence over the destinies of this great land of Bharat morally, socially, and intellectually. The Buddistic doctrines spread over the whole continent of Asia, and even exercised their influence in early Christianity. Buddhism forms the religion of nearly one-half of the human race, and although expelled from its native home, it has left an undying influence upon the literature, philosophy, morals and religion of the Hindus, who recognize in

Sákya Muni an incarnation of the God Vishnu. Even at the present day it survives amongst as in a modified form in the religion of Guru Nanuck and Chaitanya.

H. C. MITRA.

## *RUKHMA BAI AND CHILD MARRIAGE.*

THE Bai is no longer the interesting character that she was until recently. The explanation which has been given to the public by the unfortunate Dadaji, has completely divested her case of the element of romance with which her friends successfully invested it, for a time, by their representations. They spared no pains—left no stone unturned—to make out a case of great hardship to the Baj, and to enlist public sympathy. It was alleged that Dadaji, who claimed her as his wife, was too poor to support her; that he was like a *cooly* in point of education and appearance, and that, to crown all, he was affected with consumption. It was not denied that the Bai was lawfully married to him. But her champions represented that she was a lady of superior intellectual powers and accomplishments, and that the ordinary forms of Hindu Marriage cannot be binding on such an extraordinary specimen of the female sex. She would first make love and then marry in the romantic style of Sakuntola and Dushmanta. Dadaji's claim to have her as his consort was like the attempt of a dwarf to catch hold of the Moon. She is too good for a Dadaji's daily food. If no Dushmanta be forthcoming for her hand, she would live in "maiden meditation fancy free" and waste her fragrance in the desert air. A lady who can write articles for newspapers—who can dance and sing and play on the piano—is such a "model sister" to surrender her youth and her charms to an ass, like the queen of the fairies in *Midsummer Night's Dream.* No, it cannot be. If chivalry is banished from the rest of the world, still it cannot but have a place in the hearts of "reformers" like Malabari & Co. It may be that no swords have leapt from their scabbards. But that is because the Arms Act makes no concession in favor of chivalry. However that be, our reforming knight-errants make the fullest use of such weapons as they possess, namely, their tongues and their quills, and the country is deluged with their harangues, lectures, editiorials, pamphlets

against what they call child marriage. For a long time, a great deal of capital was made out of the case by the "reformers." But, in the light of the knowledge which the public now possess, it is not possible any longer to represent the Bai as a martyr or a heroine. The admitted facts of the case point irresistibly to the conclusion that she is a weak and foolish girl, and that whatever her accomplishments may be, she has not the capacity to resist the influence of the advisers, who, for the sake of her money, would make her life miserable. The facts being too well-known now, she can no longer be used as a trump card by her reforming wire-pullers. Her case is too prosaic to point their moral or to adorn their tales. We, therefore, now hear much less of her than we had to do about a couple of months before. Yet, considering the amount of sympathy which has been enlisted in her favor, in influential quarters, we cannot even now regard her case with indifference. We would fain refrain from referring to it. We would not willingly do anything to rescue it from oblivion, if it had become a thing of the past. But so long as the champions of the Bai are fighting for her, we must do all that lies in our power, to defend our religion and our socical institutions against their attacks.

Notwithstanding all that is said by our "reformers," against what they call child marriage, our belief is that the amount of good which has been done by it is incalculable. Our Shasters reveal the fact that in ancient times, when adult marriages prevailed in the country, bastards and children of secret birth like Tom Jones were so numerous, that they had to be classified for legal purposes, and had recognised positions assigned to them by law. Thanks to the legislation of the sages, we have no longer the *Kanina** and *Sahodraja* † sons amongst us.

It is not possible to discuss the merits of any system of marriage law, without having to make use of words and expressions which must jar on the ears of most good men. We would, if we could, avoid reference to matters which must outrage the sense of propriety of our readers. But it would not answer our purpose to do things by halves. And we must deal with the question as fully as possible, however shocking some of the ideas and expressions may appear to be. So, without any further apology, we must state it as our belief, that, at the time when child marriage was first enjoined by the Shasters, it was one of the best safeguards against incestuous

* Kanina is the son of an unmarried damsel.

† Sahodraja is a son who was conceived in the womb of his mother, at the time of her marriage.

connections. Reason and experience alike point to the conclusion, that, in the primitive state of society, sexual intercourse between near relations was not regarded with that horror which we now feel at the enormity of sin. The feelings and associations of men are now so moulded, that it is regarded by us as an offence against the law of nature, a violation of the essential fitness of things. But, in all probability, the case was quite different in ancient times. And a great deal of good was done then by enjoining the disposal of girls by their fathers before maturity. It is true that there has been, since then, great improvement in the feelings and morals of men. But our belief is that even now adult marriage cannot be enforced with advantage. We are strongly of opinion that in matters governing the relation of sexes, it is not possible to be too far on the safe side.

Where girls remain unmarried after maturity, they very often run the risk of being suspected and rejected as "rotten orange" like the lovely daughter of the good Leonato in Shakespear's *Much Ado About Nothing*. The practice of child marriage leaves no room whatever for such suspicions, and saves both parents and girls from the kind of agony and anguish which well nigh killed Hero, and made her father miserable. In the particular case as concluded by the poet's imagination the lady was ultimately saved by something like a miracle. But in actual life, we cannot expect the repetition of such accidents to clear similar disgrace.

The natural love and affection of parents and their selfish reluctance to lose the services of their grown up children, are, in some cases, so strong that, but for the religious obligation of giving away girls in marriage before a certain time, they would not be married at all, especially where there was no prospect of securing, through their marriage, an advatageous connection, and where there was no imminent risk of their disgracing the family, by cultivating undue intimacy with a groom or a page. It must be well-known to most of our readers, that Hindu parents evince the greatest reluctance to part with their daughters, even after marriage. In fact, when the girls are taken to their husbands' house their parents are generally so overcome by their feelings as to wail and weep and to remain disconsolate for days together. It is not therefore difficult to conceive what the case would have been, in the absence of the religious obligation imposed by the Shasters. In European countries, young men and women are allowed to mix together, and the importunity of the favored suitor generally over-

comes the bashfulness of the maidens, and the apathy or reluctance of their parents about their marriage. If adult marriage be insisted amongst us, then, in many cases, marriage would not take place at all, at least so long as our females live in the seclusion of the zenana. Our "reformers" may say that they would have what they call female liberty as well. But petticoat or rather *shadree* Government is so powerful amongst Hindus, that the emancipation of males would be more to the point. However that be, so far as the question under discussion is concerned, we have no faith in the philosophy of Donna Julia.

The reformers consider it quite shocking to their moral sense that the father should have the right of giving away his girls in marriage, without consulting their wishes. But will any one contend that a girl of nine or ten years, or for the matter of that one of fifteen or sixteen years, is a better judge than her father about the position and prospects of her intended husband? The father ought to have the right of selecting the bridegroom, on the same ground as that on which the Government of our country takes charge of the estates and effects of zeminders who are minors or females.

Sometimes Hindu fathers abuse their power and give their little daughters to decrepit sexagenarians, either for the sake of money or for the sake of honor. But as a general rule, Hindu parents evince the greatest anxiety and make heavy sacrifices to secure suitable match for their daughters. The universal complaint of the hour, in the Hindu community, is that the value of educated young men, in the matrimonial market has become so high, as to render the cost of marrying daughters ruinously expensive. Now what is it that leads to this result? Is it not due to the anxiety of the Hindu parent to secure the future happiness of his daughter by giving her to the most deserving young man? Sometimes men in indigent circumstances dispose of their daughters, without any consideration about their happiness. But such abuse of power by the father is strongly reprobated by our Shasters, and is happily very rare. Even if it were more frequent than it is, still that fact would not, in our opinion, be a sufficient ground for the kind of legislative interference which the "reformers" ask. The Court of Wards sometimes makes serious abuse of its power. But no one will contend, on that ground, that the Court should be abolished. The right of Hindu fathers in respect of the marriage of their children, is more of the nature of a liability than of a privilege.

So far as the father's own interest is concerned. he would not lose anything by being divested of the right. On the contrary, Hindu parents would gain a great deal, if they be exempted from the liability to give their daughters in marriage before maturity, and if adult marriage be enforced by legislative enactment. Such legislative interference would save many of us from a great deal of expense and anxiety. But to the female sex, the consequence would be most disastrous in many cases. The best men in the world are not generally skilled in the art of winning female hearts. And if self-choice and adult marriage prevail, then the fairest and loveliest maidens would not have the most deserving men as their husbands, but would fall victims to the blandishments of smiling deceivers of the type of Madam Mantaline's spouse. The canker would gall the blossom of the spring, and blight the opening bud, leaving misery, ruin and lifelong regret behind.

J. N. BHATTACHARJEE.

# *THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS.*

## CAIRO.

WE steamed up the Red Sea at great speed, with a strong cold wind in our favour, escaping the heat so often complained of. We were just six days steaming from one end of the long narrow sea, the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, to the opposite end, at Suez. Unlike what one expects to find in this inland sea, the waves ran high, all ports closed, and wet docks on board a 2,000 tons steamer. Why is this sea termed the "Red?" It is so in French, Italian, and Arabic, as well as English, and by all ancient writers. Is it from the red coral by its shore, or from a pinkish substance like fish spawn that, each time I traversed it, I have remarked floating on its surface in large quantities. A name that occurs in so many languages and at such different periods, could hardly have originated in accident.

The landscape presented when entering the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, is not beautiful, but it is strangely grand; it is a scene of alternate land and water caused by the three openings into the ocean, the islands thus formed, are composed of blackest rock, and are unrelieved by a single tree or plant, having been upheaved at some former time by an awful convulsion of nature, from the vast smouldering internal furnace.

We arrived opposite Suez at night, but were soon paddled on shore in the little high-pressure steamer kept there to land passengers, and reached the hotel built for their accomodation. An odd life the keeper of this place must live; four days in the month his house is full to suffocation—half a dozen in every room, and the remaining twenty-six days he has not a soul to speak to beyond a few idle Arabs.

There is little to interest the visitor in the town of Suez. It consists of a few Arab houses and huts, and the country round it is sand and desert. Nevertheless, a day or so may be well

spent wandering about its environs, for somewhere here, doubtless, the miraculous passage of the sea was made by the Israelites. The summit of Mount Sinai is seen from the approach to Suez by the Red Sea. The Arabs have traditions of the passage to this day; and the place called Wadee-el-Arraba is "The Valley of the Chariots." There is a ford across the sea even now at low water, where the tide rises and falls some five or six feet.

It is on the direct road from Egypt, just below which there is a small island still called by the natives of the desert, Gezeerak-el-Yahood, the "Island of the Jews." I wandered on the parched thirsty beach: everything was salt, even the well water. The only sweet water to be had is brought on camels all the way from Cairo.

A railroad having been made, everybody is aware how easily one can now cross the eighty-two miles of desert between Suez and Cairo; but it was not quite the same a year or two ago. The traveller then enjoyed as he could fourteen hours in a van drawn over the stones and sand by four little horses or mules. As the team proceeded at a gallop, you were jolted into your neighbour's lap; and, jumping up, perhaps, with a thousand apologies, your hat was knocked over your eyes by coming in contact with the roof. But on the other hand, we had the advantage of a journey divided into six stages, and at each we refreshed the inward man, which quite spoiled the romance of desert travelling in the yet older way, on the back of a camel, or Arab horse; with the sand for a couch, and the star-lit heavens for a canopy at night. For myself, though I looked forward with eager pleasure to the wild Arab life, yet I would not refuse the use of the four horsed van, the staging bungalows, the refreshments, and cigars, that brought us into the Uzbakeah of Grand Cairo, about nine at night, some of us very jovially, to judge by the well-chorused songs.

I found Cairo, or more properly Misr El Kaherah, "The City of Victory," a very interesting and amusing place, say for a couple of months in the cold weather. The plan I adopted, and one I would recommend to any traveller who has time, was to get a Moonshee at once, and set earnestly to work to acquire the language of the country. One may "do Egypt" very well, with Murray and a dragoman, but the greater part of the interest is lost if unable to interrogate, and to associate with the inhabitants of the country, and thereby acquire the endless scraps of information and amusement that would be otherwise lost.

There is much to interest the visitor in the streets and bazars of Cairo. One is always stumbling on something quaint. The buildings are not so magnificent as in Delhi or Lucknow, but much more engaging. The best way of wandering about them is on a donkey, which among other advantages will keep one's feet out of the mud. These animals are, besides, proverbially good in Egypt; they are very docile, and will go through any place where a man can go, while the donkey boy prevents one losing the way without the nuisance of a dragoman; *àpropos* of which a Levantine proverb well says, that the three nuisances of the East are plague, fire, and dragomen. In Eastern costume then, and mounted on a donkey, the traveller may go where it pleases him, and make observations where he likes without being a general mark for the eyes and suspicions of all the inhabitants.

I never tired of wandering about the bazars, so narrow that two men can scarcely walk abreast (this discomfort, however, is not without compensation, as it serves to keep the street cool) and of examining the thousand-and-one oriental odds and ends to be examined, and if you please, purchased. The latter is by no means a necessary consequence of such visits, for to sit cross-legged on the board of the little shop, smoke a chibouk with the grey-bearded Mahommedan of the olden school, and listen to the gossip that amuses a Caireen, is often agreeable to both parties, more particularly if the traveller should have a little oriental story to offer in return for a complacent display of such heterogeneous articles, perhaps, as chain-armour, Fez çaps, Damuscus blades, silk scarfs, Ubacs, turbuns, amber mouthpieces, Constantinople goods, and embroidered slippers. Other resources for the man of leisure are not wanting either. One may hear all the Caireen scandal at the barber's stall or saunter to the enervating luxurious vapour baths and be splashed, rubbed down, ducked, and shampooed till one feels at least a stone lighter.

The finest part of Cairo, though the most Europeanized, is undoubtedly the square with the gardens, walks, and trees in the centre, called the Uzbakeah. Here, in the cool of the evening, may be met the principal society, and in the more retired walks, even the veiled hareem of the jealous Moslem, who when opportunity offers are not unskilled in shooting an eyelash arrow from the eyebrow bow.

I hired several servants, but with the exception of a good old one-eyed cook, they all thought much more of *doing me* than *my*

*bidding;* they are more lazy than Indian servants, and not nearly so tractable and well-conducted; when caught in the act of cheating they are impudent instead of conciliatory in their behaviour.

It is written that "El Kaherah," which Europeans have metamorphosed into Cairo, was founded by a general appointed by Ali, the husband of Mahomed's fair daughter Fatima, but the present town was not built till some 360 years after the Hejira, probably during the Fatamite dynasty. For Egypt, therefore, it is quite a mushroom of a town, only some 885 years old; but it was built on the ruins of much older cities, near the site of the earliest temple palaces of the Pharaohs, and we may suppose of the world. Here first appeared with faltering retiring steps the early civilization that soon left it in disgust. Here was enacted that scene so touching, so truly natural, the history of Joseph and his brethren; here the most mysterious of all rivers, the great source of fruitfulness in a land that without it would in three years be a desert, flows on greasy, turbid, and muddy, by the gigantic structures of the Pharaohs, by the land of Goshen and the present city of Saladin; unchanged it has rolled on since the Israelites slaved on its banks, since Thermuthis, Pharoah's daughter, bathing in its stream, found God's chosen leader for His people, and since it bore on its broad bosom the gorgeous galleys of the voluptuous Cleopatra. On the banks of the Nile, dawned the earliest knowledge of the human race; here science achieved its first triumphs, and power asserted its supremacy. Its shores have also felt the curse, and have seen the lowest degradation, misery, and grief. When, we ask, will Egypt be again enrolled among the civilized nations of the earth? When will the light of truth dawn upon her barbarous people? The present state of the country seems to invite an energetic progressive race to occupy it, and be the means of working out its regeneration. Its present effete, venal, decayed government cannot last long: it is only propped up, and rests now on the memory of Mahomed Ali's tyranny.

At Cairo I made several agreeable acquaintances, of different creeds and race, with whom I visited the edifices and scenes of note and interest. We rode to look at the old wall erected by the warrior Saláh-e-deen, the Saladin of the Crusaders, but it is so built over that it is not easy to trace. Here, however, still stands a monument of the Saracenic style of fortification, the now well-named "Tower of Filth," and the old ports or gates partly buried

by the rubbish and offal of the town; the "Gate of Victory" leading to the tombs—some built of fragments brought from the cities of Heliopolis and Memphis—while through the town passes a ditch of liquid mud, termed, out of courtesy, a canal, conveying water and fever to its two hundred thousand inhabitants.

The Frank, the Jew, the Copt, the Moslem, each has his quarter separated by gates and iron bars at night, protected by curs, wonderfully hostile to the human species, considering that they occupy the ground-floor or sewers of the same abode.

We found our way to Old Cairo or Fasatt (which may be interpreted "a tent") where an old Roman fort is well worthy of inspection. Here once resided the people of Babylon, that Diodorus records were taken captive by the great Egyptian warrior, Sesostris. The fortress has all the peculiarities of the Roman construction, Its round towers and strong walls of vast thickness are of red brick, and the eagle is still seen carved over the gateway; but within, in place of the stalwart legions, is a little parish of Copts, primitive Christians, but worshipping, I fear, their patron, St. George, who is represented on a white horse, attacking a monostrous green dragon. Near this enclosure is one of the oldest mosques, consisting of a plain open court, surrounded by a colonnade. This simple structure is a curious specimen of Saracenic architecture in its infancy; there is an ancient tradition attached to it, a prophecy not unlikely to be fulfilled, to wit, that the power of the Moslem and the now tottering edifice will crumble and fall together.

We crossed in a boat, one fine cool morning, to the Island of Rhoda, opposite Old Cairo, where the orange and citron flourish. It seems the most inviting graden round Cairo unclaimed by the Pasha; and here is the far-famed Nilometre, a slender stone column in the centre of a well, graduated with cubits. Not much worthy of note is this, it may be thought; but then we read of a Nilometre measuring the rise and fall of the Nile in the times of the Pharonic Kings. Herodotus mentions that the masurement of the river's rise, to calculate the probable result of the harvest, was part of their priestcraft; and Strabo describes a Nilometre on the Isle of Elepantine: to all which the imagination is led wandering back.

In Old Cairo the curious may visit the Colleges of the Fakeers or Derveshes, and on certain days see these austere mountebanks whirl round and dance. I met and conversed with some Fakeers from Dehli amongst them, who were very glad to receive a few

piastres, and hear their native language; they had wandered all the way by land, and had been some years *en route.*

As may be supposed, I was not many days in Egypt without visiting the stupendous pyramids; and that fanciful emblem of the union of intellect and physical strength, the Sphinx. But at this season (October) the waters of the Nile had spread far over the harvest-yielding land, and I deferred a minute inspection till my return from Upper Egypt.

The tombs of the Memlook Sultans, with fine minarets and mosques attached, are magnificent monuments of those descendants of Circassian girls, torn from their mountain homes by ruthless slave-dealers. But their sons lived to rule with iron tyranny the offspring of those who wrought their mother's shame; and as bold warriors, twice to hurl back the Tartars from Europe under the fierce Tamerlane. Near them lies a well-met comrade, Mahomed Ali, Pascha of Egypt and Syria, who, if we had but wisely stayed our hands, would have won Constantinople, and raised up a strong Government, and formed a barrier that would have defied the hordes of Russia for many a long day.

Here rests the remains of Caliph E. Salah Jeyoob, who defeated the Crusaders under St. Louis of France, and made captive the Christian monarch; but from whose son the Memlooks snatched the throne, which a long line of their descendants occupied. Their tombs, with Gothic arch and richly-clustered pillars, with Alhambra-like fret-worked entrance, are still the finest monuments of the departed Sultans of Egypt.

The number of mosques in Cairo is said to be no less than four hundred; and though I will not vouch for the statement, there are certainly a very great number compared with the population. They are not so beautiful as some I have seen in other Eastern cities; and that within the citadel, upon which some fabulous sum of money has been lately spent, is not to be compared to the ancient architecture of the Saracens, though its tall, slender minarets of marble are certainly elegant. This mosque was erected by Mahomed Ali, on the site of a very ancient edifice, called Joseph's, and in it his remains are deposited. From the pointed pinnacle of the Muezen's tower the most perfect bird's-eye view of Egypt may be had; and it was here within the citadel wall, that Mahomed Ali removed the Memlooks from his path by a cold-blooded massacre, simply because they were too powerful for his all-grasping ambition.

The Mahomedans in this town are not particularly begoted; no objection was ever made to my entering a mosque; and Gama Tayloon is certainly well worth a visit. It is said to be built on the plan of the mosque at Mecca, and is the most ancient in Egypt; the numerous arches, gracefully extending from the spring and gradually rounding to a point at the crown, are supported on numerous rows of light, elegant columns. These colonnades surround an open square, where the faithful meet to pray. This beautiful architectural work, these elegantly pointed arches, were built in A. D. 879, or about 300 years before the construction of the arch was known in England.

After a short stay at Cairo, I rode, one morning, to Boolak, a village on the river, almost joining the town, for the purpose of hiring a boat to proceed on a tour to Upper Egypt. Arranged along the shore were numerous high-decked boats with flat bottoms, much resembling the *pinnance* of the Ganges. The cabins of these boats are large, and would be comfortable, were it not that they are built of numerous small pieces of wood badly joined together, which enables vermin of all sorts to find a convenient residence in them. Choosing one that seemed likely to afford sufficient room, and was yet not too unwieldy, I went on board and found the owner there, a Caireen of the old school, with a flowing turban, and beard reaching to his waist. We sat down on the divan round the principal cabin; he requested me to take the right-hand corner, and played the host by ordering pipes and coffee for two. We smoked and sipped, while I tried in vain to bring him to the point at issue, the hire of the boat. He lauded its power of sailing, its size and its comfort, none of which I questioned as he seemed to desire, if only to get up an argument, which must end in convincing me of its transcendant qualities; but he always evaded the one point, trusting to me to make a large offer. At last the subject was lost altogether in a maze of questions and answers about every conceivable thing, from the late Pasha Mahomed Ali's conquests to Ibrahimee dates; and I had risen to go when he said, "By the way, you will want a new chintz covering for the cushions." I answered, "Good!" and, at last, we came to an understanding; I offering one-half of what he at first asked. We arranged to meet the following day and enter into a written agreement.

All was at last satisfactorily settled; the boat was sunk for a night to kill the vermin; and then, being repainted and a new

covering for the divan thrown into the bargain, a reis or Captain with crew of seven men, were selected and made over to me. I took two servants I had hired in Cairo, laid in a stock of provisions, and with a fair north wind blowing, set sail and steered for Ethiopia.

J. H. LINTON.

PRINTED AT THE HERALD MACHINE PRINTING WORKS, 10 OLD POST OFFICE STREET, CALCUTTA.

PUBLIC LIBRARY
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1859
SERAMPORE

THE

# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

NEW SERIES.

No. 2.—AUGUST 1887.

## *THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS.*

### UP THE NILE.

THE Pyramids soon lay before me, for the second time, but the Nile had risen unusually high this season, and mud and water surrounded the place. Accordingly I deferred a minute examination of them till my return down the river. But what an extraordinary mass of building! What enormous amount of labour expended for no purpose of utility! Authors differ greatly as to the purpose for which these immense mounds of stone were erected, some even arguing that they were built to assist in astronomical research; but who that has lived for many years in Oriental countries, and has carefully studied their various languages, customs, and ideas, still unchanged, even though ages have rolled by, will doubt that these were built simply "nam-ki-waste," to perpetuate the name of the builder, Pharaoh, priest or king, or whatever his title may have been. The intention also of being laid, after death, within his work, and identified with its greatness, was most probably uppermost in the builder's mind; and for this futile notion—for the name of the builder has in most cases past away—what hundreds of thousands of workmen must have been tyrannized over—for years succeeding years ground down to the

very dust! The idea of doing *something* for the sake of name, from planting a tree to building the Taj at Agra, is prominent in the mind of every Oriental, whether he be Buddhist, Brahmin, or Mahomedan. With the warlike inhabitant of the North-West, the quick witted natives of Lower Bengal and Southern Hindustan, the gay cheerful Burman, revengeful Malay, the obstinate though clever Chinaman, whether poor or rich, *all* have this one predominating desire; the modern Egyptians have it very strongly, and the expression is frequently in their mouths.

For four days we had a splendid north breeze, and sailed up the Nile against a strong current, day and night, at a good pace. We passed, with a flowing sheet, the towns of Bènesso-ef and Bênes-sâh, and numerous villages; for I had determined on going right on so long as this wind lasted, and only land to take a morning or evening walk along the banks, keeping pace with the boat sailing; or if otherwise inclined, agreeing with the reis, or captain, upon a place of meeting. I calculated from my map that we had come in this manner about 125 miles from Cairo. The river Nile, so far, is more interesting than beautiful, not so fine a river as the Ganges or Irrawaddy, but presenting a striking novelty in its green belt of cultivation, extending for a few hundred yards or more, in some places, on both sides, with the white sandy desert beyond. The current down is very powerful, and it requires a strong wind to make the boat sail against it; but I was sometimes obliged to make a man hold the sheet of our large lateen sail, and more than once he had to let it fly as the strong breeze swept down from the white stony hills of the desert, many of which are close up to the banks of the river.

On the fifth day a dead calm set in, and we then progressed very slowly by tracking, which has been the usual way of going up this river for ages, and it is the same on the Ganges and other Eastern rivers. The men walk along the bank, hauling the boat after them with a long rope, and make generally about fifteen miles a day. We thus passed the towns of Munièh, Soàdee, Bênee, Hassan, and Mânfâloot, and finally reached Osioot, which is put down as 253 miles by the winding of the stream from Cairo. If any one, going up the Nile, should find the day too long—and when there is no wind, it is doubtless dull work being tracked along, day after day, through the same scene and without change of company—I would recommend him to study Arabic particularly if he intends travelling through Palestine and Syria, where it

is the common tongue of all. He will be surprised to find how much more interesting the Thousand-and-One Tales of the "Arabian Nights" are in the native Arabic than in the English translation; and the advantage of being able to converse directly with the people among whom we may be sojourning, without the aid of an interpreter, is so great as to be beyond computation. It not only greatly increases the enjoyment and lessens the expense of travel, but, what is better, it saves one's temper. Even if the Arabic tongue should at first prove a dry study, it will be soon found, what it was to me an amusement, when the ears begin to be opened to every thing that is passing around; and then there is the satisfaction of getting rid of that unmitigated annoyance, a dragoman.

It was on the eighth day when we arrived at Osioot. The town is situated at a short distance from the bank of the Nile; it is principally interesting from its occupying the site of the ancient Lycopolis, the city where wolves were worshipped. The figure of their principal god, who is represented in the form of a man with a wolf's head is very common in ancient Egyptian sculpture. Numerous mounds and broken bricks still mark the spot of the old city; close to it there is a range of bare hills of limestone rocks in which are excavated catacombs. Here I found sculptures much defaced by time, but bearing evidence of former elegance. I wandered through the bazars and town, which next to Cairo, was the largest I had yet seen in Egypt. The mosques and minarets are handsome. We found the remains of a vast number of mummies in the tombs and amongst them evidently portions of animals, as well as human beings; a portion of the head of an embalmed wolf or jackal, a bird resembling a common fowl, and even the large bones of an ox or cow; they all have the appearance of having been partially burnt.

We were now in Upper Egypt, and the Governor of it resides in this town in a handsome country-house, of which there are a great number on the banks of the Nile, more European in style than Asiatic. The limestone rock hill before mentioned is a spur of the Lybian range of mountains, here advanced close to the river. The view from its summit of the valley of the Nile, its verdant banks bounded on either side with the glaring, brazen desert, is strange and beautiful, yet to me it was not an alluring prospect. It struck me as something new and well worth seeing, yet the smiling banks of the Ganges far surpasses this in soft beauty.

According to Arabic story, the birds of Egypt make an annual pilgrimage to this hill, and leave one of their numbers to watch, perched on the top, till their return next year, when he is relieved by another. My rifle had no opportunity of attempting to break the talisman, for the ever watchful guardain was invisible. For two days in succession the breeze travelled to us languidly from the south, and we progressed very slowly, but the climate up the Nile, during the cold weather, is so really delightful that one scarcely minds the delay; it is quite cool enough to be bracing and healthy, yet the pain of cold is here unknown, and robust health is soon restored to the worn constitution. The morning ramble with the gun—more to procure a brace of quail for the simple evening meal than with the idea of fatigue after sport commences the day's enjoyment; then the book, the pencil, or the pen, passes away the pleasant hours, followed by the evening stroll through antique ruins, or oriental village, and last of all, such a cup of coffee and chibouk as only Arabia can provide. As the crowning felicity, how passing pleasant it is to enjoy perfect, unbroken, and above all *unreproachful* leisure.

After a few hour's fine northerly wind, we arrived at Gowell Kabeer, the ancient city of Antæopolis, the remains of which, with the temple of Antæus, are a confused mass of ruins; one very large stone has some heiroglyphic writing on it, which, according to a valuable work on the antiquities of ancient Egypt, are the names of Ptolemy Philopater and his queen Arsinoe; there is also a Greek inscription, in a very imperfect state, but sufficiently legible to show, according to Gliddon and others, that King Ptolemy and Cleopatra, and their son, built or repaired this temple. The place is also mentioned in heathen mythology as being the battle-field between Horus and Typhon, and here in the time of Osiris Hercules is said to have killed Antæus. Nothing remains now of the temple, excepting heaps of stones and earth, with broken fragments of columns and mutilated heiroglyphics.

On the fifteenth day from Cairo we reached Thebes, the wonder of the world, and not the less so now that its stupendous temples are in ruins; anticipation is here at last equalled, nay, surpassed by the reality. Dreams of the long past vanquish the everyday mind; and the over-wrought imagination wonderingly inquires, what were those groves of gigantic obelisks, columns, and pillars, works of immensity, frowning on the wonder-stricken visitor? what is the lost power which must have been used to pile these

monstrous stones one upon another? where are the people who built them, and worshipped at the shrine they enclosed? were there giants in those days? The doorways are large and high enough to let pass the loftiest genii with unbended head. Were they erected when the spirits of air sought the love of the daughters of men? for whom were they built? For kings or priests, or for potentates who united the kingship and priesthood in one person? what rare craft, or more than modern science aided them? what all absorbing mythology did they teach the millions, so as to enforce such labour? Surely these wretched Egyptian fellahs are not *their* descendants! Here one can but saunter, and gaze, and dream. No one shall now tell by whom, or why, this Babel was raised; how these lofty towers were reared high in the face of the blazing, ever unclouded sun. But how the curse has descended on the land! What a comparison between these wretched mud hovels of to-day, and the stupendous ruins that seem to defy time; between the utter ignorance and debasement of the present and the science and art of the past. One cannot be disappointed with Thebes. The ruins exceed in wondrous magnitude and effect any pre-conceived idea. After two days I felt more bewildered among the labyrinth of pillars, obelisks, and fallen towers, than at first. The longer you gaze and ramble among them, the more you find to wonder at and admire.

Fearing, on the third day after my arrival, that the season would pass before I reached the second cataract, I determined to proceed at once to the farthest point to be attained, and to inspect the wonders of ancient Thebes and its neighbourhood at leisure on my return. Again, therefore, we pushed off from the bank, and with a strong fair breeze stemmed the current. We spent a whole day on our way up at Esneh, where there is a fine temple. It has been determined by the most learned *savants* that Esneh is the Latopolis, well known to the Greeks and Romans. Strabo mentions it, and says that it was so called from the worship of the "latus" fish, which he says "shared with Minerva the honours of the sanctuary." This is questioned by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, who gives Chomophis or Kneph as the presiding deity. On examination of the sculptures and dedications of the portico, the carved fish, I remarked, seemed to abound. Kneph was also there. I have seen him represented, however, in all the temples that I have examined. He represents the "creative power."

The style of the architecture of the portico (almost the only portion of the temple now remaining) is truly imposing, and could not, I think, fail to call forth the admiration of the most indifferent spectator. The columns are most massive; two have capitals alike; and the whole are covered with strange hieroglyphics. Three-fourths of the building is below the level of the ground outside, so that it makes little show exteriorly; but, as you descend by the steps, with the light shining in from above, the effect is splendid. And in no other way could the capitals of the columns be shown to better advantage. Wilkinson has supposed that the mounds of ruins of the old town have accumulated over the lower and back part of the temple. But, with great diffidence, I think he may have arrived too speedily at this conclusion; because, where the earth has been removed from the outer columns and walls, the external surface appears rough and uncarved, and was evidently not intended to be exposed to view. Also, as stated above, the elegance and grandeur of the inside is greatly enhanced by its present position; and why should the Egyptians not have had "tykannahs," as in India, their climate being equally hot. On the ceiling of this temple I remarked inscribed a zodiack of large dimensions, and curiously formed; and on the whole of the walls numerous figures were traced from ram-headed gods and rude men and women to fish and insects, some of the gods and men of monstrous size.

We examined a small secret chamber inside, only lately found, and evidently designed for some purpose of superstition. Indeed, I could not imagine a place better suited to enable a crafty priesthood to work upon the weak minds of the people. Surely no one with the least spirit for inquiry, or thirst for knowledge, can view the monuments of ancient Egypt without a desire to have a peep behind the "Isiac Veil," to know something of the mystic heiroglyphics, the monstrous, curiously delineated figures that frown upon the stranger from every temple, pillar, and tomb, that for 2,000 years baffled every inquiry, and rendered Egypt, her time-worn edifices, her ancient inhabitants, their religion, arts, sciences, language and history, incomprehensible mysteries. These legends sculptured on the monuments of Pharonic civilization were until lately "a sealed book;" these annals, in themselves a history, that were to the Romans a "stumbling-block," and unto the Greeks "foolishness," are now being read. The seal has been broken, and the dark veil rent asunder by the enormous strides that human knowledge has made of late years.

It should not be forgotten that the joint ability of all the *savants* of Europe failed to unravel the mystic writings of Egypt, till the mighty Napoleon opened a way, by subduing Moslem arrogance and intolerancy. By the patronage and assistance he afforded to the advancement of science and the arts, it is well known that Napoleon induced many of the most clever men in France to accompany him to Egypt, and there directed their laborious efforts to the scrutiny of the country and its monuments. The key to the impenetrable mysteries of Egypt, to wit, the celebrated Rosetta stone, was found by one of the French Engineer Officers (M. Bouchard), and by one of the articles of the capitulation of the French at Alexandria, it and all objects collected by the French Institute of Egypt were delivered up to the British. This stone, which is now in the British Museum, bears three inscriptions, two being in the Egyptian language, though in distinct characters, the first in hieroglyphics; the sacred writing known probably alone to the priests; the second in "demotic," the writing of the people; and, lastly, the third, in Greek, being a translation of the other two texts. The event recorded is the coronation of king Epiphanes, which took place at Memphis, 199 years B. C. Dr. Young, of Edinburgh, was the first to make out some of the hieroglyphic letters, and read the proper names, though he failed to carry his principles of interpretation beyond *the* stone. It remained for "Champollion le Jeune," to apply the system to every Egyptian writing.

On we sailed, or tracked, passing Edfoo, Kom Ombo, and the hill of Silsileh, till we reached Aswan, at the first cataract. Here I met and joined two English tourists, who proved most agreeable companions and hospitable friends. This fortunate occurrence greatly enhanced the pleasures of the tour in Upper Egypt, and confirmed me in the idea that the best travelling companion, as a rule, is he with whom the chances of the journey may make you acquainted. Under these circumstances you feel independent of one another, and can separate at once when inclinations lie different ways, the assurance of which probably tends to make wishes and opinions coincide.

We passed the Rapids, spent a day on beautiful, unearthly Philoe and then away on into the burning lands of Ethiopia, past Derr, its capital, and Aboo Symbal, on till we reached Wadee Halfeh, just below the second cataract, on the thirty-second day from Cairo. The following morning, at earliest dawn, we set off for the Fall,

armed with our rifles, some biscuits, and a basket of Ibrahamee dates—a kind most highly prized even in Egypt, the land of dates. At first we embarked in a crazy little boat, afterwards we proceeded by land across the desert, which gave us a few hours of hot and heavy walking, by reason of the softness of the sand, before we reached a precipice overhanging the Rapids. From this point we had a wild magnificent view far into the burning solitudes of Ethiopia. Below us were the white waters lashed into foam, as they swept along under numerous isles of blackened rocks piled in irregular masses. Gazing due south into the sterile wilderness, where not even a fowl of the air is seen to wing its lovely way, all was still and hushed in painful solitude towards the sources of this ever most mysterious river.

After taking a last look, from the top of the hill, at scorched Ethiopia, we descended, and set out with two of her rude swarthy sons, to make a detour through the desert, and returned to our boat by moonlight, without seeing more of the timid gazel than their numerous footprints in the sand. We rose early the following morning, and taking our guns, walked a long distance over the desert on the right bank of the river, through a valley called the "Lions" by the natives, but without seeing any wild animal, not even a deer, and returned late to the boat, with a couple of wild ducks and a large eagle; the latter measuring upwards of nine feet from tip to tip of his wings. On our return we found the crew had taken down the long spars of the boat, and made all ready for a start downwards. We had reached our *Ultima Thule* to the southward, so bade adieu to the wild solitude of Africa.

J. H. LINTON.

## *CREMATION.*

A RECENT resolution of the local Government deals with a question of considerable importance to the Christian community of Calcutta. It is based on a report from the Burial Board which conveys the unpleasant intimation that we are on the eve of an earth-famine ; in other words, the cemetery, where every English citizen possesses a contingent interest in a freehold estate of six feet by two, is within measurable distance of becoming overcrowded. A special committee has been appointed to consider the best method of affording additional accommodation—whether to enlarge the existing cemetery or establish another at a distance from the capital. Either course would involve enormous expense ; and the second a train of inconveniences to boot. A third system which possesses the merits of inexpensiveness and high sanitary value has been entirely overlooked in the protracted discussions which led up to the Government resolution. I allude to cremation—a process, which regarded objectively, must commend itself to most thinking men as the best possible solution of a problem which presses with great and increasing urgency upon dwellers in Oriental towns. The majority of Englishmen, indeed, entertain a profound aversion for a practice which finds no countenance in their religion. Sepulture was adopted by the earliest Christians to the exclusion of the rival method. The latter thus came to be regarded as a badge of paganism and has always been discouraged by every section of the church. But these are times when all institutions, however deeply rooted in sentiment or prejudice, are regarded as on their trial. People are beginning to discuss the question from a utilitarian point of view, and to ask themselves whether a system, which worked with tolerable smoothness while the world was but poorly filled, is really suited to modern conditions. So vast has been the growth of population during the last century that the living begin to crowd upon the dead and to grudge them house-room. Old prejudices are long lived, however, and it will be many a year ere the

churchyard, hallowed by the sad yet tender associations of eighteen hundred years, gives place to the crematorium. The agitation for more scientific methods of obliterating the traces of poor humanity has therefore made but small progress with English-speaking peoples: and is confined to France, Italy and Spain—those hot beds of fiercely aggressive secularism where the old pagan spirit has never been thoroughly exorcised. There—

> "Still green with bays each ancient altar stands
> Beyond the reach of sacrilegious hands."

The aroma of their mighty past still lingers in the social observance of the Latin races and still permeates the entire fabric of their laws.

In nothing is the difference between the north and south, between Teuton and Latin more marked than in their treatment of the dead. With us, regard for the memory of those who have gone before is a cult—nay, a passion. "God's acre" and the loved ones confided to its keeping are sedulously guarded from the slightest profanation. There is something in the very trappings of death which is irresistibly sympathetic to the graver character of the northern nations. Our lower classes, which are far less imbued with the cosmopolitan spirit than their betters, positively revel in funerals. Their talk, on such occasions, is "of urns, of graves, of epitaphs;" and through a thin veneer of conventional sadness there pierces an irrepressible sense of gratification which is often sufficiently incongruous.

I once lodged with a worthy couple in the vicinity of the Foundling Hospital of London. My landlord died in the fulness of years, and his widow found infinite solace in planning a funeral on a scale which she deemed commensurate with the merits of the 'dear departed.' There was a mighty gathering of friends and relatives, and *carte blanche* were given to the local Mr. Mould. I was sitting in my room, the while, marvelling at this senseless extravagance, when my privacy was invaded by the widow, with a humble request that I would "take a look at her poor husband before he was screwed down." On accompanying her to the nether regions, I found the mourners gathered in the back bedroom, discussing funeral baked meats in the guise of immense slices of seed-cake washed down with British wines. The cynosure of all eyes was a coffin on trestles with the lid removed. I looked long and reverently at its contents amid sympathetic murmurs from the assembly, and was about to retire, when my landlady remarked; "You

needn't go yet, sir: you may stay as long as you please." It never occurred to the good woman that a corpse could be aught but a thing of beauty to a spectator! A few months later, while in this country, I received an illspelt missive from the disconsolate widow, with the following postscript:— "Perhaps you will be glad to hear the last of my poor husband. I inclose his present address." The "address" was conveyed by a funeral card of the type so dear to the many-headed multitude. It exhibited, set in a highly embossed border, an angelic figure weeping copiously over a conventional urn which bore my whilom landlord's name, followed by the words: "Lies buried in grave No. 10981, Great Northern Cemetery."

The custom, which prevails in England of keeping bodies above-ground till unmistakeable signs of dissolution declare themselves, is an important safeguard against the worst of all imaginable fates—burial alive. On the Continent, the practice is proscribed by law save in exceptional cases: and there it must occasionally happen that men are consigned to the tomb while in a cataleptic trance. A fearful story has come to us lately from Odessa, where a Major Majuroff is reported to have been prematurely buried; to have sustained life for twelve days by gnawing the flesh from his arms and to have succumbed when rescue was nigh. With many there is an ever present dread of a similar fate, though the contingency is, in sooth, a remote one. At Frankfort there has been, for many years, an apartment attached to the municipal cemetery, in which the friends of a deceased person, who are able to pay a rather exhorbitant fee, can deposit the body till unequivocal signs of death appear. This mortuary chamber is sumptuously furnished, and its inmates repose on beds of silk-covered cider-down with numerous wires connecting their more important muscles and a system of electric bells. Thus the slightest movement would at once betray itself: and, to make assurance doubly sure, watch and ward is kept by highly trained attendants. Yet never has this abode of death witnessed the resurrection of a single patient.

In the south of Europe, however, so indecent is the haste with which the dead are put out of sight that catastrophes of the nature indicated cannot fail to occur. Walter Savage Landor, who knew the Italians well, tells us that they "gather the corpses like rotten gourds and cracked cucumbers and cast them where none could find if any looked for them." His children, while playing one afternoon on the green outside the Campo Santo at Pisa, were accosted by the keeper of that neglected Valhalla, who asked

whether they "would like to see some pretty little ones." They followed him, nothing loath, to a sort of coach-house, which contained two carts filled with nude bodies awaiting burial. Amongst them were those of two infants which had died the night before at the Foundling Hospital. The little Landors were deceived by their posture which made them appear as if hiding their faces from each other in play; and asked artlessly, "Why the *mimmi* (children) did not come out and play till bed time?" But no horrors could equal those of the old Campo Santo at Naples. This was a vast aceldama surrounded by a low stone wall, and containing 366 pits—one for each day of the year. Here were brought, coffinless in covered vehicles, the bodies of all who had died during the previous 24 hours; and the covering stone being shifted from the mouth of the receptacle bearing the day's date, the contents of the carts were shot promiscuously into the yawning cavern. The obscene creatures which rushed to the surface when the stone was removed afforded a sight of horror which never failed to haunt the spectator in after life.

When I charged the Latin communities with a want of respect for the dead, I ought to have excepted the population of northern France—a mixed race with a strong dash of the Teuton. No visitor to the capital can fail to note the pious care lavished by Parisians on their beautiful cemeteries, or the taste and splendour which characterize the last rites of the church. A touching custom prevails of uncovering reverently when a funeral procession passes: and once a year, on the Day of the Dead, a solemn visit is paid to the cemeteries, for the purpose of offering prayers for the repose of departed friends and depositing *immortelles* or large wreaths of evergreens on their tombs. Parisians, indeed, appear to find a welcome relief from the intense activity of their pursuit of luxury and pleasure in contemplating the surroundings of the grave.

This strange sympathy with the workings of the King of Terrors was shared by a French monarch who is not usually credited with any capacity for deep feeling. Louis the Fifteenth, while on one of his royal progresses attended by a train of gilt coaches replete with brazen-faced beauties, observed a cemetery at a little distance from the roadside. He ordered the cortége to halt, and sent an attendant with strict orders to observe and report how many newly made graves there were. On learning that they numbered five, he insisted on visiting the grave-yard, where he spent some

minutes in gazing pensively at the humble mounds. On another occasion the Well-beloved king ordered an old abbé to view the corpse of a courtier who had succumbed to a loathsome disease. In vain the old man protested: for the victim had been his dearest friend. The king was inexorable, and the visit was duly paid. "Well," asked Louis eagerly on his emissary's return, "what did you think of it all?" "I thought, sire," replied the venerable priest, "that neither your majesty or I are anything to boast of!" Madame Dubarry was well aware of this idiosyncrasy of her royal lover, and one day expressed her surprize that one who was throned amid the glories of Versailles and led a life so happy, should take a morbid pleasure in such repulsive subjects. The Countess was not a philosopher, or she would have recognized the subtle affinity between death and life which makes itself felt at times to all sentient beings.

It must be admitted, however, that the popular feelings on the subject in the north of France is of comparatively modern growth: and the cause is not far to seek. Until the eve of the French Revolution intramural burial was universal and the grave-yards attached to the various religious edifices were fearfully overcrowded. A visit to these abodes of death and corruption would only be made under the pressure of necessity. At last the nuisance grew intolerable and the State was forced to intervene. The contents of the noisome tract known as the Cemetery of the Innocents estimated to have been the resting place of half a million dead Frenchmen, were transferred in 1785 to those wonderful catacombs which once supplied the building material for the great city and now form a perfect labyrinth of subterraneous halls and passages below it. On Napoleon's prohibition of burials within the walls of Paris, the contents of this underground wilderness were augmented by those of the other metropolitan grave-yards: and the catacombs now contain millions of human bones fantastically arranged in endless vistas. Since 1804 Parisians find a final retreat in divers suburban cemeteries, of which the best known is 'Pere la Chaise' (the name of which was declared by Sydney Smith to be the best instance on record of putting the cart before the horse). It derives its title from the favourite confessor of Louis the Fourteenth, whom the grateful monarch made superior of a great establishment of Jesuits which formerly stood on the site now occupied by countless tombs symmetrically arranged in narrow streets and graced by the foliage of cypresses and weeping willows. Pere

la Chaise was acquired by the French Government as a national cemetery in 1804.

Nearly half a century elapsed ere intramural sepulture was prohibited in England, and the condition of our city grave-yards at that epoch can be better imagined than described. Their mould was entirely composed of minute fragments of bones and coffins, while the vaults below the great churches were closely packed with dead citizens in every stage of corruption. In 1850, however, this digusting practice was forbidden by law, and London is now served by nine suburban cemeteries beautifully laid out as gardens and covering nearly 300 acres. But the spread of the all-devouring capital has overlapped these once peaceful retreats and the dead are driven further and further afield. Prominent among these modern resting places is the great 'Woking Cemetery' which covers 2,000 acres of barren heath, about 40 miles from London. Here in 1878 the Council of the Cremation Society of England erected a crematorium, where the mortal spoils of members can be incinerated at relatively small cost to their surviving friends. Unhappily the law on the subject is still chaotic and public opinion wavers with an adverse bias. Hence the number of bodies subjected to the action of fire at Woking has been as yet extremely limited.

The United States of America contain a more cosmopolitan population and the prejudice against cremation is by no means so strong as in the mother country. Societies, the members of which mutually pledge themselves to will their bodies to the flames, exist in the great cities, and carry on an active propaganda of their cult. All possess crematoria of the latest patterns—either the "Gorini" or the "Siemens" and their accessories are both artistic and complete. That at Mount Olivet, Long Island, assumes the form of a Grecian temple and its materials are brick faced with marble. The rear basement contains the furnace, constructed chiefly of fire-brick and adapted to coke with a regenerator. The incinerating chambers are retorts which exclude all fuel and flame from contact with the body and from which the volatile products of the process are carried into the furnace for recombustion. Incineration takes place at a temperature of 2500° Fahr. It requires 40 minutes per 100 lbs. of the subject and leaves about 4 per cent. in weight of a pure pearly ash. No smoke is visible nor odour perceptible during the process. The basement contains a refrigidarium, so that the body may be kept for any

length of time, awaiting the arrival of friends from a distance. There too is a calidarium for cases of possibly suspended animation, the high temperature of which would induce speedy evidences of life or death as the case might be. The basement also contains an urn-room, in which the ashes of the departed repose in graceful receptacles of marble: and a laboratory for *post-mortem* examinations which are enforced in all cases when death is not clearly the result of natural causes. The cost of cremation at this establishment varies from 10 to 25 dollars, say Rs. 29 to Rs. 72.

If the process thus outlined is winning public support in the United States, with their boundless area, scanty population and temperate climate, how much more should this be the case in the steamy and torrid plains of India! By the great Hindu community, indeed, cremation has been practised for ages—happily for the present generation—for Bengal would otherwise have become one vast charnel-house. The sages and law-givers who prescribed the rite were undoubtedly influenced by sanitary considerations, though in obedience to a law of sociology religious sanctions have been superadded to their behests. It is hardly creditable to our superior civilisation that we should still turn from the guidance of the lamp of science and close our ears to the dictates of common sense.

F. H. SKRINE.

## GLAMOUR.

FROM THE GERMAN, OF HEINE.

Whispers the ancient legend,
Beckons a shadowy hand,
And hark! faint strains of music
From the far-off Elfin-land.

Where the large lilies languish,
O, how soft their glances seem!
All clad in nuptial raiments
In the evening's golden gleam.

Where time-worn trees in chorus,
Chant often some mystic song,
And merry airs the streamlets
Troll as they speed along.

The heart has such strange longings,
That it wishes aye to be
List'ning, forever list'ning
To that magic melody.

O that my weary footsteps,
Found rest in that blessed shore!
Then all my earthly troubles,
All my anguish would be o'er.

I see this wonderous country
In my dreams, till opening day
Brings in the unwelcome sunlight—
And the vision fades away!

O. C. DUTT.

# *THE RECENT DEBATE ON PRIVILEGE.*

## I

ON Monday, the 18th of April last, Lord Hartington was arguing in the House of Commons in favour of the Irish Crimes Bill. This Bill is known to Radicals and Nationalists as the "Jubilee Coercion Bill," and Lord Hartington freely referred in his speech to the "revelations" with which the London *Times* has been lately enlightening the world. He made much of the allegations in the *Times* that certain Nationalists were the political associates of men who in their speeches advocated assassination. Two men—Boylon and P. J. Sheridan—were among those who were named as the associates of Nationalists. Mr. Dillon, M. P., for East Mayo, thereupon rose to explain that these men were agents of the Land League, and, as such, worked under his direction, and he therefore asked to be informed when such speeches were made by them. The dates 1880 and 1881 were given. Mr. Dillon replied, "Nothing of the sort." Lord Hartington contended that the speeches *were* made in the years stated, and quoted passages from the *Times*, refusing, however, to make himself responsible for the allegations. The truth of them, he said, had not yet been disproved, but it was open to Mr. Dillon to disprove them if he thought it worth while or possible.

On Thursday, the 21st, Mr. Dillon referred to the matter. Referring to a recent decision by the Speaker, he complained that Lord Hartington had neither substantiated the charges he had made, nor had he made those charges definite; and he had even refused to answer an appeal for references to dates and authority; the statement that Lord Hartington had made (*i. e.*, obviously, the statement that the Nationalists were the associates of murderers) was utterly and absolutely false, and he again asked for the necessary particulars in order to prove the statement to be entirely without foundation.

Next day, Lord Hartington repeated that his charges were those made by the *Times*, and that he himself did not make them. He denied that it was necessary for him to substantiate the charges, and concluded by reading the passages where the charges were explicity made. Mr. Dillon, in reply, thanked Lord Hartington for the opportunity now given him of replying to charges made in a detailed fashion. At the same time, he dissented from Lord Hartington's position that any member of the House was entitled to give currency to the foulest and most criminal charges made against other members. He then gave a detailed reply to the allegations.

The *Times*, on Monday the 2nd. May, published a rejoinder, headed "Parnellism and Crime." Taking Mr. Dillon's replies *seriatim*, the article went on to show that they were all false, and that the Speaker was deliberately deceiving the House.

These were the incidents that gave rise to the discussion which it is attempted in this paper to summarize. This discussion formed one of the most interesting episodes in the debate on the Crimes Bill, and it will, without doubt, be of some use to notice the issues raised, and to study the arguments employed on both sides.

On Tuesday, Sir Charles Lewis, Conservative Member for North Antrim, drew the attention of the House to the article. He considered it a grave breach of privilege. Not by inference, but by direct challenge, a charge of wilful and deliberate falsehood was brought against a member of the House, not only in his capacity and duty as a member, but in a speech which he delivered in the House. After reading passages, he said, there was no evading the issue raised. Every gentleman was the guardian of his own honour, but the House also ought to be the guardian of its own honour, and a charge like this should be noticed. The clerk having, in the ordinary course, read the article at the table, Sir Charles moved that it was a breach of privilege.

The most important passages in the article are the following :—

'(*a*) We shall show that nearly all Mr. Dillon's material allegations are demonstrably and flagrantly false, and that Mr. Dillon might readily have informed himself of their falsehood had he chosen so to do. Mr. Dillon's defence amounts to this that Sheridan refrained from murderous conspiracy while actually in Mr. Dillon's employment, and that the Nationalist party hope he will 'have no occasions' to return to the ways of Fenianism, because they intend to realize the ends of Fenianism themselves. We shall prove that the assertion of the fact is false and the hope groundless.

(*b*) The material parts of this statement are absolutely irreconcilable with Mr. Dillon's story.

(c) We have examined an elaborate explanation made by one of the most respected of Mr. Parnell's lieutenants from his place in Parliament, and we have shown that it is a tissue of gross and palpable falsehoods. Whether Mr. Dillon was or was not conscious that the statements he was making were untrue is a point of little public moment. But it is right and necessary that the world should know that 'the Bayard of the League' has given an entirely fictitious account of a series of important transactions in which he himself and several of his leading colleagues in the House were principal actors.....The party sat exulting by, and endorsed the fabrication.

We are not concerned at present with the truth or falsehood of the charges made by the *Times*, or with the sufficiency of Mr. Dillon's reply. Whatever opinion may be held on this subject has no bearing on the question immediately before us—the question of privilege.

After Sir Charles Lewis had moved that the article was a breach of privilege, Mr. Dillon said he had no objection to urge against the motion, except that it would lead to a great waste of public time. He wished to know what course the debate would take, and in the event of the matter being declared a breach of privilege, at what stage he would be able to give a detailed reply, as that would require time. The Speaker pointed out the procedure common in such cases, and suggested that, as Mr Dillon said he was unprepared to go into details, the debate might be adjourned. Mr. W. H. Smith, the leader of the House, instantly accepted the suggestion, stating also that he had been unaware of Sir Charles Lewis's intention to raise this question. Mr. Dillon denied that he asked for time—he merely asked when he was to enter upon his defence. The motion for adjourning the debate was then discussed. There were about a dozen arguments for and against the adjournment. The Government had plainly to show the necessity for it, as questions of privilege were generally decided at once. In examining the arguments we may exclude those that did not directly bear on the question of adjournment; such as, the powers of the House in regard to punishment, the adequacy of the tribunal, the danger of multiplying questions of privilege. These will be discussed in their proper place.

One reason for adjourning was the need of time to consider the matter. Questions of fact were involved, said Mr. W. H. Smith, and questions of fact ought not to be argued without notice. That was fair enough; but by whom was time wanted? *By Mr. Dillon?* When the proceedings began, Mr. Dillon was understood, or misunderstood, to ask for time. However, he stated immediately after that that was not his intention, and that he did not wish to postpone the matter. In any case, Mr. Dillon did not want time. *By*

*Members?* The vast majority of them, it was said, had not read the article.* They required time to form an opinion. But who required to read the article? asked Mr. Sexton; there was nothing new in it; the title itself was a breach of privilege. One Conservative member, Sir H. Tyler, repeated this objection. Other members of the Opposition asserted that a breach of privilege was distinctly evident; and, as if to leave no room for doubt, Mr. Labouchere quoted a passage (given above), which by itself, he said, constituted a distinct breach of privilege. Was time wanted *by the Government?* No doubt. "Until I came down to the House," said the Attorney-General, "and heard the Hon'ble Baronet make that statement I had not the slightest idea of it, and I believe I may say that there was no single member of the Government who ever connived at, or was consulted upon this question." But one would imagine that the reply to the previous objection (that members had not read the article) was equally applicable to this. According to the Opposition—for this unhappily became a party question, though no Conservative had as yet *denied* the statement—there was a distinct breach of privilege; no amount of reading could alter that fact. But the legal advisers of the Government were not prepared to concede the point. The breach of privilege was not plain; there were grave doubts about it. Mr. Lockwood, Q. C., retorted that it was strange that these doubts should have arisen only after Mr. Dillon took up the challenge; for Sir Charles Lewis's "back-handed motion" was really a challenge to the Nationalists. Mr. Gladstone asked how those doubts were to be cleared between that day (Tuesday) and Thursday; the time for proceeding with care and deliberation was when there was developed matter to consider. And the cynical member for Northampton explained that the Government wanted time to consult their ally, the editor of the *Times*, to see whether he really had a case that would bear investigation.†

The other argument for adjourning the debate was that the delay would not alter the position of the House with regard to the question; if Mr. Dillon wished to answer the accusation at once, no obstacles would be placed in his way. To this it was replied that tho' the matter could certainly not be decided that night, still Mr. Dillon's defence could be advanced one stage by allowing

* What a reflection on the influence and popularity of the *Times!*

† One "ally" spoke out next day:—"While we shrink from no form of inquiry into any statements we have made, being prepared to prove every one of them, we do not think the House would be well advised in dealing with the question as one of privilege."

the matter to proceed. Mr. Healy said that by this delay the lie was given the traditional day's start. Other members denounced it as an electioneering trick to pass the Coercion Bill and prevent justice to Ireland. Mr. Whitbread indignantly commented upon the manner in which the Nationalists were generally treated: "You treated them [the charges] as true, because they were not met before a jury in England, and at last you have brought them into a court. You appealed unto Cæsar, and unto Cæsar you should go. Have you omitted to do anything—have the opponents of hon. members for Ireland omitted any single step—which could give those hon. members something like an extra claim on the honour of this House? You have assumed the truth of the charges; you have not forborne to repeat them and to point out that they have not been answered. They offer you an opportunity now upon the spot and without delay"

The result of the division was a majority of 39 (213 against 174) in favour of the Government, but the debate was fixed for Wednesday instead of Thursday. When the debate was resumed next day, Mr. W. H. Smith announced what decision the Government had come to after grave consideration. This is what he said:—"After giving very full consideration to the arguments which were advanced yesterday, and to the facts of the case as they are contained in the paper brought before us, they [the Government] have come to the conclusion that the allegation that the publication in the *Times* newspaper is a matter constituting a breach of the privileges of this House is not sustained by precedent. Nor is it sustained by the facts of the case as they are disclosed in the complaint itself." These words indicate (to those at least who are not perplexed by the technicalities of Parliamant) that the *Times* article was *not* a breach of privilege. But the Solicitor-General's amendment soon afterwards shifted the ground of argument. This amendment was to the effect that the House should *decline to treat the article as a breach of privilege*, that is virtually, to express no opinion whatever on the subject. Thus there were two questions before the House, and from them arose three others. The five may be stated thus:—

1. Whether the article was a breach of privilege?
2. Whether it should be treated as such?
3. Whether a Government prosecution (of the *Times*) should be ordered?
4. Whether the Irish party should go to law?

5. Whether a Select Committee of the House should be appointed to investigate the charges?

It is only by separating and closely defining the issues that any clear result can be obtained.

(*a*). "If these articles do not constitute a breach of the privileges of the House, I should like to know what articles can constitute a breach of them." These are the words of Sir Charles Russell, and they were in substance repeated more than once by other members. The essence of a charge involving a breach of privilege is that the charge should be made against the conduct of a member in his capacity and duty as a member. The Solicitor-General said: "The foundation of the jurisdiction of the House is that the attack is an open interference with the House, or with the conduct and action of a member as a member." This point will become clearer when we deal with the precedents mentioned in the debate. The charge in this case is one of falsehood directly as may be seen on examining the passages quoted above. How was it possible to show that such a charge did not constitute a breach of privilege? It was pointed out in the debate that the discussion was almost entirely in the hands of the lawyers; and the Solicitor-General with all the ingenuity of a lawyer pleaded that tho' the falsehood was told in the House, it was in reference to *personal conduct not in the House*. That is to say, Mr. Dillon is accused by the *Times* of associating with murderers. Lord Hartington alludes to it in a speech in the House. Mr. Dillon denies the charge in the House. The *Times* replies that Mr. Dillon's explanation made "*from his place in Parliament*" (see extract above) is a tissue of gross and palpable falsehoods. And the Solicitor-General says that the charge is with reference to "personal conduct not in the House", *i.e.*, not as a member!

That was one argument to show that no breach of privilege had been committed; there was only one other, and that too urged by the Solicitor-General. There was no precedent, he said, for treating imputations of falsehood as breaches of privilege. All the precedents, according to him, showed that the imputations were those of corruption, or misfeasance, or coercion, intimidation. The charge against Mr. Dillon was one of falsehood merely, and there was nothing else in it for which there were precedents of the House having imprisoned any one. Mr. Bradlaugh offered to give a dozen precedents to the contrary. He quoted one that the Solicitor-General himself had mentioned, the case of Burdett

Abbott. Sir Charles Russell in his reply said that there was no justification in any constitutional writer for the distinctions that the Solicitor-General had drawn, provided that the imputations referred to the conduct of members in Parliament This he supported by precedents which we shall presently consider. But this charge of deceiving the House by falsehood was, he pointed out, graver than any charge of corruption against a member. Mr. Gladstone adopted and emphasized the same view. In the House, he said, there is no distinction between the actions and the words of a man. There speech is action, and to offend in point of truth in the performance of duty in debate, to offend by wilful and deliberate falsehood is the highest offence.

Let us now see whether the precedents throw any light on the matter. First, the *Burdett* case, on which the Solicitor-General relied so strongly. Sir Francis Burdett was voted guilty of a breach of privilege for words in an address to his constituents, and in an article printed in Cobbett's "Register." He was then committed to prison. When the right of the House of Commons to imprison was brought before the Queen's Bench, Lord Ellenborough held that Sir Francis Burdett had been properly found guilty. But Mr. Bradlaugh's point was that in this case there was not one of the charges which the Solicitor-General had laid down as necessary for commitment. There was no direct accusation of corruption, no accusation of misfeasance, no attempt to coerce or intimidate. The Court held that the House was fully able to commit to prison, and was besides its own judge as to what offences were a breach of privilege.

Next, the case of the *John Bull* Newspaper (May 1821). A member, Mr. Gray Bennet, made a speech in the House in which he made reflections upon the President of the Council. *John Bull* referred to this, and to Mr. Gray's subsequent apology. This apology, it said, was made only under a threat from the President's stalwart son, and it was made in an intentionally low tone, so that sufficient publicity was not given. There was no corruption or misfeasance here. Yet the printer and the publisher were sent to prison, together with a witness who prevaricated in answering questions.

Such were the arguments used to support the denial of a breach of privilege. But it would seem that the breach was practically admitted even by the Government, altho' 'it must be confessed' that their words are capable of an opposite signification. "Even the Solicitor-General did not deny that there had been a breach

of privilege," said a member, and there was no contradiction. "From a teachnical point of view no sane or reasonable person would say that in this case there has not been a breach." So said the last Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Randolph Churchill. What did the present Chancellor say?—"Have we asserted that a breach of privilege has not been committed? We have declined to treat it as a breach of privilege." And that leads us to the second part of the subject.

## *THE CLASSIC LAND OF ITALY.*

THE sky was cloudless, and the sun shone gaily and brightly on the morning of the 28th November 1886, the day I had fixed for crossing the Alps by the Brenner Pass on my way to Italy! I could scarcely believe my eyes when in the morning I saw from my hotel windows the snowy peaks dazzling in the sun on every side, like a vast wall of adamant and silver surrounding the gay town of Insbruck. A little after ten I left the town to cross the Alps, and the scenery that I witnessed during the whole day was glorious.

The train slowly ascended along the valley of the Sill, working its way now through narrow gorges, and now through tunnels excavated through the solid rocks. The mountain river Sill foamed and clattered over a stony bed below, woody valleys or solid walls of rock extended on both sides of us, while high overhead towered the Patcher Kofel and other peaks over seven thousand feet high, and covered with snow. As we ascended we came above the snow line, which is not very high in this season; valleys and rocks on all sides were covered with one vast sheet of snow, and little streams dripping from the fissures of rocks were frozen into icicles and glistened in the sun. At last we reached the highest point of the Brenner Pass, 4,490 ft. above the level of the sea, and as the train stopped here for about five minutes I came out to have a better view of this famous pass. I had travelled by the pass of St. Gothard fifteen years before—before a railway had been constructed through it,—but I had travelled then in July, and there was no snow then on the pass. The view of the Brenner Pass *in the end of November* was grander and finer. One vast white sheet of snow covered the narrow pass and the towering rocky walls that rose on both sides of it. The hardy pines on the sides of the rocks had lost bloom and were mostly brownish. Drops of water issuing from the rocks had frozen into icicles, or had collected here and

there on the ground and frozen into ice, which broke under the feet. The cold was bracing and to me delightful, and a bright sun shone from a blue cloudless mistless sky over this magnificent scene.

Our train now began its descent, and the descent was far easier (as the poet has sung!) than the ascent. Our train went rapidly downwards, through tunnels and along precipices, and soon we saw far below us a beautiful valley with a village in its midst and the infant river Adige flowing by it. The Adige, which is a mighty river in Italy, is a tiny infant stream here which a child can cross without wetting his knees! Our train winded down the side of the hill, and within half an hour we found ourselves in the beautiful valley and the village which we had observed erewhile from far above!

And now we went down further and further southwards, along the course of the Adige, and through one of the loveliest valleys in the world. We had left the snow line far behind, and were going through a fertile valley, crossing and re-crossing the winding Adige, and passing by small villages and their humble churches and small clusters of huts. We passed by the vineyards which are plentiful in this southern Tyrol, and which produce the cheap and harmless wine known as the Tyrol wine; and groups of Tyrolese women with their quaint attire and their ruddy healthy faces looked at the train as it passed. After passing Sterzing we saw the castles of Sprechenstein and Reefenstein to our left and our right, and soon after we reached Franzenfeste where the train stopped for twenty minutes and I invested a florin very profitably on soup and roast beef and Tyrol wine!

We soon left behind Brixen which is the see of an ancient Archbishopric founded in the fourth century. We then passed through a very romantic country, the valley narrowing itself into a gorge and the Adige, now stronger and deeper, rushing and sweeping along its stony bed, and washing the foot of the perpendicular rocks that rose from its bed. The valley widened again and we were soon in Botzen, the ancient capital of Tyrol.

Botzen is still the principal place of trade and business in Tyrol, and as it is almost closed by mountains on the north, and is open to southern and mild winds, it is still a favourite place for invalids who seek a healthy resort and a mild climate. After we left Botzen we still went between the rocky walls on both sides of us but the valley began to widen more and more. We passed

Trent, formerly the wealthiest town in Tyrol and still a place of much importance, and by 8 P.M. we reached Ala,—the frontier town before reaching Italy. An examination of the luggage followed of course, with time for a cup of coffee and some biscuits which were very much needed. At 10 P.M. I was in Verona.

"Am I in Italy?" asked poet Rogers to himself in rapture when he came to this classic land, and the same question seemed to arise in my mind as I walked through the streets of Verona on the sunny morning of the 29th November. There could be no doubt however in the matter. Everything around me told me that I had left the last traces of gloomy Gothic architecture behind and had come to a land where the very houses spoke of tropical taste and tropical imagination. As I walked through the narrow but cleanly streets with the well plastered houses and green venetian windows, I could well fancy myself in some Indian city,—in some quiet handsome street in the northern part of Calcutta! From the doorways I could see square courtyards inside the large houses, not unlike our Indian courtyards, and as portly Italian gentlemen passed lazily by me with the right wing of their loose cloaks flung over their left shoulders, so as to cover their chin and even their mouth and nose,—I thought to myself I had seen their not very distant relations of a winter morning in the streets of Calcutta! Inside the numerous churches I saw women kneeling before images of Saints or of the Virgin which would have passed as Lakshmi or Kartikeya if robed in Indian drapery!

But the resemblance, which is not altogether fanciful, goes farther and deeper. The same genial climate and fertile soil enabled the peoples of India and of Italy to light the lamp of civilization at a time when northern nations were buried to barbarism. But as these nations rose in their turn, that ancient civilization declined. After the tenth century Italy and India were the unfortunate battle fields of foreigners,—India of the Moslem and Italy of the Frenchman, the Spaniard, the Austrian. But here the parallel ends. The sympathy and help of modern Europe has helped Italy, feeble as she is compared to northern powers, to regain her place among nations and administer her own affairs. That sympathy and help will yet spread beyond the limits of Europe with the spread of civilization.

Verona still contains some monuments of ancient Roman civilization of which the Amphitheatre or *arena* is the principal one.

It was built in the first century of the Christian era,—anterior by a thousand years to the most ancient of the cathedrals and churches which had been the object of my admiration in my recent travels through Germany. It is in the shape of an oval, and its lesser diameter is 404 feet, and that of the arena itself 146 feet. Forty-five ranges of seats rise from the arena to the top of the second storey. The whole was built of solid marble, and could, when entire, have seated 22,000 people to witness the cruel sports of the old Roman days. Among other Roman remains are the Porta dei Borsari,—a solid Roman gate, still entire, and the Arco di Leoni another gateway.

The centre of Verona is the Piazza (or square) dei Signori with its fine Palace of Council. It is a handsome building adorned with statues and figures of distinguished Veronese. In the centre of this square is a marble statue of the greatest poet of modern Italy. Dante stands in a contemplative mood, with a finger on his cheeks, and with that melancholy frown on his forehead which befits the poet of the Inferno. On one side of this square are the tombs of the Scaligeri, who were the masters of Verona in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These tombs adjoin the church of Santa Maria'l Antica and are adorned by fine and lofty monuments of marble which are among the principal sights of Verona. On the other side of the square is the great Piazza dell Erbe or vegetable market of Verona. There is a clock tower in this market and a pillar consisting of a single block of marble on which stood at one time the winged lion of Venice until it was destroyed by Nepoleon.

Near this market place is a spot which every lover of English literature must regard with the deepest interest. It is the old "palace" or family house of the Capulets, from the window of which Juliet is supposed to have given away her soul to Romeo! The palace is a brick building and by no means an imposing one according to our modern ideas, but in those days must have been considered fine. Modern travellers are disappointed with the midœval "Palaces" of Verona and Bolona, and even of Florence and Venice, as those palaces could hardly be compared to a rich man's residence in modern days. But in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these were the most superb private residences in Europe, and the histories of these families, then the most civilized in Europe, were the theme of the poet's song and the chronicler's narrative.

*In the Franciscan cemetery (now a vegetable garden) near the Franciscan convent (now a magazine) they still shew a stone coffin within a railed chapel in which Juliet is said to have* been buried. Hundreds of Englishmen and Americans have left their cards in this coffin, and one gentleman bearing the name of Shakespere has left a wreath with his card on this tomb of Juliet. But I could not ascertain what had become of the body of Juliet,—for the coffin is now empty. Is it profane to suspect that this coffin is a hoax,—even if we suppose Juliet to be a historic person? But tourists never ask questions, and like a faithful believer, I instantly paid my homage to that most gushing of all lovers and loved ones by buying a photograph of the place!

The cathedral of Verona was built in the fourteenth century and is worth visit. A fine painting of Assumption by Tatian hangs over one of the altars. I am told that Nepoleon carried this away to Paris, but that it was restored after his fall. Nepoleon is said to have stopped at the Canosa Palace at Verona. From the court-yard of that palace I had a fine view of the Adige,—a mighty stream here, flowing right through the town of Verona.

R. C. DUTT.

# CONJUGAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF HINDU HUSBANDS AND WIVES.

IN connection with the case of Dadaji *v.* Rukhma Bai, it has been observed by some eminent lawyers and Sanskritists, that there is nothing in the Hindu Codes to authorise decrees for restitution of conjugal rights, and that where a Hindu husband or wife is forsaken by the party to whom he or she was married, the Courts of Law ought not to give any relief. This opinion is propounded not only by scholars like Professer Max Müller, Dr. Rajendra Lala and Dewan Raghu Nath Rao, but it has, to some extent, received countenance from the Bench itself, though the current of actual decisions is in favor of the opposite view. There is certainly no authority in our Shasters for the punishment of recusant wives by imprisonment in a public jail, or in any other manner. But, so far as I can see, there is clear authority in our Shasters for the adjudication of matrimoninal causes by the king and his representatives. Suits for enforcing conjugal rights and duties form one distinct head in Manu's classification * of Legal Proceedings. What is more, there are express texts in our sacred Codes which declare that if a husband forsake a virtuous and loving wife, he should be severely punished by king. There is no text providing for the punishment of the wife who forsakes her husband. But it does not necessarily follow that a Hindu husband in the position of the unfortunate Dadaji, can have no remedy by an action at law. In fact, considering the general principles and express ordinances of our Shasters, it cannot be contended that the Courts of Law established by the British Government in India have no jurisdiction to entertain suits, for restitution of conjugal rights, between Hindu husbands and wives.

In dealing with questions affecting the conjugal rights and duties of Hindus, our Judges have, by their judicial instinct, arrived

* Manu, Chap. VIII. v. 7.

at the right conclusion. But almost all the reported judgments on the point are based more on principles of English law and equity, than upon the laws prescribed by our Shasters. In none of these judgments, is any attempt made to examine the texts of our holy legislators. Nay, there cannot be any doubt that some of the learned Judges, who delivered these judgments, were not themselves satisfied as to their soundness. In fact, in the case of Gatha Ram Mistree *v.* Moohita Koochin (14 B. L. R. p 298) Mr. Justice Markby made some observation which have been taken to imply a doubt as to whether there can be such a thing as restitution of counjugal rights in Hindu law. In the case of Dadaji *v.* Rukhma Bai, the Counsel for the Bai contended, that the Hindu law books do not recognize the complusory discharge of marital duties, and that our Shasters regard such duties as matters of imperfect obligation, to be enforced by religious sanctions. The learned Judge, who delivered judgment in the case, admitted, in a manner, the force of the contention, though his lordship overruled it by observing "that although no text may be found, in the Hindu law books, which provide for the King ordering a husband or wife to return, no text was cited forbidding or deprecating compulsion." Now it cannot be denied that by relying upon such reasoning, the learned Judge impliedly countenanced the view of those who hold that our Shasters do not warrant decrees for restitution of conjugal rights.

Before proceeding to examine the texts of our holy Codes as to the point, it is necessary to consider the precise meaning and force of a decree for restitution. The old Ecclesiastical Courts of England claimed to enforce specifically the performance of conjugal duties in their minutest details. But these courts had not any independent power to give effect to their decrees; and practically, the jurisdiction which they claimed was more nominal than real. Suits for restitution of conjugal rights are now cognizable in England in the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court. And such suits are brought "whenever either the husband or wife is guilty of subtraction, or lives separately from the other without any sufficient cause; in which case they are compelled to come together.—*Kerr's Blackstone*, p. 299.

In Weldon. *v.* Weldon (9 L. R. P. D.) Sir John Hannen says:—"The principle derived from the law on which the Ecclesiastical Courts proceeded was, that it is the duty of married persons to live together, and that this duty should be enforced by the decree of the court, unless it be shown that the complaining party had

been guilty of some matrimonial offence, for which a judgment authorising living apart might have been obtained by the other."

On the basis of these authorities, the Bombay High Court has laid down in the case of Dadaji *v.* Rukhma that "the gist of the action for restitution of conjugal rights is that married persons are bound to live together, and that one or other has withdrawn himself or herself without lawful excuse."

Conjugal rights are from their very nature, incapable of being specifically enforced by Courts of Law. It does not therefore seem reasonable to suppose that the Courts of Law in England or here would pass decrees which would outrage decency, and which they could not possibly give effect to. The wording of some of the reported Judgments seems to lead to the conclusion that they authorised compulsory cohabitation. But the more resonable construction of such decrees seems to be, that they required nothing more than that the parties should live together.

If the purport and effect of decrees for restitution be as stated above, then there can be no doubt whatever that there is ample authority in our Shasters for such decrees. Under no circumstances is a Hindu husband allowed by his law to use force for the purpose of compelling his wife to comply with his wishes. There are texts which no doubt declare that cohabitation is imperative on a particular day in the month.* But these texts apply only to the husband, for texts of law which prescribe the doing of an act, apply only to the possible authors of the act and not to possible subjects.† Where the wife lives in the house of her husband and under his protection, but conducts herself in a refractory spirit there the only remedy open to the husband is to take another wife (Manu, Chap. IX, ver. 77—79). But where the wife refuses to live with her husband, the latter is not only entitled but bound by law to take and keep her under his protection, unless she be guilty of acts for which a wife may be lawfully turned out of doors. There is no express text authorising the grant of any relief to the husband who is deserted by his wife without any justifying cause. But there is no necessity of express texts to provide a remedy for such cases. According to Hindu Jurisprudence, females are never allowed to live independently. Our legal Codes allow females to acquire and to hold separate property, and

* See Manu, Chapter III v. 45, and commentaries thereon.

† This is one of the fundamental maxims of Hindu Law. It is in accordance with this maxim that prohibited degrees of kinship in marriage are counted with refererce to the bridegroom who is the author of the act of marriage and not with reference to the bride who is the subject of the act.

are, in that respect, far in advance of the laws of most European nations. But, in the social and domestic economy of the Hindus, the wife is always regarded as dependent. She is not treated by our law as a chattel.* Nor is her position like that of a minor. In the management of household affairs, and in dealing with her own property, she has almost unlimited powers, both in theory and in practice. The position of her husband, with respect to her, is somewhat analogous to that of the Paramount Power towards Protected Chiefs. Manu says :—

Day and night must women be held by their protectors in a state of dependence; but in *lawful and innocent* recreations, though rather addicted to them, they may be left at their own disposal. Their fathers protect them in childhood; their husbands protect them in youth; their sons protect them in age. A woman is never fit for independence. Woman must, above all, be restrained from the smallest illicit gratification; for, not being thus restrained, they bring sorrow on both families. Let husbands consider this as the supreme law ordained for all classes; and let them, how weak soever, diligently keep their wives under lawful restrictions; for he, who preserves his wife from vice, preserves his offspring from suspicion of bastardy, his ancient usages from neglect, his family from disgrace, himself from anguish, and his duty from violation." —*Manu, Chap. IX*, 2, 3, 5, 6, & 7.

Even sonless widows are enjoined not to live independently. Narada says :—

After the death of husband, it is his family that have a claim to the obedience of the sonless widow. They have a right to be consulted, when she makes any disposition of her property; they are the guardians of her wealth; they should supply her with the means of subsistence. When the family of her husband has become extinct to a man, when the family dwelling house is gone [to ruin or has passed to other hands], when there is not a soul of the same blood with her husband, she becomes subject to the guardianship of her father's family.—*Narada cited in Dayabhaga*, Chap. XI, Sec. I, para. 64.

The Hindu law, relating to the guardianship of adult widows, may not be accepted as having any binding force in these days. But in dealing with questions relating to marital duties of Hindu wives, the Indian Courts are bound to administer the law, according to our Shasters, as required by a series of well-known legislative enactments. That being the case, Hindu husbands are clearly entitled to seek the assistance of the Courts, in order to be enabled to take and to keep refractory wives under control.

When a Hindu wife is forsaken by her husband, without any justifying cause, our Shasters authorise the punishment of the husband, in express terms. It is therefore difficult to comprehend how the impression gained ground that conjugal duties are treated

* Manu, Chap. IX., v. 10; Katyana cited in Dayabhaga Chap. IV Sec. I para. 31.

by our Codes as matters of imperfect obligation to be enforced by religious sanctions only. Devala says:—

No atonement is ordained for the man who forsakes his own wife through delusion of mind.

With respect to this text, it may be said that it imposes only a moral obligation. But what is to be said of the following text of Narada:—

A husband who abandons an affectionate wife, one who speaks not harshly, who is sensible, constant and fruitful, shall be brought to his duty, by the king, with a severe chastisement.—*Narada cited in Vyavastha Darpan*, p. 209.

This text expressly vests the king and his Courts with jurisdiction to punish the man who deserts his wife. There is no text declaring the wife punishable for refusing to perform conjugal duties. The reason of this distinction is obvious; for, according to our law, the husband is at liberty to marry again, even in the lifetime of a previously married wife. The husband having, under the circumstances, a remedy in his own hands, our Shasters do not provide for giving him any relief, by the punishment of the recusant wife.

Where the wife not only refuses to perform conjugal duties, but would not live under the protection and control of her husband, there the latter is entitled to relief, for the purpose of enabling him to discharge his duty as guardian. But the very object of giving such relief is defeated, if, under the circumstances, the wife be sentenced to suffer imprisonment, in a public jail, for refusing to comply with the order of the Court. The Hindu Codes are altogether silent as to the procedure by which the husband's right of guardianship should be enforced. It seems to be meant that the procedure should be similar to that laid down for securing the custody of minors. The sanctions prescribed, by the Code of Civil Procedure, for compelling recusant wives to submit to the control of their husbands, are not only objectionable from a sentimental point of view, but they are inconsistent with the substantive law which our Courts are called upon to administer where the parties are Hindus. It must therefore be highly gratifying, both to orthodox Hindus and to the philanthropic friends of the Rukhma Bai, that the Supreme Legislature has been set in motion for the amendment of the obnoxious section of the Code of Civil Procedure. Imprisonment in a public jail is a kind of punishment which is altogether unsuited for female offenders, especially to those in the prime of youth. Whatever be the nature of their offence, it does not seem proper to punish them in a manner which ruins them for ever

and involves indelible disgrace on their families. By imprisonment in public jails, female offenders are exposed to the worst risks, and are so lowered in their own estimation and that of the public, as to be in danger of becoming confirmed sinners. If it be possible to punish them adequately, in some other manner, as we think it is, then there can be no justification whatever for dealing with them as at present. It seems, therefore, that Hindus and non-Hindus will all agree in hailing with delight an amendment in the criminal law of the country that would exempt female offenders from imprisonment. At any rate, there can be no objection to the amendment of Sec. 259 of the Code of Civil Procedure, for the purpose of exempting recusant wives from incarceration in criminal jail. According to the principles of Hindu Law, we can even go further, and recommend their total exemption from all punishment. In fact, considering the substantive law of our Shasters as to matrimonial rights and duties, they ought to be so exempted. But if such indulgence be given to them; then, in all cases where suits for recovery of wives are brought by Hindu husbands, the procedure ought to be similar to that laid down for restoring minors to the custody of their guardians. From every point of view, such a procedure would be far less open to objection, than the kind of sanctions by which decrees, for recovery of wives, are now enforced.

So far as we can see, all parties must admit the necessity of a change in the existing law of Procedure. The only question is whether the Legislature should interfere with the substantive law of our Shasters as to marriage. Such an interference would not only involve an unnecessary departure from the principle of religious toleration which has hitherto characterized British rule, but, to us at least, it seems to be neither desirable nor feasible. By legislative Enactment, Hindu fathers might be deprived of the right, or rather freed from the responsibility of giving their daughters in marriage before maturity. But, so long as our females live in the seclusion of the Zenana, and free intercourse between the sexes is neither allowed nor desired, it is difficult to see how marriage can take place at all, with the consent of both parties. The British Legislature, with all its power, cannot compel the Hindu population to throw open their Zenanas. Marriages cannot take place at all in our society, unless arranged by parents, as at present, under a sense of religious duty. Marriage with the consent of parties is not unknown to our law. But the *Gandharva* form of marriage is treated by our Holy Legislators as an inferior kind

of wedlock, and in consequence of the Zenana system, it has become obsolete in practice. Marriage, based upon mutual love and consent, has no doubt its recommendations. But we cannot, at the same time, ignore its disadvantages and drawbacks. Even if the two sexes be freely allowed to mix in innocent conversation or amusements, still we would not consider it desirable to encourage a system of marriage that must inevitably diminish that natural modesty which is the main safeguard of female virtue. Theoretically, the male members of the Hindu community are at liberty to marry, without any reference to their parents. But, in practice, it is not considered proper for them to do so. In outward form, marriage is in a manner forced upon both boys and girls by their parents. This system certainly conduces more to promote modesty, than marriage by self choice. At the present time, Hindu girls carry their modesty so far as to evince great reluctance, when they are taken to the house of their husbands. In fact, the girl that would not shed tears, on such occasions, is considered as wanting in modesty. Such being the notions and feelings of the community, Hindu boys and girls will never arrange their own marriages, even if permitted to do so, unless completely denationalized by their training.

Marriage, according to European notions, cannot take place except by the consent of parties. At first sight this view seems to be so reasonable as to be beyond dispute. But if mutual consent be the essence of marital union, then society collectively can have no right to make the tie indissoluble. Carrying the principle to its logical consequences, the marriage bond ought to be severable whenever either party desires separation. If marriage be made free, divorce ought to be made free also. But we doubt very much whether our social reformers and philanthropists would go to that length, in upholding the principle of individual freedom. The institution of marriage, from its very nature, restricts individual freedom. The marital bond not only gives the married couple certain rights over each other's person, but, at the same time, materially curtails liberty of intercourse between them and the rest of the world. The principle of individual freedom cannot therefore be fully given effect to, without doing away with marital unions altogether, and adopting something like the system of Malabar Tarwads. If the institution of marriage be upheld at all, then the Hindu system of matrimony cannot be condemned as no marriage at all, on the ground that it does not favor self-choice.

The system of marriage which prevails among all Aryan nations necessarily requires the transfer of the female party to the family of her husband. But complete affiliation cannot take place, unless, at the time of the transfer, the girl is young enough to be treated as a child of the family. In a Hindu family, the newly married wife is a sight that gods might look upon with pleasure. She is fondled and petted by the mother and all the other female relations of the husband, and for some years at least, no one looks upon her with jealousy or ill will. Being introduced into the family by the parents of her husband, they try to make her as happy as possible. If her husband evinces any indifference towards her, whether out of over-modesty or real dislike, the other members of the family use all their good offices to secure for her the love of her lord. Her tender age, and the fact of her being torn from the family of her birth, plead so strongly in her favor, that, in the majority of cases, she is treated with more than parental affection. The kindly feelings which are thus awakened generally last throughout life, the result being that, as a rule, the Hindu wife not only loves and regards the parents of her husband as her own, but proves to be their ministering angel, when they are broken down by age and failing health. But such a result could not possibly arise, if the marriage of girls took place at an advanced age, by their own choice. If young men and women arrange their own nuptials, the parents of the husband would naturally evince great reluctance to admit the girl, so taken in marriage, into the family. If she be at all admitted, still, for some time at least, her position must be very uncomfortable. She would be regarded as a stranger forced upon the family by the act of a subordinate member, and she would be looked upon with that jealousy and suspicion which are inevitable whenever the wife of any of the members of a joint family is known to have acquired too much ascendency on him.

It is very often urged that early marriage enervates men, and incapacitates them for the battle of life. But are not wine and opium far more injurious? If the reformers are sincere in their anxiety to improve the physical strength and economical condition of their fellow countrymen, they should devote their energy to check the spread of drunkenness and opium smoking. If they succeed in doing that, we may hear their talk about child marriage with greater patience. Early marriage prevails among the stout Rajpoots of Upper India as well as among Bengali Babus. How

can it be then said that early marriage has enervated the people of our country? The fact is that, as a class, the Hindus are not physically quite so weak as they are supposed to be. Even admitting that they are physically weaker than other nations with similar climatic conditions, their abstinence from animal food, and the fact that most of them are too poor to be properly fed, housed and clothed would go very far to account for the phenomenon.

In condemning the practice of early marriage, the reformers generally ignore the fact that our Shasters do not warrant the early marriage of males. On the contrary there are express texts which prohibit the marriage of males before the twenty-fourth year. The plain meaning of these texts is at present avoided by the interpretation put upon them by the later commentators. But, even according to the law as laid down in the Digests, males cannot marry until they become capable of understanding what is meant by marriage. In practice, therefore, the marriage of males usually takes place between the seventeenth and nineteenth years, and consummation takes place a year or two later.

Whatever objections there may be against the marriage of girls before maturity the demand for reform—if any reform is required at all—ought to proceed from those who are affected by the existing system. The Parsi gentleman, who has acquired a cheap renown by his continual vaticinations against our most cherished social institutions, can have no concern whatever with the laws and customs of our society. We doubt whether there is any other nation in earth whom it would be safe to regale with the kind of proposals that have been made by the philanthropic gentleman for forcing his reforms upon us. A neighbour may be allowed to give us the benefit of his advice, even in our domestic affairs. We may even thank the friend who would point out our faults and shortcomings, in matters regarding which outsiders ought not to have any concern. But no man, having the least spark of self-respect, would allow his neighbour, however kind his intentions may be, to dictate to him any measure which, according to his own lights, he does not approve.

It is true that some members of the Hindu community have been advocates of reforms in our system of marriage. But there is already a remarkable change in the attitude of some of the leaders of the Brahmos and Native Christians, who, at one time, almost as vehemently declaimed against child marriage and enforced

widowhood, as Mr. Malabari himself There are still some among them who adhere to their former views and opinions. But it is not at all impossible that time and reflection may bring them round also. At any rate, the recent writings and utterances of Babus Jai Govinda Shome and Protap Chunder Majumdar ought to lead the advocates of social reform to examine their position more carefully. They may not attach any importance to the opinions of orthodox Hindus. They may ascribe such opinions to the conservatism of narrow-minded bigots. But nothing can justify their not showing due respect towards the opinion of those who are Hindus by birth, but who having openly discarded the religion of their ancestors, yet maintain that, in the peculiar circumstances of Hindu society, its marriage laws cannot be altered with advantage.

Notwithstanding the agitation about social reformation, it does not seem to us likely that the Legislature will attempt any interference with the substantive law of our Shasters as to matrimony. The giving away of girls in marriage before maturity is a duty the violation of which, according to the belief of the Hindus, consigns them and their ancestors to intolerable torments in hell. Vishnu says :—

> So many seasons of menstruation as overtake a maiden feeling the passion of love and sought in marriage by persons of suitable rank, even so many are the beings destroyed by both her father and mother this is a maxim of law.—*See Dayabhaga, Chapter, XI Sec II.*
>
> Paithinashi says —A damsel should be given in marriage before her breasts swell But if she have menstruated before marriage both the giver and the taker fall into the abyss of hell ; and her father, grandfather and great grandfather are born insects in ordure.—*Ibid.*

In the face of these ordinances of our Sacred Codes, the British Government cannot, consistently with its repeated pledges, interfere with the law of our Shasters regarding marriage At any rate, so long as the matrimonial law of the Hindus remains unaltered, suits, for enforcing the right of guardianship of Hindu husbands over their wives, are clearly cognizable by the Courts of Law. In form, the suit ought to be, not for restitution of conjugal rights, but for enabling the husband to discharge his duties as guardian. Want of consent to the marriage on the part of the wife is no more an answer to such a suit, than in suits for the specific performance of lawful contracts entered into, on behalf of a minor, by his guardian.

Where a Hindu wife is forsaken by her husband, the latter is clearly punishable by the king and his courts, under the text of

Narada quoted in page 74 *ante*. It cannot therefore be said that there is no authority in our Shasters under which the Courts can take cognizance of matrimonial causes between Hindu husbands and wives.

J. N. BHATTACHARJEE.

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# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

NEW SERIES.

No. 3.—SEPTEMBER 1887.

## *THE RECENT DEBATE ON PRIVILEGE.*

II

Mr. W. H. SMITH urged that to vote a breach of privilege would be in effect to decide the question before any inquiry was made into its truth or falsehood. This objection was easily met. It was stated—with what justice we are not in a position to decide—that the truth or falsehood of the charge was beyond the issue; that the sufficiency of the reply did not concern the question; that the essence of privilege lay in the nature of the charge itself. But the most obvious answer to the objection was that no such condemnation was involved in the proper course of proceeding. No condemnation would be pronounced until the *Times* had an opportunity of justifying or withdrawing its charges.

Another reason for declining to treat the matter as a breach of privilege was that serious breaches of privilege had been committed before, and the House had declined to treat them as such. If imputations of falsehood were a breach of privilege, then such breaches were committed every week. These are evidently what Lord Randolph Churchill called "technical breaches." But do those imputations of falsehood fulfil the conditions which the Legal Members of the Government laid down? Do they refer to the conduct

of members as members in the House? Questions of criticism, said Sir William Harcourt, were not questions of privilege. But here were not mere criticisms, but direct charges against the character, not of one member only, but of a party of eighty-six members. The House did, of course, on several occasions decline to treat certain remarks as breaches of privilege. But this was only in cases which were too trivial; or where the charges were withdrawn and an apology made; or, as in the case of Ferrand, where they were not substantiated.

In 1844, Mr. Ferrand charged Sir James Graham and another member with having used their influence to obtain a false and fraudulent report from an election committee. This charge was neither proved nor withdrawn. Mr. Farrand declined to apologize. Thereupon Sir Robert Peel moved that Sir James Graham and the other member having in their places denied the allegations, and Mr. Ferrand having declined to substantiate them, these charges were false and calumnious, and did not affect the character or honour of the members in question. Here, it will be noticed, no further proceedings were taken because the charge was not persisted in. No defence was made. In Mr. Dillon's case, the *Times* offered to prove each charge.

(*b*) We turn now to the discussion with regard to an action-at-law. There are two points to consider:—First, whether the Irish party should go to law at all; secondly, whether they should accept the offer of Government, and allow the Attorney-General to prosecute the *Times*. The Government considered the charge a grave one; since it had been brought before the House, and an inquiry was passionately demanded by the members concerned, the Government was bound to provide some means of investigating the matter. They declined to treat it as a breach of privilege; they could not see their way to a Select Committee—for reasons to be afterwards discussed; and as the only other available course, they suggested this prosecution. For this they had twelve or ten precedents. These precedents were very lightly treated by Mr. Gladstone. A prosecution of the nature proposed by Government was to be made, he declared, for the first time in history. The Attorney-General interrupted with a cry of "Ten precedents," and Mr. Gladstone reported that he knew those ten precedents, and they were not worth ten brass farthings, indeed less; for they were all irrelevant or where relevant were against the present proposal. The reason was this: the House had never ordered a prosecution by

the Attorney-General without previously *making itself a party in the case, i e.*, without condemning the thing for which the prosecution was ordered. This he repeated several times, and challenged contradiction. "I will at once abandon my ground," he exclaimed, "if the hon'ble and learned gentleman [the Solicitor General] can produce a case and a prosecution ordered by the House without a previous declaration by the House. Let him give me a contradiction in one word across the table and I will at once change my ground. He had had more time now, and his learned friend, the Attorney-General, has been doing his best, and no more competent persons could apply themselves to the task. 'According to my knowledge, and it is confirmed by the invincible silence of the opposite bench, there has been no case where the House has used the public purse to promote the purpose of private litigation without making itself a party in the case by pronouncing a preliminary judgment upon the matter which is to be the subject of inquiry." No contradiction was offered. No opposing word broke the "invincible silence" of the Government bench. The Attorney-General rose to speak immediately after Mr. Gladstone, but he evaded the issue. Mr. Childers describes the scene that occurred when the challenge was given:—"I noticed when my right hon. friend was speaking that there was much agitation among gentlemen opposite. There was a collection of books brought in from the library; there was a communication between the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Law Officers of the Crown; there was a reference again to certain other books which were brought into the House during my right hon. friend's remarks, and when my right hon. friend made that challenge in unmistakeable terms, we had a right to expect that the Attorney-General would, in his reply, deal with my right hon. friend's argument. But not one single word fell from the hon. and learned gentleman with respect to that argument, which was the cardinal argument in my right hon. friend's speech. . . . He might have parried it, or he might have met it fully, or at least in some way alluded to it. It was the main contention of my right hon. friend, and yet not a single word fell from the Attorney-General in reply to it."

Are we then justified in assuming that Mr. Gladstone was right in his contention? It was reserved for one of Mr. Gladstone's own late followers, to make any sort of reply to the challenge. Of the ten precedents, said Sir Henry James, in only two was there a pre-

vious declaration that the offence was a breach of privilege, in the other eight a resolution was moved that a libel had been written. Mr. Gladstone said that the resolutions spoke of "false and scandalous libel." If a false and scandalous libel were voted, replied Sir Henry James, how can a fair trial be asked for?—a reply not altogether conclusive. If then, the traditional practice of 300 years had been, as Mr. Gladstone described, surely a reasonable explanation, a sufficient justification was necessary to show why a new procedure should be adopted.

Sir William Harcourts' argument was very much the same. The principle of a prosecution by the Attorney-General is that the Attorney-General believes in the guilt of the party prosecuted. Could that be said of this case? There were exceptional cases indeed, but the circumstances were different: the Government had not expressed sympathy with the accused party. It was admitted by the Solicitor-General that there should be some sympathy with the party on whose behalf the prosecution was made; but the Attorney-General could be only *nominally* associated with the case —the other lawyers being chosen by the parties concerned.

It was inevitable that an objection should be raised against this prosecution that it would be collusive, or at least open to the charge of collusion. The plaintiff would in a manner be identical with the defendant, for the Government party had either assumed the truth of the charges or had emphasized them in their public speeches. The *Times* itself recommended this prosecution. Admitting however, that the Government advisers acted in this matter with no unworthy intentions, still in this case, acting differently from their predecessors, the Government asked a Court to pronounce a sentence of libel, while carefully avoiding to pronounce any opinion themselves. The Attorney-General angrily repudiated the charge of collusion, and pointed out that prosecutions were, as a matter of form, undertaken in his name, though he had not the slightest knowledge of them. If the House were to order a prosecution his name must be used; but the lawyers to be employed would be chosen by the parties concerned. A member replied that it was understood from Mr. W. H. Smith's speech that the Government would take an active share in the prosecution. It appeared now that the Law Officers of the Crown were to be nominally associated only. This would tell even more against the Irish members when the jury found that the weight and influence of the Crown were arrayed on the other side.

As against a trial in a court of law, it was pointed out that criminal prosecutions for libel were deprecated by judges themselves. "In other words," said Sir Charles Russell, "the man who institutes criminal proceedings for libel in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred comes handicapped into court." Into the technicalities of legal proceedings we cannot enter. Whether the accused Irishmen would have their mouths closed, or whether they could go into the witness box and swear to the falsehood of the accusations; whether counsel had a right to cross-examine the printer, editor, and publisher of the *Times*, or whether they were debarred from such a course; these are questions for lawyers, and not for laymen. But in a trial by law, there always seems to be an advantage to the defendant.

The objection that there would be too great a delay in an action-at-law is one that need not be seriously discussed. The alternative to an action-at-law was examination by a Select Committee of the House. If delay is to be taken into account, the objection must be valid against both courses. The recent trial of "Brennon *v.* Ridgway" took eight months; a Select Committee to inquire into a charge against Mr. Butt, the former Home Rule Leader, took four months. A Government prosecution, it was said, would have precedence in a court of law and so could be concluded in six weeks or a month; but a Commitee in the case of "Grissell *v.* Ward" took only sixteen days, and the rule of the House is that Committees sit from day to day.

We arrive now at what is really the essence of the matter—the chances of a fair verdict in a court of law. The Opposition professed that the Irish party were less likely to have a fair trial on account of the political prejudices excited against them by the repeated denunciations of the *Times*—denunciations which the Conservative party were most active in circulating. This is not an objection that can be lightly passed over; but let us clear the issue. A vast amount of sentimental declamation was uttered on this subject. It was said that the Opposition impugned the character of judges, and the fairness of juries. That palladium of English liberty—trial by jury—was said to be insulted and degraded. And the Tories rallied once more to the defence of another venerable institution. This was all very natural and pretty, but one doubts whether it was after all so effective. Let us more calmly consider what was said.

What was the issue? The issue was merely whether a Select Committee of the House, or a court of law was the better tribunal for investigating the grave charges brought against Mr. Dillon. Both courses were open. The Government considered that the latter, the Opposition that the former, course was preferable. It was in deciding between the two that the question of judges and juries came into consideration. The Nationalists and the Liberals claimed that a Committee would, in this peculiar case, be less likely to be biassed of political prejudices than a London jury. First as to the *judges*. Mr. Gladstone said that "within the present century very serious questions have been raised with respect to the conduct of eminent judges in English courts of justice." This was provoked by a remark that Lord R. Churchill made; and Mr. Gladstone gave as an instance of the case of Lord Dundonald, where Lord Campbell criticised the conduct of his colleague, Lord Ellenborough. In answer, it was stated that Lord Campbell's criticisms as a biographer were not held of much account, and if this was the only instance, Mr. Gladstone had not justified his remark. "But," continued Mr. Gladstone, "there is one judge [Mr. Justice Stephen] now upon the bench, who came down from the bench to take a part in regard to the great Irish question more violent than has been taken almost by any layman I can remember. And if one of these gentlemen sitting below the gangway says it is excusable in him to feel some mistrust in such a case, though I should not feel mistrust myself, yet I must say that I understand that mistrust." Then as to the *juries*. A London jury accustomed for years to read the denunciations of the *Times* against the Irish party (and the charges now made were mere repetitions of charges made long ago) were surely liable to be biassed by what they had been accustomed to read. We have to remember how extensively the charges of the *Times* have been circulated, and we may well imagine that Conservatives would not spare to use them in order to gain a political advantage. Then there are other than party prejudices. There are the prejudices in favour of the liberty of the press—prejudices well founded, no doubt, but prejudices that were very likely, especially in these excited times, to interfere with the calm dispensing of even-handed justice. Consider, too, how the minds of a jury can be biassed by issues irrelevant to the case in hand. How counsel

> "Skilled by a touch to depeen Scandal's tints
> With all the kind mendacity of hints;"

could rake up almost every incident in the private life of a man, and blind his judges to what they are strictly called upon to decide.

To assert these objections is very different from charging judges and juries with evil attributes. What the Opposition claimed was that judges and juries were human, after all, and not infallible, that the probabilities of a fair trial were greater in a Select Committee.

Is it so very absurd to think that at such a trial both parties would not stand on equal ground? Ought we to blame an Irishman for distrusting juries whose political prejudices are violently against him, and for wishing that judges like Cæsar's wife should be above suspicion?

It was pointed out that the resolutions of the House of Commons could be put in evidence against Mr. Dillon. It so happened in the case of Mr. Bradlaugh, when he brought an action against the Sergeant-at-Arms, a resolution of the House (hoping that the Sergeant-at-Arms had acted according to the orders of the House) was admitted as evidence. Sir Henry James replied that these resolutions must be shown to be relevant to the issue before they could be admitted, and he contended that in this case the resolutions would not be relevant. On the other hand what was the position of the parties? The House of Commons prosecutes the *Times*, and the House of Commons declines to express any opinion on the case.

Sir Henry James too, it was, who challenged the Opposition to name any case where a jury was influenced by political prejudices. He himself gave two instances to the contrary, where party considerations were laid aside. The challenge was immediately taken up. Mr. Healy mentioned the "Manchester Martyrdom," where five men—presumably Irishmen—charged with wilful murder were instantly convicted. One of these five men was proved to have been serving as a marine on board a ship of war in the Channel on the very day when the murder took place, and he was released. Mr. H. Fowler mentioned the cases of Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane and "Belt *v.* Lowes." Why, he asked further, were those frequent appeals made to superior courts to reverse the verdict of juries? Another lawyer referred to a case of bribery arising out of a recent election at Boston. The verdict "not guilty" was loudly applauded, especially by those on the two front benches, reserved for the jurymen in waiting. One man "with a loud voice" was fined, and he proved to be one of the jurors in the next case. The judge

(Mr. Justice Stephen) ordered that that particular jury should not be called upon, and the *Times* afterwards commented severely on the sympathy of Lincolnshire jurymen with bribers. Mr. Labouchere sarcastically observed that Sir Henry James had spoken of trial by jury in terms which he had no doubt many and many a time addressed to that noble institution ; and asked why changes of venue and "special juries" were continually demanded.

It would have been remarkable if during the debate no mention had been made of the case of "Brennon *v.* Ridgway," decided about that time. Mr. Brennon was an Irishman accused of association with dynamitards. He brought an action against Ridgway, the publisher of the offending pamphlet, and obtained £ 500 damages. But it was pointed out in answer that Brennon was (though a Home Ruler) an enemy of the Nationalists, that he was a Conservative candidate, and that there were seven Tories on the jury.

We come lastly to the appointment of a Select Committee to try the issue between Mr. Dillon and the *Times*, or, as afterwards determined, between the Irish party and the *Times*. Sir Charles Lewis's motion was negatived by a majority of 79 votes, 218 against 297. The Solicitor General's amendment then became the substantive motion, and to this Mr. Gladstone proposed as an amendment that a Select Committee should be appointed. He argued that such a course was conformable both to reason and precedent.

The first precedent to be noticed is the case of "Grissell and Ward," 1879. Some statements were made to a Committee of the House suggesting corruption against certain members of that Committee. The Committee asked for an inquiry, and the inquiry was made *before* the persons were brought to the bar. There was no inquiry after they were brought to the bar. But this, it was pointed out, was not a question of substance at all. On the other hand, it was contended that the case bore no analogy to the present case, as the inquiry was not made to see whether a breach of privilege had been committed, but to see if there was any truth in the charges that had been made. In this connection we may place the exact words of Mr. Gladstone's amendment: "That this House is of opinion that an inquiry should be made by a Select Committee into the charge of wilful falsehood, in a speech delivered in this House, brought in an article published in the *Times* newspaper of the 2nd May, against John Dillon, Esq., Member for East Mayo."

In 1854, Mr. Butt complained that an article in the *Times* was a breach of privilege, and moved that a Committee of Privileges be

appointed to inquire and report thereon. The article accused the Irish party of corruption, said that the Irish members represented only the "embodied wish of some hundreds of needy men to obtain place, salary, power." Lord John Russell supported the motion. "The House," he said, "cannot feel the slightest doubt on this occasion in assenting to the motion." But this was a case in which a Committee should have been appointed, as the charge was one of corruption. Even judging by the results of that Committee, was there any inducement for another? The report given then was quite unsatisfactory. The Committee said that they had had to investigate matters of idle gossip and groundless scandals, and added as their opinion that "no investigation by a Committee with the powers which had been intrusted to them could be satisfactory." Mr. Gladstone contended that the present charge was graver than that of corruption. "Why is corruption a grave offence? Because it may lead you to act falsely in the exercise of duty. But this is a case where you do act falsely in the performance of your duty, where, in reasoning with the House, and professing to assist it in its deliberation, you wilfully tell it what you know to be falsehoods and intend to mislead it .... To say a member is greedy of place may imply that he is in a condition in which he is liable to be corrupted." And yet on the slender ground referred to above a Committee was granted unanimously.

The case of Mr. Whittle Harvey does not seem to have much bearing on the question. This gentleman was refused admission to the Bar on account of a verdict given by a jury twenty years before. In the amended form the motion was for an inquiry by a Committee whether the verdict was right or not. Lord Althorp granted the Committee because "it was claimed by the hon. member and was but justice to him."

If a Committee were appointed there would, it was argued, be a difficulty as to its composition. It would be a partisan Committee; the Government would have a majority; the Committee would disagree on the verdict; the result would be unsatisfying; there would be two reports—the report of the minority and the report of the majority. Would the Irish members sit on it?

To this the Irish replied that they were not afraid to go before a Committee of members politically opposed to them. Mr. Dillon said that he was prepared to be examined before a Committee on which no Irishman should sit. The sense of responsibility would overcome

even intense prejudices. As for a double verdict a jury also might disagree. One man out of eleven may dissent. But the Commitee had an advantage in this that brains could be weighed as well as noses counted.

There remains much to be said on this question of a Select Committee, and on the whole subject generally. But it would be taxing the patience of readers too severely. We are content with having placed before them some outlines of the debate, rude and faint no doubt, but as impartial as it lay in our power to make it. Those who are interested in the subject will draw their own conclusions as to whether the Opposition or the Government came out of the conflict with greater honour.

LOUIS BLAZE.

## *THE CLASSIC LAND OF ITALY.*

### II

I LEFT Verona in the afternoon, and as I had seen Milan and Venice during my previous visit to Europe, I went southwards to see Florence and Rome. I passed by the classic town of Mantua, which was the residence of Virgil for a time, and reached Bologna at night.

Bologna is a city of arcades,—the foot-paths in most of the important streets are arched over. The Piazza Vittorio Emanuel (Victor Emanuel Square)is the centre of Bologna, and some of the oldest historic houses are situated here. The Palazzo Publico dates from 1290 A. D. and the Palazzo del Podesta dates from 1201 A. D. It was in a room of this last palace that King Enzio, the son of Frederic Barbarosa, was kept in confinement for twenty-two years. In the centre of this square also is the celebrated statue of Neptune by John of Bologna, and on one side of t his square is the great church of San Petronio. Inside the church, the view is imposing. The immense proportions of the church, its beautiful Lombard—Gothic architecture, less rigid than pure Gothic, and its beautiful painted windows, all make the church imposing. The chapels are rich and splendid, and belong to the principal families of Bologna. A sister of Napoleon Bonaparte is buried in one of these chapels.

Close to this great church is the Archiginnaseo, the famous old University of Bologna. The courtyard, palaces and rooms are decorated with the coats of arms of its former students and professors. There is a splendid library here, containing 200,000 volumes, and among the marble busts of the professors I saw two of ladies. The lecture room of the great Italian naturalist Galvani is shewn to visitors, while in front of the building, Galvani's marble statue adorns a square.

Passing by Square Cavour and Square Galileo I came to church San Dominico, containing the magnificent tomb of San Dominico and the humbler tomb of Guido Reni, the greatest of Bolognese

painters. Not far from Guido Rene's tomb is the figure of a lady embalmed and preserved for 300 years.

I passed by the house of the famous Bolognese painters Caracci and the new bank, Cassa di Risparinio, all built of marble, and the finest modern building of Bologna. I also saw the group of seven old churches, San Stefano, a curious agglomeration of the oldest churches in Bologna. The roofs are of beams and rafters in primitive fashion and the saints and images are rudely shaped. I saw a baptistmal font, like a well, for baptism in olden days was performed by a regular immersion in water. This ancient place was at first used for pagan worship, and Christian churches were built after, when Christianity was introduced.

The leaning towers of Bologna are the most curious sight here. They are two old brick towers of the twelfth century, 272 feet and 138 feet high respectively. The former is 3feet 5 inches out of the perpendicular, while the latter and the smaller one is no less than 8½ feet out of the perpendicular and looks as if it was about to fall! The obliquity of many towers in Italy has been caused by the settling of the ground, but it is believed the wonderful obliquity of this smaller tower was intentional!

In the Accademia della Belle Arte I saw a good collection of the works of the three Caracci and of Guido Rene, all of whom were born in Bologna. Guedo Rene's famous Massacre of the Innocents and his crucifixion are among his best. But the lion of this collection is Raphael's St Cicilia in ecstasy. Sheis listening to a heavenly choir in the clouds, and St. Paul, St. John, Augustine and Mary Magdalene are her companions, and all seem rapt in ecstasy.

The Campo Santo or burial ground of Bologna (and that of Genoa) are considered the finest cemeteries in Europe. The Campo Santo is not like the Pere la Chaise of Paris, a crowd of monuments on a vast exposed plain, but is a great structure, in which the graves and beautiful marble monuments are arranged in long arcades. The building is increased as more room is wanted, while the poor are buried in trenches in the open courtyards.

Space in this buildiug is very costly, and a room about 11 feet square costs about 12, 000 francs. The monuments on many of these tombs are of the finest Carrara marble, and are executed by the most eminent sculptors of the day, and defy description. A magnificent statue of Murat, the general of Napoleon and the king of Naples has been executed and erected on the tomb of that

dashing soldier, and his daughter is also buried here. Exquisite statues of mothers bewailing the loss of children, of daughters weeping over the grave of parents, of Grief or Fame or Virtue sorrowing over the dead, adorn many of these graves. One circular room is reserved for the busts of the great men of Bologna the busts being placed on niches. This is called the Pantheon. Galvani the naturalist occupies the central place of honor, and Rossini the musician occupies the niche under him. In this temple of fame—this hall of the departed great, one niche, and not an obscure one, is occupied by a woman,—Anna Manzotine who was a distinguished professor in the university here.

I left Bologna in the afternoon and soon after we crossed the Reno which flows close to Bologna, and entered into the gorges of the wild Appenines along the valley of that river. We passed through a number of tunnels and crossed and re-crossed the Reno which clattered along its stoney bed below with all the wildness of a mountain stream. The mountains around us became wilder and wilder as we went further and further, until the scenery was all obscured in the darkness of night. At about 7 P. M. we reached Pistoja, the town where pistols were first manufactured, and after 8 P. M. we reached Florence.

The next morning as I looked out of my hotel window and saw the classic Arno rolling below, as I surveyed the beautiful houses of Florence and its streets all paved with frisole stone, and as far beyond I surveyed the high wooded hills bounding the horizon on every side,—I remembered the lines I had read in my school days—

"Of all the fairest cities of the Earth,
None is so fair as Florence!"

In writing thus the poet however not only thought of the beauty of the town, the river, and the hills and gardens around, but must also have involuntarily thought of the glorious past of Florence! For when Europe was buried in the gloom of the middle ages after the extinction of ancient civilization, it was Florence which first lighted the torch of civilization, it was Florence which imparted to a dead world the vivifying energy of poetry, of painting and sculpture, of arts and of civilization! And where is the town in Europe or in the world,—Athens alone perhaps excepted,—which can boast of having given birth to such a galaxy of great men, such a crowd of instructors of the world, as Florence?

The names of Galileo and Dante alone would suffice to make a a city proud, but Florence displays to the admiring world a host of other names almost as great and glorious. The poets Petrarch and Boccacio, the merchant prince Lorenzo di Medici, Leonardi da Vinci the father of modern painting, and the matchless Michael Angelo, matchless alike in painting, in sculpnere and in architecture—were all born in Florence! The devotee who sets out on an intellectual pilgrimage, cannot come to a holier or nobler shrine than Florence!

The glory of modern Florence is her matchless picture galleries, those of Uffizi and Pitti. One may study painting and sclupture in these galleries for months and years. I cannot pretend to give here any thing like a proper account of even the most celebrated paintings and statues collected here; all I can do is to mention by name only a few of the most important. The famous Venus di Medici the matchless statue which was found in the sixteenth century among the ruins of Hadrian's palace near Tivoli is in the Uffizi gallery. The still more famous statues of Niobe and her children which have been copied and reproduced in so many modern mansions in the capitals of Europe are also here. A long series of remarkable busts of Roman Emperors are also chronologically arranged in this gallery, and an excellent copy of the Laocoon group is also kept here. Among the paintings, Raphael's "Madonna of the Gold Finch," his "Madonna with the Scroll" and his "St. John in the Wilderness" are in the hall called the Tribune, and the same room contains two of Titian's matchless Venuses, and Albert Durer's "Adoration of the Magi." Leonardi da Vinci's "Head of Medusa" and Corregio's picture on the same subject are in a neighbouring room. The collection, however, of the Dutch and Flemish schools is comparatively poor and insignificant. One room in this gallery contains the portraits of celebrated painters mostly done by themselves, and another room contains a priceless collection, first sketches in pen and ink and other drawings of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Rubens and other great masters.

A covered passage connects this Uffizi gallery with the Pitti gallery on the other side of the Arno, and the whole of this passage is lined with celebrated portraits of the Medici family and also of historical characters of all countries and ages.

The Pitti palace was commenced by Pitti a merchant in 1440, but as he was unable to finish it, he sold it to the wife of Cosmo and it thenceforward became the palace of the Medic of Florence.

It is a massive building of roughhewn stone, more strong and massive than elegant in its external appearance, but the great halls inside are paved and decorated with the finest stones and richest marbles that money could buy or art could arrange. The hall of flowers and other rooms are superb in their beauty. The rooms are now filled with about 500 pictures of the highest merit. Raphael's Madonna della Seggiola, his Madonna del Baldachino and his holy family, Michael Angelo's celebrated "Fates," Titian's Bella, and his Magdalene, Murillo's Virgin Mary and Christ and Madonna with Rosary, Guido Rene's Cleopatra, Rubens's Results of War and Sacred Family and Van Dyke's Charles I of England and his Queen are among the most important pictures of this priceless collection. Canova's famous Venus is in this Pitti gallery.

The Uffizi gallery is located near the Piazza della Signoria which is the central square of Florence. In it is the Palazzo Vecchio which was the seat of Government when the Pitti Palace was the residence of the Medici. Close by are a fountain with Neptune and Tritons by John of Bologna

A short way from this square leads to the Duomo or Cathedral of Florence. The Florentines cemmenced it in 1298 A. D. with the intention of raising a monument which would outvie all previous structures, and it was not till the fifteerth century that this splendid edifice was completed. It is a superb building of brick encrusted with white and black marble which gives it its splendid outward appearance. To my eye, however, a building of such vast dimensions looks finer and purer in white marble like the Taj of Agra or the Cathedral of Milan than in marbles of different colours. The roof of tiles too takes away from the beauty of this building. The grand cupola of this cathedral was so much admired by Michael Angelo that he took it for his model in erecting that finest of human buildings, St. Peter's Church at Rome. The old facade of the cathedral has been taken down and a new one has recently been completed. The cathedral is 496 feet in length and 363 feet high to the summit of the cross.

The cathedral is singularly wanting in ornamentation inside,—but the statues which are there are by the greatest artists including Michael Angelo. The vast proportions of the cathedral, however, impress the visitor who enters it.

Close to the cathedral is the Campanile or Belfrey also of variegated marble, and light and graceful in appearance. The work on

the marble is so exquisite that Charles V said of it that it ought to be kept in a glass case! It is 275 feet in height.

In front of the cathedral is the Baptistry also of variegated marble and splendid bronze gates. The figures on these bronze gates represent scriptural events and are so exquisitely done that Michael Angelo declared they were worthy to be the portals of paradise! Dante too speaks of this Baptistry in his Inferno as "St. John's fair dome of me beloved."

Inside, the walls are lined and the pavement inlaid with marble. It is dedicated to St. John the Baptist and all Florentines are baptised here. Before the principal gate are two columns on which was formerly suspended the immense chain with which the Pisans in 1406 attempted to close their harbour against the Florentines and the Genoese, and which was brought to Florence as a trophy of victory.

Scarcely, five minute's walk from the cathedral is the church of San Lorenzo close to which are the New Sacristy and the Medicean Chapel. This chapel is a wonderful octagon building the inner walls of which are covered with agate and jasper and amaranth and lapiz lazuli and about eighteen different kinds of rich marble! The cost of this hall of valuable stones must have been enormous, it is said, it amounted to 22 millions of franks! It contains the sarcophagi of Duke Ferdinand II, Cosmo II, Ferdinand I, Francesco I, and Cosmo III. The ashes of the founder of the Medici family are however not here, they are deposited in a humble vault below with single rectangular stones to mark the spots.

Adjoining this Medicean chapel is the New Sacristy of which I have spoken before. It contains the sarcophagi of the Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Urbino. Over the tombs are the statue of Night and Day and of Dawn and Twilight, both by Michael and considered among his master works. The statues are still unfinished as Michael Angelo left for Rome before finishing the works, and no profane hand has since touched what that great master left unfinished.

From these tombs of the "great ones of the earth" I turned with far deeper interest to the ashes of some of the really greatest men that the world has ever produced. The church of San Croce is the Pantheon of Florence. There I saw the tomb of Galileo with the statue of that luminary of science, holding the telscoope in his hand and contemplating the heavens. There too I saw the tomb

of Michael Angelo with the statues of three females over it, representing painting, sculpture and architecture. The poet Alfieri also sleeps there, and there too reposes Machiaveli's dust.

But "Ungrateful Florence! Dante sleeps afar." Dante was banished by his fellow-citizens and is buried in Ravenna. The modern Florentines have done all that they could to wipe out the ingratitude of their fathers. The church, though it does not contain the tomb of Dante, has a magnificent monument of marble,—the finest in the church,—dedicated to the memory of the poet. And outside the church in the centre of the square there is a still finer marble statue of the great poet, 18 feet high, standing on a pedestal 22 feet high, and seeming, with his frowning meditating brow, to contemplate those scenes of the Inferno which are among the grandest and most terrible productions of the human imagination.

Florence is embosomed in the midst of hills on all sides from which beautiful views can be obtained. The cascine to the west of the city is the Bois de Boulogne of Florence, but I had not time to visit it. A great number of Englishmen and other foreigners reside in this town attracted by its splendid collections of art, its grand historical associations, the beauty of its situation and the courtesy of its people.

I left Florence at night and the next morning I was in Rome, "the Niobe of Nations," the "Mother of Dead Empires." I could scarcely believe that I was in that ancient city, the mistress of the ancient world, the wonder of the modern world! I could scarcely believe I was treading the path along which Vestal Virgins walked twenty-five centuries ago, that I was standing on the ruins of the edifice where Julius Cæsar sat and was murdered, that I was walking under triumphal arches under which victors from Europe, from Asia and from Africa came with pompous processions among the deafening cheers of the Roman population! Associations of over two thousand years linger over the hoary ruins of this ancient city, while the noblest creations of genius of the middle ages in sculpture, architecture and painting ennoble and beautify this venerable spot. But an account of Rome must be reserved for the next number and must form a chapter by itself.

R. C. DUTT.

# WILLIAM PENN.

## I.

THERE are two principles, by which men usually regulate their conduct, whether in private or in public life. The one is built on political expediency; the other upon morality and religion. The latter principle was the guiding star of William Penn's life, as a private gentleman, statesman and legislator. History has seldom recorded a more noble life; simple in its grandeur and exalted in its truth. Yet there are few men who have been more traduced than William Penn; in his own age and subsequently. William Penn the Quaker, has sufficed to express the fullness of contempt; and, alas, how sad it is to know that his principal detractors were Non-Conformists! The very people he helped forward so much towards liberty. The Dissenters have forgotten, or have, indeed, been slow to admit the great claim for gratitude this man has on them. He was unwearied in his labours for the cause of truth, both as a writer and a speaker; pleading most eloquently for liberty of conscience for all. Showing with great power where the authority of the State over the subject ended. Clearly demonstrating that the king, nor no man, had the right to step into the place of God. That the knowledge of good and evil in the mind of man was implanted there by the hand of his Maker, and as a sentient being to his Maker alone was he responsible whether the worship he offered was acceptable or non-acceptable; he should not therefore be compelled to stand before any other earthly tribunal to be adjudged. Penn used his great influence at court, and his personal influence with the Duke of York, afterwards James II., faithfully for the furtherance of his cause; and always tried to the best of his ability to stand between the oppressor and the oppressed in matters of conscience. Penn lived in dark days, when such things were discerned as through a glass dimly, and of course he suffered more than once for the cause of truth, and for right-doing—yet bravely he laboured on, and had the satisfaction of seeing in his lifetime, the yoke which was pressing heavily on the whole of the Dissenters, and

had been the means of leading thousands to prison-suffering and death, if not entirely removed yet made bearable. It is only a careful study of the life and times of William Penn that will enable us to comprehend how much this one man did for the cause of liberty of conscience. We who live now take our privileges as a matter of course, and are only too forgetful of the great men who have gone before us and to whose labours under God we owe the fruits which we so composedly enjoy; and one of the chief labourers was William Penn, a man who bore no small portion of the heat and burden of his day.

Penn began his work as a student of Christ Church, Oxford, where he was fined for non-conformity, and subsequently expelled for what was considered a flagrant breach of discipline but which he felt was on his part a justifiable act. Then for liberty of conscience we next find him a prisoner for seven months in the Tower. One of his tracts had given offence to some of the Prelates of whom the Bishop of London was the chief. These Prelates made the affair one of public animadversion by the Government; and the consequence was Penn was arrested and sent a prisoner to the Tower. It was during this term of his imprisonment that he wrote the famous "No Cross, No Crown." The next year (1670) the ill-famed Conventicle Act was passed by Parliament, which prohibited Dissenters from worshipping God in their own way. This Act led to Penn being again arrested for worshipping God according to the dictates of his conscience, and he was placed to take his trial at the Old Bailey and committed to Newgate. This trial is historical on account of the determination of the magistrates to have him convicted and the steadiness of the jury in upholding their verdict of "not guilty," though the poor jurymen had been kept for two days and two nights without refreshment, and in the end were fined forty marks each for their persistency. Penn was also fined for contempt of court, and was committed to prison together with the jurymen, till the fines were paid. The trial is also remarkable for the noble defence Penn made, taking his stand on the privileges of the Great Charter and pleading therefrom for the rights and liberties of the subject. Shortly after this his father, Admiral Penn, died, and he found himself in possession of a very handsome estate; and the first use he made of his means was for the cause of truth, travelling as a minister of the gospel through different parts of England, returning to London about the latter end of the year. He was again arrested for preaching at a meeting

house, and sent to the Tower, where he was in a little while brought before the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Robinson, and after a vain attempt by his judge to establish evil-doing through calumny, which Penn most indignantly rebutted and refuted, he was committed to Newgate, there to expiate by a six months' imprisonment the crime of having refused to take the oath which had been offered him, as this was all that could be proved against him. Such action on the part of Govrenment, Penn graphically described as *but the knotting of whip cord on the part of the enactors to lash their own posterity, whom they could never promise to be conformed for ages to come to a national religion.*

The declaration of indulgences to tender consciences in matters of religion, which Charles II. granted in 1671, had, for the short time it was in force, secured the whole body of the Dissenters from persecution ; but now in the year 1674, an occurrence took place, that became the means of removing it. The Parliament, though upon the whole friendly to religious toleration, suddenly became conscious that this declaration of indulgence by the king was an undue extension of his prerogative, and therefore, called it in as illegal. This measure was wilfully misinterpreted by those in office, who were bigots, as implying a wish on the part of Parliament that all privileges to Dissenters should be withdrawn ; and therefore, to gratify their own barbarous prejudices, they availed themselves of the opportunity to consider the Conventicle Act as in force, and to renew their old practices. These cruel and wicked proceedings, again roused the spirit of William Penn, and kept him employed for the remainder of this year. He protested that *Englishmen came not to their liberties and properties by the Protestant religion. Their date rises higher.* Why then should a non-conformity to it, purely conscientious, deprive them of it? *This or that sort of religion was not specified in the ancient civil government.* As the nature of things differ, that of body and soul, of earth and heaven, of this world and that to come, so there could be no reason, to persecute any man in this world about anything that belongs to the next. Who art thou, that judgest another man's servant. He must stand or fall to his master the Great God. Let tares and wheat grow together till the harvest. It is not the interest of governors to blow coals in their own country especially when it is to consume their own people, and it may be themselves too.

As the evil of persecution began seriously to spread, Penn, with his usual single-hearted boldness, addressed a letter of appeal on the subject directly to the king. This appeal produced no result, for persecution still continued ; probably the king could not help himself. Penn then tried to stem the torrent by appealing directly to the nation, and he published a tract on the question, in which he states with much power what the birth-rights of Englishmen are. The first of these consisted of *an ownership and undisturbed possession so that what they had was rightly their own and nobody's else, and such possession and ownership related both to title and security, of estate and liberty of person from the violence of arbitrary power.* This was the situation of the people in ancient British times. They who governed afterwards, the Saxons, made no alteration in this law, but confirmed it. The Normans, who came next, did the same. William, at his coronation, made a solemn covenant to maintain the good, approved, and ancient laws of the kingdom, and to inhibit all spoil and unjust judgment. The same covenant was adopted by his successors, and was confirmed by Magna Charta. The second birth-right of Englishmen consisted *in the voting of every law that was made, whereby that ownership in liberty and property might be maintained.* This also was the case in British Saxon, and Norman times. The third birth-right of Englishmen consisted *in having an influence upon and a great share in the judicatory power so that they were not to be condemned but by the votes of freemen.* This practice, though not perhaps British, obtained very early in Saxon times. It was among the laws of Ethelred that in every hundred there should be a court, where twelve ancient freemen, together with the Lord of the hundred, should be sworn that they would not condemn the innocent or acquit the guilty. The same law continued to be the law of the land under different kings, till it was violated by John, when Magna Charta restored it. Magna Charta, however, was *not the nativity but the restorer* of ancient English privileges. It was *no grant of new rites, but only a restorer of the old.* Penn then explained at length, the Great Charter of England and endeavoured to show by an appeal to reason, law, lawyers and facts, that the people of England could not be justly deprived of any of these fundamentals without their own consent collectively ; nor could their representatives whatever else they might do constitutionally

alter them. Nothing then, he maintained, could be more unjust than to sacrifice the liberty and property of any man for religion, where he was not found breaking any law which related to natural or civil things. Religion under any modification or church Government was no part of the old English constitution. To live honestly, to do no injury to another, and to give every man his due, was enough to entitle any native to English privileges. "It was this and not his religion, which gave him the great claim to the protection of the government under which he lived. Near three hundred years before Austin set his foot on English ground the inhabitants had a good constitution. This came not in with him. Neither did it come in with Luther; nor was it to go out with Calvin. We were a free people by the creation of God, by the redemption of Christ, and by the careful provision of our never to be forgotten, honourable ancestors; so that our claim to these privileges rising higher than Protestantism, could never justly be invalidated on account of non-conformity to any tenet or fashion it might prescribe." This would be to lose by the Reformation, which was effected only, that property might be enjoyed with conscience.

J. H. LINTON

## *THE NATIONAL DEBT OF ENGLAND.*

As Mr. Goschen's budget has excited a good deal of interest in India, and has occasioned a good deal of adverse criticism, I have, therefore, thought that a survey of the question would be interesting to many persons. Looked at as an abstract theory, it seems evident that it is just as beneficial for a nation to be out of debt as it is for an individual; but if we look at it as a question of fact it does not appear so clear. As a question of fact it presents many sides to view.

Voltaire, once, a long time ago, wrote upon economy, about which some people say he knew little, he then took occasion to sneer at the patriarch Abraham. This is not at all wonderful. Out of the many hundred articles in his *Philosophical Dictionary*, there are very few in which he does not gird at revealed religion; and he thought it all fair and reasonable at all times and in all places to question the ways and workings of the Almighty. He is very great against Abraham and his domestic economy. He shows with his usual sarcasm that Esaw and Jacob left that miserable Holy Land, probably because they could not be fed by the domestic economy of it; and he is exceedingly witty when contrasting Abraham and the patriarchs who grew rich in that infertile desert with a French farmer of Auvergne. The life of Abraham, or the life of Jacob, by no means agrees with that of a rich Auvergnese with his fine house, his vast granges and no less vast stables, his hundreds of acres of wheat, his acres of green food, his acres of vines, his woods, his plantations of mulberry-trees for silk worms, his hives of bees and other matters. Poor Abraham and Jacob who lived in tents and drove their flocks afield, melt into insignificance before the substantial French farmer. "Pish!" cries a Voltairean, as he throws Jacob and Abraham to the winds. But as it happens the very engine by which Voltaire sought to demolish the truth establishes it. We know that the Bedouins exist now as did Jacob, and that Jacob's domestic economy could not have "run on all

fours" with what M. de Voltaire conceived a comfortable farmer with flocks and herds should establish. It is best to take the Bible as it is; its domestic economy is perfectly true. It is possible that Croesus or the great King Solomon with all their treasures could not have sustained such a national debt as that under which Queen Victoria feels very comfortable.

I have referred to Voltaire's writings, because in the same article, he has something to say, to his own satisfaction, of England's National Debt. He says, that in 1770 one hundred and seventeen years ago, twenty-three years before '93 and the tremendous Revolution, France was farmed better than England, and that its people could bear their burdens more easily, adding, "the immense debts of England and France promise for these nations not a total ruin or long decay, but continued evils and very likely a grand overthrow." There were, he said, twenty millions of people in France, and eight millions in England. What with paper money and funded debt, France owed two hundred and fifty-four millions of *louis d'ors*, which, say, is equivalent to English guineas; England owed one hundred and thirty millions of pounds sterling. But, compared to France, England was so backward in agriculture and commerce that progress would bring her great advantages. In England, too, the people were so free that every Englishman could prove—and did prove—that his king and country were going to be ruined every day; but in France such a wild proceeding brought the asserter to the Bastile, where he proved it to the Governor. The article seems fair and just; but notwithstanding the advantages of France as enumerated she has been outstripped in the race. In one hundred and seventeen years England has more than quadrupled her population, made America, Canada, and Australia what they are, has added India to her territories, and has raised and started her on the road to progress, has populated New Zealand and a few dozen islands, has paid off more than she then owed of her National Debt, still owes several hundred millions, and is richer than ever. England is in a position to pay, for instance, by a tax equal to the money wasted on drink, the whole debt in five or six years. And she would have criminals and lunatics the less at the end of that time, and nobody the worse; only she abhors paternal despotism. France has also done wonders—for an idea. That great and beautiful nation is no longer first in commerce, nor in agriculture, nor in invention; she has settled no colonies but

she has destroyed millions of young lives in war; she has reclaimed no deserts but she has flooded the world with the barren results of scepticism, she has not two young giants like Canada and Australia to look at and admire, but she believes in Mr. Malthus and that children are not the gift of the Lord. Which nation has done best? Only one knows that persons who believe in that curious old book which somebody every year tries to prove wrong will say meekly—It is the Lord's doing and wonderful in our eyes.

But for all this advancement a debt is a debt; and England owes a great deal, but then there are thinkers who think it good for her to be in this position. Such men say, that the National Debt is the ballast of the ship, the bond of union, the fund-holder of much wealth that else would go abroad, and of incalculable benefit to England, where capital is already too powerful, and which holds back so many hundred millions from being spent abroad in wild speculations, or to the hurt of her workmen of small capital. There are others who look upon the debt as an evil which should be got rid of, but not as an incalculable or desperate evil—by no means a millstone round the neck of the nation, but still as ballast they can well carry, but had better do without. Certainly a great number of ladies, clergymen, honest and timid persons of modest expectations, the very backbone of the country, are benefited by it; they save money, and are content with perfect safety, and as Lord Eldon phrased it, "the sweet security of the three per cents." For three and three and a half per cent, is what John Bull can borrow any amount of money at—and his word is his bond. It really appears that England cannot wipe away the debt if she would. It is not indeed so much a debt as a redeemable annuity that the nation grants to Mrs. Somebody who invests her three thousand pounds to get over ninety pounds a year which she spends in the country. If she has a slightly larger income she is taxed directly; but whether so or not, she is indirectly taxed as to her beer, wine, and tea, to pay part of her own interest—infinitesmal possibly, but still a part.

Some one asks, what right has John Bull, a rich fellow, to be in debt? Simply because he is rich and industrious, and because he has been obliged to bury his money in harbours, roads, local improvements, parish work and defence. No! Because he is so quarrelsome and warlike; if he was peaceable he would have no

debt. Well, war is a cause but not the whole cause. Let us take the Spanish Armada as an instance; the Pope blessed that devilish invasion, and set Spain and the Catholic powers upon England, and the money it cost her to meet it, the nation was obliged to pay; but it is remarkable how wonderfully cheap that little work was done. The wars against the great Napoleon, again, were undertaken to keep Europe open for England, for trade is the life-blood of her people, and Napoleon was always threatening that nation of shopkeepers, and did close almost every port against them. The Crimean War her people would rush into, driving Lord Aberdeen out of office because he would not declare war.

No more words—try with our swords

was what the people shouted in 1852. Perhaps, therefore, half of the debt was incurred by the people, half from quarrels forced on them, but howsoever caused, war has generally been popular, and war is expensive. And as the world goes a race to preserve itself must keep up its fighting strength; and this police of England is also expensive, especially when they are dressed in the British red or in the navy blue.

Although there is mention of a National Debt in the days of Henry VI. England may be said to have been free from it till the reign of William III., when in 1689 she owed what Mr. Mantalini would call the "ridiculously small sum" of £664,293. But after Dutch William's Continental Wars, undertaken by that sagacious monarch to protect the Protestant powers and to cripple the overwhelming power of France as well as to defend England from the return of James II. England's National Debt came to be five millions and the nation was alarmed. This sum Queen Anne increased to sixteen millions, and, though the nation stood higher and felt its power more, it became more and more indebted. At the close of the American War, England owed nearly two hundred and fifty millions, which by '93 she had reduced by five millions. Then came the time when all Europe was startled by the uprising of France; and there can be little doubt that the English people were hurried into opposing first the Revolution and then Bonaparte from popular fear and a desire of self-preservation. The debt, which stood at two hundred and forty-four millions in 1793, at the end of the French War (1802) had reached five hundred and seventy-one millions. Then came the Napoleonic

wars; and in 1817, after Nelson's battles, the Peninsular campaigns and Waterloo, the accounts, when added up, reached the high figure of £848,282,477. How the nation with its small population bore the strain, and yet increased in wealth and in population history can tell. Great efforts were made by succeeding ministers to reduce the debt, yet in 1830 England had paid off only eight millions. The nation was quite alive to its burden and to its duty towards posterity, for which it had fought, but which it had burdened with debt. Two ways have been adopted of paying the debt—the first is by a Sinking Fund, in which any surplus of national income goes to pay off part of the debt; the second by Terminable Annuities. In 1860 some long annuities fell in, and Mr. Gladstone found himself with two millions a year additional, the interest of the debt being reduced from twenty-eight to twenty-six millions. Now had the nation not been, as Pitt has it, "ignorantly impatient of taxation," and had it submitted to the imposts of 1860 up to the present, it follows that, with compound interest, over one hundred millions of the debt might have been paid off.

Whether the English people have ever faced the debt with a distinct intention of paying it is a question. The general feeling is that as their fathers and they have paid interest, so their sons are bound to pay it. Others, as has been stated, regard the debt as not wholly evil. In fact, it seems accepted that there is actually no debt at all in the sense of having at any given time to pay it off. "The public debt," says Lord Granville, "consists not in capital but in annuities, and all reductions of it are not reductions of capital but of annuities * * *. The annual income which the holder of stock derives from the debt, is all which is in any sense, his right—but that right is inviolable. The State has not borrowed his money at interest, under any obligation of repayment, but has sold him an annuity." This is really the fact. Some one having saved £1,000 and fearing to live on the capital, purchases, on the security of the State, at the price of consols or the consolidated funded debt, a perpetual annuity of some £35 per year. Such a one can enjoy, will away or sell that annuity. It may have been bought at £90 per £100, and may be sold out at £93 and thus the first holder after having enjoyed an income for years may retire with a profit. It is plain that this security is good. The interest is spent in the country, a number of fund-

holders are kept in secure but genteel poverty, those who are ailing or cautious are relieved when they choose to quit trade or business, and there are other benefits. That the taxpayer has to furnish such a large sum of money a year, for the interest is little hardship, speaking collectively—why, he throws away nearly three times the amount on drink, and he feels it no hardship. Doubtless some may be surprised to learn that England's debt is no debt at all but an engagement to pay annuities; but then nothing is exactly what it pretends to be in this Protean world.

VICARIOUS.

# *THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS.*

## DOWN THE NILE.

OUR boat was soon under weigh, but now with her head down stream; and the strong current swept us along towards the cool north. Next day we reached the vast temple of Aboo-Symbal, which is by far the most interesting in Nubia, and certainly *one of the finest* on the Nile. It is entirely excavated in the living rock. Close to it is a second temple, both of the time of Ramesis the Great, who was the second king of that name, and the supposed Sesostris of the Greeks.

There are many highly finished sculptures of battle-scenes and of the conqueror's return in triumph, offering his prisoners and spoil to the gods. At the entrance to the temple, there are four of the most gigantic, but, at the same time, beautiful Colossi in Egypt. Of the four, only two are well preserved. A boatman looked a mere speck sitting in the hollow of the ear of one of these monsters, which is supposed to represent Ramesis himself. The whole statue, including the throne on which it is seated, is one mass of solid stone, having been formed, like the temple, by cutting away the rock *in situ*.

The deities represented inside the temples appear to be "Re"—a strange figure of a man having a hawk's head with an orb and asp over it, and wearing a girdle, which hangs down behind as if to represent a tail. Another figure is that of "Hanooman." There is also a nearly nude female figure, with a beautifully mild expression, the head-dress formed by a vulture with extended wings, with a globe over it. This figure represents "Isis." Here also appear the gods "Anouke," "Sâte," and "Kneph," the triad of the cataracts; also a female figure, well formed and clothed, holding the hand of Ramesis, the king, probably intended to represent his queen. The entrance to this temple was found

and cleared of sand by Belzoni, who seems to have laboured with great success for many years in excavating tombs and temples in Egypt.

Besides the figures I have mentioned, there are inside of the larger temple eight standing Colossi. My head just touched their knees; yet they are only babes, compared to the Colossi outside. In the adytum of the smaller temple is sculptured the sacred cow, the animal worshipped by the Hindoos to this day. The principal excavation, some 200 feet deep, is guarded by a Colossus, whose arm from the elbow-joint to the tips of the fingers measures fifteen feet. The hall, corridors, and side rooms are perfect, but all is dark; and the torches throw an uncertain light on the monstrous deities and various races of men in all the horrors of the fiercest battle-scene, giving a demoniac effect to the strange figures that seem to denounce the intruders within their sanctuary.

Having examined all the numerous apartments, from the small entrance, nearly filled to the roof with sand-drift, to the altar in the adytum at the far extremity, and our torches being nearly expended, we groped our way out of this most extraordinary cavern, and, after a frugal lunch off dates and Nile water, with a chibouk of aromatic Jebelee, climbed up to the top of the hill, into the heart of which the temples have been excavated. From this spot we had a fine view of the surrounding valley and desert. We remarked here the site of a very large and apparently ancient enclosure or camp—probably that of Petronius and his Roman cohorts, who are supposed to have penetrated thus far; or it may once have been the walls of some large city now desolate and lonely enough, for not a living animal was visible: here solitude reigned alone.

We reached our boat late, and at once cast off from the shore and floated down with the stream all night. On arriving at Derr, we visited an old temple much mutilated, which also dates from the time of Sesostris. In contains the remains of some spirited sculptures. In the area a battle-scene is represented with imperfect traces of numerous chariots and horses, and confused figures; the king, out of all proportion, larger than the rest. In the inner hall, I remarked a very unusual sculpture of a man and woman with their hands on each other's shoulders as if wrestling. Dates are recorded in these temples in hieroglyphics, showing that Sesos-

tris, the founder, lived or reigned 1355 B. C. It is *very* wonderful how these temples have remained in their present state so many years; the climate is so dry, little or no rain, and no frost to crumble stone away, that time passes over these ancient monuments with a gentle hand.

We sailed on and arrived at Dakke, the place mentioned along with Akwin in Scripture, whither Pharaoh sent for the magicians, whose power, though indeed wonderful and long since lost to mortals served only as a foil to the mightier works of the divine missionary. Egypt has been for ages and ages the stronghold of magic, and it is still studied in the land. We learn in Holy Writ that the early race of man was originally endowed with miraculous powers, which seem to have been entirely lost. The early knowledge lingered for centuries among the Chaldeans. The remote grandsons of Adam were, perhaps, skilled in those wondrous sciences of which the world has only now commenced to regain the knowledge—such as the various applications of electricity, mesmerism, clairvoyance, and the like. Architecture wrought her wonders some three thousand years ago at Memphis, Aboo-Symbal, and stupendous Thebes; and in those days we know that what was then termed magic was practised by the men of Dakke and Akmin. In some of the mysteries of Isis, great secrets are darkly shadowed forth; and some of the sculptured remains on the walls of her ancient temples go far to prove how little there is really new in the wonders of the present age. We know that Moses was skilled in all the knowledge of the Egyptians. What was this knowledge, known only to the wily priesthood, to which body every Pharaoh belonged, and into which Moses, as the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter, was doubtless initiated?

We visited Gerf Hoosian the following morning, where there is a temple close to the river, as indeed all the temples are, proving that the river can in no place have greatly change its bed. This shrine is also excavated in the rock, with a portico built at the mouth of the entrance. Most of the temples above the Island of Philoe, at the top of the first cataract, are excavated, though none below it. At the upper end of this temple, in the adytum or sanctuary, there are some sitting figures in peculiarly high relief, but not in the best style. I could not find out who they were intended to represent; but the deity

of the town was apparently "Pthah," the "Creator and Lord of Truth." The emblem of truth is, strangely enough, an ostrich feather.

On the evening of this day we arrived at the Island of Philoe, on the confines of Nubia or the country of the Barêbra, the inhabitants of which differ considerably from those of Egypt. The same remark applies to the general character of the country, which is very hilly, with little land. The hills are a stony desert, without a particle of vegetation, the usual formation being either sandstone or granite. The latter is found only close to the river, and has evidently been quarried to a great extent in former ages. In some places the hills are close up to the river and nowhere do they leave more than a narrow strip of soil along the bank, on which the people can alone depend for a scanty supply of corn and pulse, the principal food of the "fellahs" or agriculturists. The date, palm, and "Sunt" thorn are almost the only tree. The thorn is very much like the "babool" of India. The flower it produces is a small yellow ball, which has a very sweet scent. The dates of Nubia are very large and particularly good, especially a kind termed "Ibrahimee." It is a fruit that may be used as bread, and has a fine sweet flavour when fresh from the tree.

All the land in Nubia, after the fall of the Nile, is irrigated by water wheels. Over the wheel (Sakya), which is worked by oxen is a double rope on which earthenware pots are fixed at interval of two or four feet, and reaching down to the water of the river. This large wheel is moved by a cog-wheel, and, as each pot is raised to the top, it empties itself into a wooden trough, and thus keeps up a constant stream of water. I have seen these same machines in Bundelcund and different parts of India, where they are known as "Egyptian wheels." But the most common instruments used in Egypt to irrigate the land is a long pole, weighted by a stone, acting as a lever to raise the bucket fastened at the opposite end; it is termed "Shadoof," and is also used in India, as well as in China and Burmah.

The Berberee, as the Egyptians term the people above the first cataract, appear to be very poor; their clothing is usually wretched, and their food worse. A man of the working-class in India, is quite a gentleman in comparison. They do not shave their heads, as the Egyptians do, and as is usual with all

Mahomedans. The women wear their hair in knotted tufts, soaked in castor oil and clogged with dirt. No fancy, however wild, could paint anything more disgusting. In other respects, the usual expression of their faces is better than that of the Egyptian fellah, or peasant. I made frequent inquiries, in different places along the banks of the Nile, regarding the rent or taxes paid by the agriculturists. It varied much, but was always very high; in no case, apparently, under one-half the produce of the land.

It was a lovely moonlight,—such, in brightness and clearness, as is never seen in the dull atmosphere of England, if, indeed, in any other part of the world, except perhaps India. At midnight, when all were asleep on board our boat, I wandered forth alone among the magnificent ruins on the island of Philoe, in search of some adventure. If spirits could visit the scenes of their departed grandeur, a fit spot, I thought, this would be; and as I sat and watched, the soft moonlight streaming through the fractured columns and crumbling roofs of these mighty temples of a nation now swept away, over whose origin, language, knowledge, and strange civilization, mixed with barbarous customs, a mystic veil is hung—all lost in the forgotten past—the imagination could well picture the gorgeous processions of priests, with sacred boat or ark: kings leading kings of many nations captive: armies and many people carrying emblems of the arts of war and peace: men leading lions, and camelopards, and other wild beasts of Africa;—chariots and horses and gay flags, by thousands, descend from the missive walls where they are all so clearly sculptured, and wend their way, as did the living originals thousands of years ago through the *temenos* or sacred enclosure, where the lofty palm tree lends its shade, through the protracted *dromos* of sphinxes under the towering propylons and majestic portico, up to the screen of the *adytum* or sanctuary, within which the high priest alone might enter there to deposit on the altar the rich offerings of a mighty nation to these strange hawk-headed deities. I never can forget the saunter through this still, calm night, and would recommend all who would see fair Philoe to the best advantage to go and visit it alone in the bright moonlight.

The principal building in Philoe is the temple of Isis, who was the wife of Osiris, and mother by him of Horus. Sculptures

relating to his birth, as well as the death and resurrection of Osiris (a Pharaoh), are carved on the walls of the adytum. The triad were worshipped here. Isis is represented as a young and beautiful woman in a light transparent dress. The sculpture is well managed, and displays much elegance in the figure, which is three or four times as large as nature. In her hand, Isis holds the emblem of life, well known as the Crux Ausata; she appears to be nearly identical with Ceres, the Greek goddess of corn or harvest. The temple is in very good preservation, and is remarkable for lightness and elegance. A large proportion of the figures on the inner walls still retain the remains of the bright colouring the Egyptians gave them. The emblem of life is in the form of a cross with a handle; the cross, therefore, was used as a symbol thousands of years before the dawn of Christianity.

There are two small dark rooms in the thickness of the wall of the adytum of this temple, approached by a narrow staircase, the opening to which appears to have been concealed by the altar. These were probably used for some dark purpose of superstition, or perhaps for the punishment of those who offended the majesty of the priesthood; so powerful were they that, according to Herodotus, they ruled the kings, and, when it pleased them, they ordered the king *to die*, and *he did die* until one king, named Ergamenes, when ordered to die, and well knowing that they had ample power to carry their order into execution, being more bold and kingly-minded than his ancestors, defied their power, marched an army against them, and, having slain many of the priests, abolished this ancient custom. There are also here some magnificent pillared halls and corridors, each pillar or column having a different capital. In some the carving is very plain, in others profusely rich—all together having a very fine effect; the most beautiful, perhaps, are those resembling a bunch of ostrich feathers, a bundle of lotus flowers with the stems for the lower part of the pillar, and the palm-tree, which, by the way, probably first gave the idea of pillars. Amongst the defects I was forcibly struck with what I am not aware has been before remarked, namely, that some of the finest buildings were built crooked; walls and passages, that ought to be parallel, are not so; doors are not in the centre of rooms, and even the halls are not perfectly square. This is a blemish I have found in many of the finest buildings in Egypt.

There is a small temple on this island, now called "Pharaoh's bed," which, for extreme beauty, is worthy of notice. After having spent days in wandering among the temples of Philoe, one leaves it with regret. I could interest myself for many days exploring its vast and numerous ruins, with portals and halls so lofty that wondrous tales are told of genii walking under them with unbended brow. Philoe is perhaps calculated to make a greater impression than any spot in Egypt; its temple of Isis, standing on a granite rock, with its supporting edifices occupying the entire island; while the surrounding hills, composed of gigantic rocks of granite burnt jetty black, are piled up in wildest confusion, without one atom of vegetation to relieve the eye. They seem tottering from their giddy height, or waiting in momentary expectation of another desperate effort, another convulsion of nature, such as raised and left them as they are. The whole forms an unearthly scene, perfectly unique.

After visiting some of the numerous islands in this part of the river, Sohayl and Biggeh, on both of which are remains of small temples dedicated to "Sâte" (or Juno) and "Anouke" (or Vesta), we returned to our boat, and all the necessary arrangements having been made, we prepared to shoot the cataract. This is a most exciting scene; the deck is crowded by the captain of the cataract and his men, with whom a bargain has to be made to pilot the boat through; stalwart fellows they are, with their knives strapped to their left arms, pulling, rearing, and gesticulating like madmen, as the boat dashes along and under between enormous boulders of jet black granite, to touch which would be certain and instantaneous destruction. The water boils and hisses around us; the white foam leaps high into the air, and brightly glitters in the rays of the sun; the strong current drives us along through half a mile of precipice, rock, and spray, till we suddenly glide forth into the calm, smooth water. Close before us is the green Island of Elephantine, while the dull roar of many waters is still heard behind that beauteous rainbow formed by the morning sun shining on the light mist that overhangs the rapids; and many a dark-eyed maid, slight and graceful of figure, swims off to us with the too frequent cry of "Tâ Hawâgeh-buxshees-buxshees." It is wonderful to see how these merry creatures, both boys and girls, swim through the rapids from island to island, one with a flower, another with a date, or someother little offering

to entitle the donor to a present. The air is warm, and so is the water. Clothes are, therefore, thought quite unnecessary, and their modest look and quiet demeanour soon accustom the eye to the quaint little leathern apron, cut in thin strips, and decorated with beads of many colours, which serves as a head-dress in the water, and is fastened round the waist when the little maiden has landed, and shaken off the few sparkling drops that hang to her black glossy skin.

Wandering over the Island of Elephantine, we examined the remains of a granite gateway, built by Alexander the Great, which has apparently been the entrance to some edifice now entirely demolished. There is also the site of a temple, and another building supposed to have been the Nilometer described by Strabo; from him we learn that the temple was built by Amenoph III., in honour of Kneph or Chumbis, the Egyptian god that presided over the inundation of the Nile, and was particularly adored in the vicinity of the cataracts. According to Wilkinson's chronological table of the kings of Egypt, Amenoph III. ascended the throne B. C. 1430, or 101 years after the flight of Moses. The finest ruins on this island were pulled down by a wretched creature, one Mahomed Bey, to build a miserable-looking house, which he was pleased to term a palace, at Aswan. It is now unroofed, and was probably never finished.

At Aswan there are no ruins beyond the Sekos of a small temple, with the oval of "Nero" engraved on it. It is supposed by some travellers that Strabo's well was here, in which the rays of the vertical sun descended during the summer solstice. Aswan is the ancient Syene, to which it is recorded Juvenal was banished. How a *résumé* of these circumstances leads the mind wandering back to very distant epochs! Here I was much interested by the granite quarries, which are of vast extent, though in many places filled up by the drifting sand from the desert. Massive obelisks and gigantic statues, whole temples and cities, even from the most distant ages, have been hewn out of these rocks. The grain of the stone is very beautiful, the red particles in the granite are dark-coloured, and brilliant when polished. The composition appears to be of felspar, quartz, and mica. There is also much of another kind of granite (at least so in appearance) which has been termed "Syenite" (I fancy from the ancient

name of the place) ; it contains no mica, but hornblende instead. I brought away some specimens, which I broke off, and which contain some minute metallic particles that glitter like gold.

Leaving Aswan, we floated down the river the whole night, and arrived at the temple of Kom Ombas. Here I remarked that the granite formation met with throughout Nubia is succeeded by sandstone, which has been quarried much by the ancient Egyptians. It is of close grain, white, and of fine quality generally, and appears to have withstood time and the action of the atmosphere better in buildings than granite, which though harder, appears to disintegrate and crumble more easily, particularly where damp has reached it. The temple here is in ruins ; but it must have been a most extensive one : the arrangements of the halls and rooms is unusual, there being two sanctuaries; probably it was dedicated equally to two gods. Here in a marsh behind the temple we found some good wild-duck shooting.

We returned on board the boat about eleven o'clock, and in a few hours reached Gebel Silsiles, the mountain of the chain. The river here is unusually narrow, and the natives have a tradition that one of the ancient kings of the upper country fastened a chain across the river at this spot. We landed and found very extensive quarries, and several curious grottos consisting of long corridors, supported by pillars cut in the face of the rock, with many sculptures and hieroglyphics depicting battle-scenes and triumphal offerings to Anum Re, the chief or supreme god. From Anum the Greeks probably took their Jupiter. Anum Re was the sun, one of the god's attributes.

We arrived early in the morning at Edfee, and visited the large and very beautiful temple there, which is of comparatively late date, and one of the most perfect existing. The principal propylon is among the largest in Egypt. The height of the doorway really carries the sublime to the verge of the ridiculous, were it not that the vast and imposing propylon or tower over the gateway is in perfect keeping with the whole edifice. The strength of these towers must have been very great in ancient days when bows and arrows were in use ; they probably served as a citadel for the protection of the town, and would also protect or defeat any attempt of the reformers of those days to dispute the authority of their priestly rulers.

The sculptures on the walls of the temple are gigantic, and are cut six or seven inches deep into the stone, a depth which admits of considerable relief and rounding of the limbs and features; some of the most beautiful are in perfect *alto relievo*, but they are of smaller size. The winged globe appears repeatedly, representing the god "Agathodaemen," who was, perhaps, identical with god "Hor Hat," frequently represented here with his wife "Athor," the Egyptian "Aphrodite," depicted as a young mother, looking down with a sweet smile on their son "Horus," or, in short, the Mars, Venus, and Cupid of the Greeks. It seems very probable that the Greek mythology was all borrowed from the Egyptians. These ancient sculptors deserve much credit for the expression they gave their colossal figures; their perspective is very bad, but the whole scene *always* so clearly and distinctly depicts what was so evidently intended, as to suggest the idea, however incredible, that what are really errors in perspective were thus drawn on purpose, and not from ignorance. This fine temple is much disfigured by numerous Arab huts stuck all round and about, and even over it, like swallows' nests Nothing makes one feel the difference between the ancient and modern state of Egypt more than the comparison of these wretched mud huts with edifices of such magnitude and beauty.

One cannot wonder that astronomy was first studied in this land. I have been long used to the clear atmosphere of Asia, and have often watched the bright moon-beams reflected on the deep calm bosom of the Ganges; but never have I seen her shine forth so brightly; never stars possessed such wonderful brilliancy as in Egypt; the distinctness of the Milky Way, the flood of light reflected from Venus or the broad stream once seen can never be forgotten.

The fertility of the soil on the banks of the Nile is very striking; it is entirely an alluvial deposit from the river, and is so rich as actually to look greasy. The crops sprout up very quickly on it, having a peculiarly bright green appearance, and are most tender to the touch; from the rapidity of its growth, the texture of the plant has not time to harden. Two crops of corn, sometimes three, are taken from the same soil annually; indeed, of pulse and vegetables it yields four crops.

J. H. LINTON.

## *FAREWELL TO PEER-PAHAR.*

MONGHYR.

Farewell, O lofty Peer-Páhár,
Farewell, farewell to thee!
Long years will pass ere I again
Thy rugged slopes shall see.

Perchance, upon thy airy height,
My steps no more will stray,
Nor feel upon my weary brow,
Thy fresh'ning breezes play.

Perchance, my last I look upon
These scenes beyond compare,
The rushing stream,—the hills array'd
"In colors of the air!"

For Time has flown, and ah! I feel
Old age has come apace;—
Therefore I linger, loath to leave
This rare, romantic place.

Thou too, O House upon the hill,
A long and last farewell!
Pure Health within thy spacious halls,
Forever loves to dwell.

Tho' far away, and tho' in me
Life's sun has nearly set,
As long as memory lasts, these scenes
I never shall forget!

O. C. DUTT.

[Through want of space we have been compelled to keep back the article on "The Great Festival in Bengal" though the title appears on the cover by mistake. It will appear in our next issue.—ED.]

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THE

# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

NEW SERIES.

No. 4.—OCTOBER 1887.

## *AN ADVENTURE IN AUSTRALIA.*

IT was some years ago that I and two others left Sydney, in New South Wales, for the gold diggings. We were just about to return to Melbourne, where my two mates had been very successful at Eagle Hawk diggings, lying some three miles from Sandhurst, the township of the Bendigo gold fields. Captain H—, one of my mates, assured me he had washed out a single spadeful of the glittering wash dirt, and was rewarded with upwards of 3 lbs. troy weight of the finest gold. In consequence, however, of the wet season, they had left their claims not half worked, as all the flats—at that time the only places where gold was sought for—were under water. Thus the Melbourne diggings, in the months of July and August, were partially deserted, and Sydney reaped the advantage of the miners' custom, the city of Melbourne being unable to afford better accommodation at that period than the bleak tents of the far-famed Canvas Town. Besides, the lucky diggers preferred paying from £8 to £16, according to their means, in visiting Sydney, where the living was fully twice as good, and one-half cheaper, than it was at Melbourne.

As I have said, we intended to return to Eagle Hawk, when a report was circulated, and went the round of the Colonial newspapers, that Bingara, some seventy miles the other side of the Peel River, was far richer in its golden treasures than any of the other gold-fields.

Believing what we all so much wished, we were induced to make for this new El Dorado. After innumerable dangers and difficulties, we visited both Bingara and the Hanging Rock diggings, as they were then called, but found their reputed richness to be a cruel hoax, as hundreds besides ourselves experienced. The report was got up by a certain class of "true patriots," to deceive the emigrant population many hundreds of miles up the country, to prey upon them while their money lasted, and to extort unwilling labour from those who, travel-stained and sick and sore, had no alternative but to tie themselves to masters for months, in order to obtain present subsistence and rest. At that time there was a Masters and Servants Act in force, which gave to the masters both ends and middle of the bargain; and its penal provisions were of the most despotic nature. Having proved, then, the complete deception of the New South Wales diggings, we were *en route* for Victoria, *viâ* Albury, on the Upper Hume or Murray River, which separates the colonies of Victoria and New South Wales, when we met with the following adventure.

We accomplished the first part of our journey without any incident deserving notice; but on the night of the 12th, after a fatiguing tramp of twenty-six miles in a driving rain, being extremely anxious to cross the Lachlan River before it became impassable from the floods, we pushed on long after nightfall; for the river was rising rapidly, owing to the heavy rain which was pouring into it and our anxiety to get in safety across it increased in proportion. We were then a party of three, Captain H—, Mr. W—, and myself, and were accompanied by a cart drawn by three horses, one before the other, two saddle horses, and a colt. We varied our mode of travelling; one day we walked and drove, and the next rode by turns. The cart contained, besides our mining implements and a travelling tent, our provision for the journey, consisting of a bag of flour of 50 lbs. weight to supply us with the never-failing damper; 20 or 30 lbs. of corned mutton and beef; suitable bush clothing; and, most important of all, the powder and shot which were to enable us to defend ourselves from the attacks of bush-rangers, besides adding to our usual monotonous fare of mutton and damper the savoury relish of cockatoos and parrots. Such is the only game these wilds afford, except kangaroos, now very scarce, and opossums, which are only eaten by the natives; though, when stewed with the mutton, they are

by no means to be despised. We had also, of course, a good supply of tea, the universal drink in Australia, and a small quantity of brandy was treasured up for great emergencies.

As we approached the river, being the best mounted, it was my duty to ride forwards for the purpose of finding the ford. I was mounted on a powerful grey mare named *Kitty*. She had not long foaled, and her young colt, *Silvershanks*, had followed the mother all the way from Tamworth on the Peel, and by its frolicsome gambols often served to while away the time during our tedious journey. Trusting to the sagacity of the mare, I soon found the fording place—for it was now dark—and crossed over the river. The Lachlan was here about one-third as wide as the Thames at London Bridge, and as I rode through it, the water reached up to my knees and hips. Aware of the difficulty of a cart crossing it in its present swollen state, I called to Captain H—, who happened to be driving, to lead the horses into the river, the entrance to it being very rotten and boggy. But H—, proud of his skill in driving, and perched on the top of the cart, was not disposed to follow my recommendation. I saw the danger, but it was too late to prevent it. In a moment the shaft horse was carried off his legs, and the cart after a vain struggle of the other horses to set it on its legs again, was completely overturned in the midst of the river.

Here was a situation for our exhausted party. The cart contained all our provision, and three of our horses were struggling in the foaming waters, in the greatest jeopardy. I instantly re-crossed the river, and rode back to obtain assistance from a party of five men whom we had passed about three miles back, and whom we left bivouacking on the ground for the night, they having kindled a fire and made themselves as comfortable as circumstances permitted. I should have mentioned that it is almost invariably the custom in Australia to put up for the night on the commencement of rain, as the horses get collar-wrung from the wet, and the dangers and fatigue of travelling through such a country are too great to be increased by the additional risks of rain and darkness. We should have followed the usual custom, had we not been so anxious to cross the river before the increasing fall of rain rendered it unfordable. We had had to wait three weeks before we could cross the Peel at Tamworth, some ten weeks previously, and it rained in torrents nearly the whole time. Hence arose our anxiety to cross the Lachlan

so late at night as past nine o'clock. People in England, who have never witnessed the floods that often deluge these semi-tropical colonies and which soon convert a gentle stream into a raging torrent hardly know what rain is.

It had become pitch dark when I retraced my steps to ask help from the party we had passed, camping some three quarters of an hour before, and which, I was sure, would not be refused. As I approached them, I called out, "Help! Help!" A cheery "Hallo!" was the response and "What is it?" was the next question. "Our cart is overturned in the Lachlan." "What does it contain?" "Our all." "Then we must try what we can do for you." And wet, weary, and stiff as they were, the brave fellows followed me to the scene of our misfortune.

Their help was indeed most needed. One of our party was holding up the head of the shaft horse to keep him above the rising waters, the other was cutting the traces to free the two other horses, which had awfully entangled themselves by their plunging and their efforts to free themselves. Happily, they were liberated, and scrambled safely back to the place where we were, and we were thus all enabled to unite our efforts in raising the overturned cart, and rescuing its contents. For, unprepared for such a catastrophe, we had simply placed the heavier articles at the bottom, our blankets on the top, and, in order to keep them dry, had lightly covered the whole with the tent. This was not strong enough to resist the weight so suddenly thrown upon it, and consequently every thing was pitched into the river.

Our task was perilous in the extreme. The water was now up to our arm-pits, and the stream was so strong that it was only by extending our legs and using the utmost caution that we could resist its force and keep our footing. In this critical position we had to duck under water, and, laying hold of one article after another, pass them from hand to hand. But we worked with a will, and at length nearly everything, though much damaged, was recovered; and by a mighty effort the cart was also righted and we had the satisfaction of seeing it brought without any great injury to the bank where our jaded cattle were tethered.

This task accomplished, our kind friends prepared to leave us. We had little to give them in return for their generous aid but we offered to share with them our small store of brandy. This, however, the noble fellows, seeing our forlorn condition, resolutely refused, and we could not but feel ourselves that

it was a mockery thus to attempt to repay the service they had rendered us. So, with hearty thanks on our side, and cordial good wishes on theirs, we let them depart with a sense of the full weight of their generosity, and they returned to their own watch-fire and the rest they so much needed.

Behold us, then, once more alone, drenched to the skin, tired, and hungry—as wretched, perhaps, as it is possible to conceive. And yet our troubles were by no means ended. Our lucifer matches had been wetted by the overturn of the cart, and we had no means of kindling a fire.

Just at this moment we saw a light, apparently not a mile distant, and, thinking it might be a party of our countrymen encamping for the night, I again set out to beg some matches or a little live fuel to light our fire. I knew the danger of riding through the bush at such a time, where there was no path, and where a blow from a projecting branch of a tree might dash out my brains, or hurl me from my seat, and where in after days, only a few whitened bones would be left to tell of my fate. But fire we must have; and as the light seemed very near, I commended myself to the kind Providence who had watched over me through so many dangers, and, bending my head down to the neck of my faithful mare, and grasping her mane, I again trusted to her sagacity to bring me to the spot where the light was visible. I knew she would take as direct a course as possible, independent of all obstacles; but I also knew that where there was room for her head under the projecting branches there must be also room for my head, provided it did not rise higher than her own.

Keeping the light before me as well as I could, I rode forwards—now through tall trees and thick under-wood, and now over the bare heath. But we had been deceived in the distance and on and on I went, the light still seeming to fly before me. At length I found, by its increasing brightness, that I was in reality getting nearer to it, and a few moments more brought me full in view—not of a party of friendly Englishmen, but of a scene not easily described. The light which had been visible at such a distance proceeded from an enormous burning tree. Like many of its fellows, it was one that had fallen from decay, leaving its massive roots upturned in the air; and this gigantic log had been set on fire, and must have been burning already three or four days. Round this tremendous fire sat a party of thirty or forty persons black as jet, and perfectly naked—men, women, and children—

gorging themselves in savage brutality on the remains of a feast of opossums. The effect of my appearance in their midst, unexpected as it was, can hardly be conceived. Let the reader picture me bursting suddenly upon them, mounted on my mare, which, as I have said, happened to be a grey one; my own hair and beard turned perfectly white by early troubles, (which I will not dwell on now) and guiltless of razor or scissors for many months, flowing not only under the broad rim of my wide-awake, but extending half-way down my breast like an ancient Druid's. The men might well be excused for concluding me to be a spirit; less superstitous minds might have been as easily deceived. Such at any rate, they took me for, and the effect was like magic. With yells of terror they took to their heels, leaving me in undisturbed possession of the fire.

But how to take a portion of the glowing embers to my expectant friends was the next point to be settled. The glare was so intense that I could not get my mare near the burning tree, and when, having dismounted, and tied her up at some sixty yards distance to a stout sapling, I endeavoured to secure a pannikin of the red ashes, it was put out with a hiss by the pouring rain. After many vain attempts, in which the rain effectually baffled all my efforts, the pannikin became too hot to hold, and I found it impossible to carry off any of the fuel.

I was just thinking how I should face my mates without bringing with me the precious live wood they were expecting so impatiently, when I happily remembered that I had two wax vestas in my waistcoat pocket, and, poor as this chance seemed to be to supply us with fire, it was the only one left, and I hastened back to my friends.

Again I had to brave the perils of the shrub unguided this time by the slightest clue as to their whereabouts, but still trusting to the sagacity of the mare, which was as anxious as myself to regain our companions and return to her foal.

Away she flew, I could do nothing but let her have her lead. Once, indeed, she paused, and I was fearful she had lost her track; but listening with all the intensity of apprehension, I heard—oh, joyful sound!—the faint neighing of a horse. The mare had heard it too, and, pricking up her ears, she answered it with such a neigh that it must have roused from their slumbers cockatoos, parrots, mope-hawks, opossums, and the whole inhabitants of the wood. The neigh was repeated again

and again, and as often answered by the mare, till at length I could distinguish plainly the shrill neighing of the foal and the cooeying of my anxious friends, which I immediately returned. My noble mare, thus encouraged, dashed forwards, and in considerably less time than it had taken me to go I rejoined my comrades.

Great was their disappointment at the failure of my mission. They had been employed during my absence in gathering materials for the fire and rubbing in their hands small portions of stringy bark, which they then dried in their bosoms, ready to add to the live embers they expected I should bring with me. All our hopes now lay in the two vestas, which I at once produced. Had not so much depended on it, I could have smiled at our eagerness as we prepared to set light to one of them. Everything was so saturated with the rain which continued to pour down that the only dry thread upon any one of us was the tail of my cotton shirt where it was protected by the saddle. From this I proceeded to tear small fragments, the size of a crown piece, to serve as tinder. Then, all crowding together, and holding our broad wide-awakes as a cover, we set light to one of the vestas, sheltering with our hands the tiny flame when kindled, with the greatest care. Surely no little infant was ever watched over by a tender mother with greater anxiety than was that feeble light by us. Indeed, our zeal almost defeated its own ends, and the adage that "too many cooks spoil the broth" was likely to have held good in this instance also. For a long while our efforts to fan this small red glow of the tinder into a flame seemed fruitless; but the wide-awake makes an excellent substitute for a pair of bellows, and the tiny flame being judiciously fed with the bark, it gradually increased in strength till at length we were able to set light to the old hollow stump of an already scorched tree, which had been selected for our fire, and it soon roared up into a noble blaze.

We were now able to turn our attention to our poor horses, which had remained all this while in harness, and without a mouthful of food; for we dared not loosen them lest they should stray away in search of better quarters beyond our reach.

Our horses attended to, we were next able to think of our own wants; and right glad were we to stretch our wearied limbs by the grateful warmth of the fire, and dry our saturated garments and blankets. All our stock of flour was unfortunately spoilt by the capsize of the cart; but we had our mutton and tea, and, lighting our pipes we were soon in comparative comfort.

It was then for the first time, that I recollected I carried in my trousers pocket 170 one pound bank notes, our joint property. I thrust my hand into my pocket for them, and found, to my dismay, only a mass of pulp. What with being nearly three hours in the river, and what with the friction produced by my rapid ride of nearly twelve miles there and back, besides being wet through all day long from continual rain, the notes were so injured that it was impossible to recognise what they once had been, and I threw them in disgust, a hissing mass, into the fire. I had been too much excited to think of our poor notes before.

L. H.

# *THE GREAT FESTIVAL IN BENGAL.*

A POOJAH RIGMAROLE.

ONCE again did it come—the Great Festival in Bengal—to the joy of the rich, to the misery of the poor! It comes every year. It did come this year. Joy, Joy! But is this joy universal? Is this joy all unmixed? None but the Bengalee knows the answers. To the Englishman the questions suggest only confusion. He cannot say, he knows so little of India—the inner life of its people, that is. "To them we are a wonder, a mystery: to us they are a sealed book" remarked a very noble Englishman a little while ago writing to a friend in England about the present strained relations between Englishmen and Natives in India. But it is not exactly a sealed book. To the Englishman we are an unopened book. John Bull does not care to study us; it is no interest of his—there is nothing of self in it. And John Bull in India is nothing if not selfish. He lives here, in fact, every minute that he breathes, with an eye always to business. But, I think, there is another reason of John Bull's apathy towards affairs Native. "John Bull has got only two words in his dictionary," once wrote a well-known Native journalist. "They are 'splendid' and 'humbug.' That which he understands is 'splendid,' that which he does not is 'humbug.'"

So this Great Festival of the people comes and goes, as it just came and went, without their rulers sharing in, or sympthizing with, its joys or sorrows. Of joys it has enough and to spare; of sorrows, alas, none the less under the British! English education—I will not say enlightenment—has served to make the Bengalee a little more selfish. Before the introduction of English education, the Bengalee Hindu did not understand self quite to such an extent. Not that we were not selfish before, not that self is a new word in our lexicon. We had enough of selfishness in us. Not that we loved selfishness less, but we loved unselfishness more. The

fact is the Hindu idea of charity is something very different from that of the English. "Give him who wants," says the Hindu. "No, give him who deserves" says John Bull. The Hindu idea is so simple, the English so very involved. All that the Hindu cares to know about the object of his charity is whether he has *any* want. An Englishman must know whether he has any *real* want. 'Real want,' as explained by John Bull, excites a soft significant smile in the Hindu. If you are to throw a pice to the beggar at your door, you must ascertain whether he is an idle man or a drunkard. If he is lazy or given to drink—which, alas! takes a very long time to ascertain—you must not give him anything. Therefore send whatever you want to spend in charity to some charity institution—be discriminate in your charity. Not a bad joke this to the mild knowing Hindu. He gives to the man who extends his palm for an alms—no matter what he asks it for, no matter whether he is a drunkard or an idle man. He must be in want or he will not ask. Thanks to discriminate charity for which, in Christian countries, the poor die from starvation. Thanks to indiscriminate charity which has yet saved the beggar, in Hindustan, from being starved to death!

Time was when the wealthy zemindar would give away money and cloth to every man of his village or town on the occasion of the Poojah, and the custom still prevails in many places. English philosophy has contracted this broad mind. Now no body cares to know how his neighbour, or not to speak of neighbour, how his near and dear poor realation fares. English education has made the Hindoo withdraw himself more and more within the inner recesses of his Ego. Self reigns supreme in him.

"The weak Bengalee worshipping power!" that is another joke for John Bull. The reason is not far to seek. John Bull believes in brute power—the reason of John Bull's contempt of the weak Bengalee. But the Bengalee is only physically weak. Mentally and spiritually, the average Bengalee is any day equal to a dozen John Bull. The Bengalee Hindoo worships Power—but not Brute Power. The idol he sets up represents Power—Brute Power tempered by Justice and Mercy. Centuries of worship with the unusual amount of spirituality in him has resulted in making him more and more mentally and spiritually powerful than physically. This is the secret of his quick intelligence—the wonder of nations! The dazzle of materialism of the West blinded him to the spirituality within himself. The dazzle is gone from his eyes now, and

the glorious light of his spiritual self once more soothes them. The work of reaction is almost complete. The scales have fallen from his eyes. The spell of beef, the bottle and the Bible no more holds him. He is free once more from the fetters of materialism—what a fine civilised brute the three B's could conspire to make him! How slowly, how thickly they managed to throw a veil over his spiritual sight! The symbolic representation of Mother Durga was but so much lump of clay and straw! And then the paint—what a horrid paint—all yellow and black! The confounded artist had yet to learn the rudiments of the art. The 'lady' should have been all rose, with cherry lips—what a stupid color for such a wealth of hair! Gold for such charming flowing tresses and a pair of Venuses for the horrid jet eye-balls. There! It would have looked well. And then the lady's clothes—a gown and skirt———"Hush!" Steps in Reaction. One wave of the wand and the thick veil of materialism over his inner vision is withdrawn, the stony crust of materialism around his soul dissolves at one touch. The spiritual eyes again lift their heavy lids—lo! he starts—with ecstacy! Before him is Truth in resplendent glory—the Goddess Durga! Mother Durga—no more the ill-painted, ill-dressed lump of clay! He stands before his Beloved! He stands bathed in the effulgence of Justice and Mercy—what a blending of two extremes—the Motherhood of God!

What country in the world can give us an equivalent to our Bijayá Day—the Day of the Immersion of the Goddess—the day of actual, nay, practical Universal Brotherhood. Peace, peace! Bad feelings slink away from the heart, every heart, for a day. Peace and goodwill to all—friend or foe. Friend or foe—a warm embrace to all. A warm embrace—and no fear of the concealed dagger. Goodwill reigns supreme in the land, in every place, in every home, in every heart. *Siddhi*, that is, wishing you success, and then sweets to you, what a compact of peace and friendship! This is Universal Brotherhood with sweet vengeance!

SURENDRANATH MOOKERJEE.

# NOTES ON MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE'S "FIRST VISIT."

IN a fit of generosity almost any man may exclaim "Paint me as I am," but few can really endure to be painted as they are. If the portraiture reveals even a scar, they will sooner believe that the painter does not know his buisness than that their skin is not the perfection of smoothness. Cromwells are rare in this world, and they are particularly rare in India. Men do not like to be painted as they are. Mr. Herbert Gladstone, in his article entitled "A First Visit to India," contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* for July, has made, as we believe, a successful attempt to paint the press and the parties in India as they are. Praise has been given where praise is due, and defects have been mercilessly exposed. The result has been that scarcely any party or any section of the Indian press thinks that it has been properly dealt with. With the readiness to appropriate praise, there has been exhibited a strong disposition to ignore censure or to condemn it as unjust. Now, this will never do. If there is to be an improvement in our present situation, it will not do to listen approvingly to songs sung in our praise and to turn a deaf ear to discourses on our defects. I seek to emphasise and comment upon some of Mr. Herbert Gladstone's leading positions in the hope that some practical good may come of a proper consideration of them.

The following description of the press of India will strike impartial observers as perfectly accurate: "No doubt there is often enough directed against the Government abuse of varying intensity, which is inaccurately called disloyalty, and a cry goes up for its suppression. But in nine cases out of ten it is entirely analogous to the abuse which partisan newspapers in England pour upon a Government of opposite politics.' In India the Government does not change, and there is no buffer between it and the people who naturally enough pour in their fire without reserve. It may, however, be said with confidence that, bad as are some personal-

ities in the vernacular press of India, it is a question whether the palm in this respect is not at times carried off by some of the English journals published in India, and to those of us who are accustomed to the infamous and lying methods which many of the lower partisan papers habitually adopt in England against political opponents, it is astonishing to find how highly nervous are the sensibilities of some of our countrymen in India." The native press has no business to take this as an unqualified compliment. There should not be directed against the Government, abuse of *any* intensity, and there should be *no* personalities in the vernacular press of India; and so far as these rules are violated, a wrong is committed, whatever the excuse may be. As the native press is the subject of a great deal of discussion at the present day, it is just as well to clear up a point or two in connection with it. In the first place, it is necessary to bear in mind that the general expression "native press" includes a number of journals, all of which have not the same merits or defects. There are foolish journals and sensible journals; well-informed journals and ill-informed journals; rabid journals and polite journals; spiteful, ill-natured journals and quiet, good-tempered journals. To place them all under one ban and anathema, because they all are members of the "native press" is not only unreasonable and unjust, but inexpedient and even mischievous. The sweeping censure loses nearly all its force as soon as one respectable, well-informed, polite 'native journal' is discovered. A single contradictory instance overthrows a general proposition. In the next place, fair-minded men who guide themselves by the maxim that nine guilty persons should escape rather than one innocent person should be punished, would be unwilling to support any system of rules proposed for the regulation of the entire native press. They would never allow the innocent to suffer with the guilty; would never encourage the idea of taking away privileges from a whole class because some of its members have proved themselves undeserving of those privileges. Lastly, a general denunciation of the native press puts the whole of that press on its defence and fails to secure the support of the better native journals in what should be a common crusade against all perverse and mischievous journals. The idea is probably never entertained in any quarter to impose by law any restraint on the freedom of the Indian press or of any section of it. License must be checked by moral force.

Moral force, or the force of public opinion, can only be exerted by newspapers themselves, or by the people. And first, of newspapers. The better papers should be able to improve the tone of the entire press by example and precept. If they administer censure to the inferior papers, the censure must be couched in moderate and polite language. Abuse, vehement censure, or passionate preaching, addressed to the offending journals, will do more harm than good. It will be self-contradictory, and, as a means of correction, will be about as appropriate as to cruelly beat a boy in order to teach him to behave kindly to smaller boys. In the next place, it will be impolitic to subject rabid journals to a treatment which will enable them to pose as martyrs. They excite indignation because they persecute people, because they are passionate rather than judicious. If they are themselves persecuted, they will excite sympathy and not indignation. Therefore, if the more staid and respectable journals have to administer lessons to their erring brethren, it is absolutely necessary that the instruction should be managed with tact, courtesy and good sense. It is also necessary that the respectable Anglo-Indian journals should act in concert with the respectable native journals. If all Anglo-Indian journals are described by any party as faultless, and the entire native press is condemned as worthless and mischievous, sensible men who know the real state of affairs will be disposed to conclude that the object of the party is not to reform the press but to discredit the natives. There are inequalities in the native press, and there are inequalities in the Anglo-Indian press. To indulge in unqualified generalisations about either press would be at once unjust and mischievous. Correction has to be attempted not only by preaching but by example, and it cannot escape observation that sometimes the abuse indulged in by native papers is the result of adequate provocation received from Anglo-Indian papers or from particular Anglo-Indian gentlemen.

The party which in the last resort must exercise the most potent influence on the tone of the press is *the people*,—the constituency which the papers represent and to which they are addressed. It is for the Anglo-Indian community to regulate the tone of the Anglo-Indian press. If rabid writing entails the loss of an appreciable number of subscribers every time it is indulged in, rabid writing will cease. So likewise, it is for the native community to regulate the tone of the native press. But here a distinction has to be drawn. A portion of the native community reads newspapers to

see in them a reflection of its own sentiments ; the largest portion of the community has scarcely any sentiments of its own, and allows itself to be guided entirely by newspapers. The well-educated natives may exercise a control over the tone of the native press ; other native readers are themselves controlled by the press. The result is, journalists do not always realise their responsibility. They know that whatever they write will "go down." *Any* opinions will be accepted by the unthinking majority, if they are expressed in an interesting way ; or rather, any opinions will be *tolerated*, for no opinions are ever *accepted*, in the sense of being assimilated. Personalities, sarcasm, buffoonery, will enable two papers to be read with equal approval, though they may express contradictory views. The readers of the vernacular papers in Bengal have, as a rule, hardly any convictions in political matters ; and it is not always that readers of the Anglo-native papers have any convictions. It will be a long time before the entire native press of Bengal comes to be a real exponent and educator of native public opinion. There is not a large newspaper-reading community, nor a prosperous trading or mercantile community which can support native newspapers with 'Advertisements.' Newspapers, therefore, are not, from a commercial point of view, hopeful concerns ; and they fail to attract the best talents or the highest energies of the country. Nevertheless, from circumstances more or less of an accidental character, a few able and cultivated men are employed on the press, and a few newspapers are well conducted.

One of the most prolific sources of mischief is the idea prevalent among a large section of the native community that the paramount function of the press is to keep up perpetual opposition to the Government. There is something romantic, no doubt, in this idea of the Indian press being Her Majesty's Opposition, but as a matter of fact, serious evil results from the native press considering it its duty eternally to find fault with the Government. The Opposition in the House of Commons is better instructed than the native press. Members of the Opposition may ask questions and inform themselves ; and free discussion exposes their errors. What is the state of things in India? Mr. Herbert Gladstone observes with perfect truth :—

When there was but little education, and the press had not risen to power, it was convenient enough that the Government should not be put in public on its defence. Now the case is different. The business of the Government has multiplied enormously, its operations are manifest,

and the individual interest in its actions has become keen, intelligent, and universal. Newspapers have everywhere sprung up, and both from the European and native point of view a constant stream of criticism, often fair but sometimes quite the reverse, is directed against the Supreme Government. In the midst of this the Government is silent. It has no means of self-defence. The occasional speeches delivered on special occasions by the Viceroy and high officials are usually of too formal a nature to serve for the purposes of full exposition and of answering attacks. There is no Government newspaper. And so condemnatory and inaccurate assertions, though they may be corrected, constantly crop up again and reiterated denials and corrections, necessary to dispose of them effectually, are not, and cannot, be made. This state of things is a double misfortune. It puts the Government at a great disadvantage, and it tends to demoralise writers and speakers who, finding their arguments and attacks unanswered, give the rein to their imaginations and get into the habit of indulging in loose generalities and of making statements founded on the assumption that all that they have written or spoken, because unanswered, is true There seem to be two remedies for this state of things The Government might start an official or semi-official newspaper, to be published as often as it was found expedient. This might be of great service, but the truer and more abiding remedy will be found in a gradual increase of the representative system in Imperial and local Government of India, and in the institution of full debates in the Legislative Councils.

The embarrassments of the Government in not having the means and the opportunity of answering unfounded accusations brought by irresponsible writers in the press, were dwelt upon by Lord Ripon on a memorable occasion. Journalists seem to forget that Government ought to have the benefit of the same presumption which protects the meanest of Her Majesty's subjects, namely, that every accused person should be taken to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty. Newspapers are very often ready to accuse the Government, to raise every presumption against it, and to convict it without giving it a hearing. Native newspapers are not alone to blame, though it is true that they arraign the Government more persistently than the Anglo-Indian newspapers. It is no doubt necessary that there should be criticism of Government measures, and in a country where any discussion properly so called does not exist in the Legislative Councils, and where the people are so little represented in the Councils, the press must undertake the task of criticism. But criticism is not synonymous with condemnation. Journalists commit a mistake not when they criticise the measures of the Government but when they make it the sole business of their lives to endeavour to find fault with all that the Government says or does. It cannot be that Government is always in the wrong; but there are journalists who never notice the good deeds of the Government

or who dispose them of with the scantiest and most hurried acknowledgments, reserving the largest share of their time and attention for what they consider to be the *mis*-deeds of Government. This habit is doubly mischievous. It paralyses the energy of the Government in well doing, and it withdraws the attention of the journalists themselves from useful work. Government is human. If the best of its services are never appreciated, never spoken of in kind terms by the men who are served, can it be expected to work with a heart? If the Government has feelings, can they not be embittered by a systematic display of ingratitude? And if the duties of the press include the elightenment of the people and the guidance of public opinion, is it right that newspapers should neglect all concerns but the proceedings of the Government? Is it not surprising that native newspapers, especially those which profess to represent the masses, should employ themselves habitually in instructing the English Government here and at home, and lecturing even to Russia, France and Germany, and should ignore the proceedings of Local Boards, District Boards and Municipalities in Bengal? that they should write about the politics of Herzegovina and not describe the wants of the ryots, the tyranny (if there is any) of the zemindars, their *naibs* and *gomastas*? that they should address all their criticisms, exhortations and sermons to the authorities and not to the people? Have not the people duties to perform? And if they have, why should the press not dwell on those duties and insist on their performance? The idea seems to prevail in certain quarters that a paper can display courage, independence and ability, only by attacking Government in the abstract, or by attacking Government officials. No idea can be more erroneous, and surely none is more mischievous. Government is magnanimous enough to ignore abuse, and even takes in and pays for newspapers which abuse it. The vilest scribbler may indulge in invectives against the Government with impunity. There are scarcely two journalists in Bengal who could stand even a brief cross-examination on the subject of the financial condition of India, and yet there are few journalists who do not delight to dwell on the "increasing poverty of India" and to hold Government solely responsible for the phenomenon. Reckless writing will be mischievous in more ways than one. There is no reason to apprehend that it will provoke disaffection. Bengal, to its credit be it said, will never be revolutionary or seditious. But there must be mischief of the moral and intellectual sort in the propagation of

erroneous ideas, in the persistent display of a carping spirit. And there is mischief in self-assertion, in the assumption of a defiant attitude. The native press has the sympathy of men like Mr. Herbert Gladstone precisely because it is poor and helpless and is weaker than the Anglo-Indian press. If it is arrogant and defiant, and if it persecutes people, sympathy will be transferred to its victims. The native press is in reality helpless and poor in resources; but if it affects to be important and terrorises the Government, so much the worse for it. It comes to be regarded as a mighty engine of evil which should be crushed rather than developed. India will lose her best friends, if the native press writes recklessly and if the worst specimens of writing are brought to the notice of her friends. Whoever has known Bengal long enough, knows that native journalists, especially the writers in the vernacular press, very often do injustice to themselves by their writings. The writings very often show a discontent which the writers do not possess; they express a dislike of officials which the writers do not feel; they constitute a censure of the Government and its work, which the writers believe to be not wholly deserved. Enthusiastic condemnation of the Government is supposed to be of the essence of patriotism; and therefore, several journalists think fit to simulate indignation when particular measures are planned or passed.

As Mr. Herbert Gladstone observes, the remedy is either to have an official organ, or to make Government gradually more and more representative and allow full and free discussion in the Legislative Councils. The latter will, of course, be really the more efficacious and permanent remedy. After this reform has been accomplished, the tone of the Anglo-Indian press as well as of the native press will improve. "It is a misfortune," observes Mr. Herbert Gladstone, "that the politics of Anglo-Indians are practically of only one colour." If the Anglo-Indians were divided into two camps, the Whigs and the Tories, the educated natives, counting upon the assistance of the Whigs, would be more moderate than they are. But as the Anglo-Indians are one party and have a uniform politics, the educated natives, so far as they are represented by the native press, seem to have constituted themselves into another party, and their politics, too, are of only one colour. This is very much to be regretted. Race-feeling cannot help being kept up in more or less intensity in a country where in political life the only two parties are natives and Anglo-Indians One of the surest means of securing good

feeling between the two races and a full and fair discussion of Government measures, would be to encourage diversity of political opinion among Anglo-Indians as well as among the educated natives of India. The few Anglo-Indians who have made themselves unpopular with their class by breaking the monotony of their opinion, have succeeded in securing the confidence of the natives, in attaching them to the Government, in moderating their demands, and in interpreting to them the policy of the Government. If some natives of India, of education and position, could display similar courage and have opinions of their own, they could serve admirably as peace-makers. Otherwise, the two parties, representing two extremes, will defy the proverb and *not* meet.

The native and the Anglo-Indian communities and their organs, the native press and the Anglo-Indian press, cannot be for ever in a state of war. Nor is it for the good of the country, or for their own good that they should be in a state of war. How an improvement can be brought about in the state of the press, has been suggested already. Better feeling between the two communities can only be secured by settling once for all the standing grounds of contention. Some sort of representative Government is one of the methods of settlement. The native community, as well as the non-official Anglo-Indian community, would cease to regard the Government as an enemy when their representatives would be part of the Government. The details of a scheme of representation will have to be settled with the greatest care and judgment. Representation of numerical majorities will not suffice. The English community has a stake in the country, and is in every way fitted to have a degree of representation which cannot be measured by the mere number of Anglo-Indian residents. The following observations of Mr. Herbert Gladstone summarise nearly all that can be said on the question of principle. "No sensible man wishes to precipitate on the Government of India, situated as it is between inflammable native and European material, any drastic change the results of which could not pretty clearly be estimated. Every sensible man, too, sees plainly that in certain things the Supreme Government must have ample power to act on its responsibility to the Government at home without interrogation or delay. But the internal administration of India is of vital importance to the people of India, and if it is not yet possible to adopt a thoroughly representative system, it is difficult to see any valid objections to the fullest

opportunities being given to secure the power of criticism and debate to those most directly concerned and interested in Indian affairs."

The topic about which the battle between the two parties rages the most fiercely, is employment in the Public Service. Here also the principle of settlement is simple and clear. It is Free Trade in Intellect. Race or religion should not in the slightest degree be a qualification or disqualification for office. Justice and expediency alike demand that fitness, intellectual, moral and physical, should be recognised by the Government as the only qualification for office. Upon this point, too, Mr Herbert Gladstone's views are explicit: "Subject to the absolute necessity of having an executive and judiciary throughout the country upon which complete reliance may be put, it is the duty of England to take every possible advantage of the efficient services of natives, and by a constant intermingling of European and native interests to add largely to the stability of the social and political fabric."

It is the duty of all wise and honorable men, of whatever race or creed, not to foment jealousy or other species of ill-feeling between Englishmen and natives of India, not to set up a conflict between Anglo-Indian interests and Indian, but to strain every nerve to promote harmony. Sojourners in a hotel, or casual visitors to a place of amusement, may afford to quarrel and fight; the annoyance is temporary, for it is terminated by the inevitable separation of the combatants. But men who are fated to live together as long as they live, cannot do a more foolish thing than to quarrel all their lives, nor a wiser thing than to discover bases of sympathetic action. The connection of England and India is not a thing of hours or days or months or years, but, so far as it is possible to see, for all time. India is not like an hotel where Anglo-Indian and Indian sojourners may afford to live a limited time on any terms, friendly or hostile; it is not like a place of amusement where Anglo-Indian and Indian visitors may exchange hard words, come to blows, and, after separation, feel happy. India is the permanent home of Indians, and it is a sort of second home to Anglo-Indians. Is it then wise to keep up animosity, or strained relations for ever? Is any thing to be gained by deliberately making life miserable? It is particularly fatuous to persist in hostility when grounds of reconciliation are available. If either party expects that it will extinguish the other party and leave no rival on the field, it is greatly mistaken. The two parties must have to live side by side,

and the sooner they can afford to shake hands upon fair and honorable terms, the better for them both. A mixed Government consisting of representative Englishmen and Indians, a mixed Service consisting of the best Englishmen and Indians, a moderate Press representing the best interests of the country and not of parties, would be admirable means of securing peace and harmony. The following words of Mr. Herbert Gladstone must elicit a sympathetic response from every rightly constituted heart: "It should be our constant policy to make the interests of natives and Europeans so far identical as to be harmonious. And while this should be the task of the Government, scarcely less valuable work can be done by all classes of non-official residents in India as well as by the friends of India at home." A vast amount of energy has been wasted and mischief produced by unceasing friction; and the cry of all sane, sensible, feeling men ought to be —Harmony!

HORTENSIUS.

# A PLEA FOR SANSKRIT.

## I.

SOME of the students of the Calcutta colleges have got up a silly clamour in order to have Bengali, instead of Sanskrit, as an optional language in the F A. Examination of the Calcutta University. The movement is being unfortunately supported by some of our leading men. At any rate, the whole affair is being managed in the orthodox style of our political associations and so-called mass meetings. Whether the game be worth the kind of chase or not, we have already an Undergraduates' Association started into existence, which cannot possibly serve any useful purpose beyond giving scope to the * *cacoethes loquandi* of its promoters. We have had meetings, speeches and resolutions following in due course. And now we have what is called, in the language of our 'political' boys, newspaper agitation. Already some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries have been induced to wield their powerful pens in support of the memorial which has been submitted to the Syndicate of the University by the leaders of the movement. We have too much confidence in the learning and good sense of the Senators of the University to suppose, for a moment, that they would make the concession which has been asked. Yet a few words as to the relative claims of our vernacular and Sanskrit may not be altogether inopportune.

To those who are sufficiently acquainted with the languages and literature of our country, the importance of the cultivation of Sanskrit by native students must be obvious. There are very few good books in the Bengali language which can be placed in the hands of boys. The poetical works of Bharut Chundra, Vidyapati and Chandidas are masterpieces in their own

* From the tenor of this passage, it is not to be supposed that we look upon public speaking with disfavour On the contrary we attach great importance to the cultivation of oratorial power by our educated countrymen The aspirants for political leadership amongst us, are very frequently stigmatised as mere talkers who are neither willing nor able to take part in the battle of life. But the mania of talking is not indigenous, and the countrymen of Burke, Sheridan, Beaconsfield, Bright and Gladstone should be the last persons to throw cold water on the aspirations of our public speakers.

way. But they are so tinged—I should rather say surcharged—with obscenity, that they can by no means be prescribed as text books. For more than ten years after the foundation of the Calcutta University, Bengali was the second language in all the examinations, from the Matriculation to the B. A. Degree. The text books prescribed in those times, were, with very few exceptions absolute trash. The range of choice was confined mainly to the publications of the late Dr K. M. Banerji and a few antiquated works, like the *Purusha Pariksha* and the *Betal Pachisi*. None of these books had any recommendation whatever. Their style and sentiments served only to provoke the contempt and laughter of students. We have some decidedly better books now, as, for instance, the poems of Madhu Sudan and Hem Chandra. Yet we cannot recommend them as text books for the F. A. examinees. There is nothing in the works of these or other contemporary authors which F. A. students cannot master without the help of teachers. The very promoters of the movement for superseding Sanskrit by Bengali, would not consider it worth while to have passages of the *Meghnada* or *Kavitabali* explained to them by pundits. If the indulgence, which they ask, be granted, the only result would be to give premium to idleness, and to make the office of pundits in English schools sinecures, as was the case formerly.

It is no doubt desirable that the Graduates of the University should possess sufficient command over their mother tongue, to be able to speak and write in it, with fluency and correctness. But the very foundation of Hindi and Bengali lies in Sanskrit. And no one can be a good writer or speaker in any of the vernacular languages of India, without some knowledge of the classical language and literature of the country. The Hindu students of English schools can, without the help of teachers, go through the best works in their spoken languages. But the ordinary student cannot possibly hope to acquire a knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, by voluntary study at home. The kind of discipline and mental strain, which it requires in the beginning, is possible only in school life. There are many among our old University graduates who would fain devote their talents and their energy in search of

"the gems of purest ray serene"

which lie buried in the boundless ocean of ancient Sanskrit literature. But they only sigh that they had not, in their younger days, that preliminary training in the subject, without which self culture in it is well nigh impossible. It is neither necessary nor possible,

that every one should be a great pundit. So vast is the ocean of Sanskrit literature, that after years of diligent and patient study, very few among the votaries of *Saraswaty* make any progress beyond gathering pebbles on its shores.

In may not be given to all to be a Rajendra Lala or Taranath, or a Nyapanchanan. But those who aspire to University degrees and honors, ought to be able to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the classical language of the country, so as to be able to converse in it or at least to avoid Anglicism and lapses of grammar in their vernacular writings. It is not merely from a sentimental desire of keeping "the well of pure Bengali undefiled" that we lay stress upon the cultivation of Sanskrit. The Anglicised modes of expression and grammatical blunders which abound in the vernacular writings of many of our best graduates, and especially, in the translations which are published under authority of Government, render them very often altogether unintelligible. The money which is spent in these translations is, in a great measure, simply thrown away. Most of the legal Codes in Bengali are so worded, that it is well nigh impossible to gather any meaning from them, nay, on careful examination, several passages would be found therein that suggest the very opposite of the sense intended. So carelessly are these translations made that new words have been coined, nay, in some instances, English words have been adopted, where, with a little industry, the necessary equivalents could have been found in Sanskrit. Great improvement has been recently made in the *personnel* of the Translation Department. But as yet nothing has been done to recast the Codes, for the purpose of making them more intelligible to the class of people for whom they are intended, we refer to their defects here to show how necessary a knowledge of Sanskrit is to those who have to translate English books into Bengali, or to use it as the vehicle of their own original thoughts.

By a knowledge of Sanskrit we do not mean that smattering of it which is now imparted by Vidyasagar's Upakramanika and by Pundit Nyaratna's selections. To acquire a knowledge of the language of our gods, it is absolutely necessary to study the splendid system of grammar which is its chief glory. The opponents of Sanskrit would perhaps say that it is altogether impossible for the students of our English colleges and schools properly to study any one of those grammatical codes which some of the best scholars have failed to master. The aspirants for University degrees cannot bestow

their undivided attention to one subject, like the pupils of native *toles* and grammar schools. But, on the other hand, the text books used by the latter are mere manuscripts, the very perusal of which taxes their energy sorely. Then again, manuscript commentaries are so rare and costly that, in the majority of cases, they have to depend entirely on the verbal explanations which are given by their teachers. With all these drawbacks, the more talented and diligent students usually take about two years only to acquire mastery in their grammar. With printed books and commentaries, the students of Indian colleges and schools ought to be able to master the same before graduating in the B. A. degree, if the study be commenced before Matriculation. The grammar of Bopadeva contains about 1,184 *sutras*. At the rate of two hundred sutras per annum, the whole can be studied in at most six years. The experiment seems to us to be worth trying, and it would afford us great pleasure, if the authorities of the University give the question their due consideration, after the present cry against Sanskrit has subsided.

The thorough mastery which the students of the *tolas* acquire in all the branches of their study, is due to the splendid system of teaching which prevails in the native seminaries, and to the zeal and earnestness of the teachers who preside there. With all our boasted high education, we must confess, that there is not one amongst us who has, in any branch of learning, that thoroughness which characterizes the great pundits of the country. The cause of this is not far to seek. To the native pundits the work of teaching is a labor of love; whereas the Professors and teachers of English colleges and schools are paid servants who cannot be all expected to throw their whole heart into their work. Unlike them the native pundit never gets tired of his work. Early in the morning the pupils of *toles* recite their daily lesson at least 20 times, the senior students being applied to successively by all the juniors for the explanation of the same passage. About an hour after sunrise, the pundit arrives in the seminary. As soon as he takes his seat, he is surrounded by all the pupils, senior and junior. The daily lecture commences with the lesson of the least advanced pupil. As soon as one passage is explained, the pundit is overwhelmed with all sorts of questions from the senior pupils. Sometimes hot discussions ensue. But the pundit must satisfy every one before he goes home at noon, or they would leave

him all in a body. The frequent revision of old lessons which takes place in this way, is the main cause of the thoroughness of native scholarship. Such result is well nigh impossible in our English colleges. There the Professor devotes at most an hour or two to his work. He goes on with his lectures without allowing any questioning or interruption. The number of students is generally so large, that he cannot possibly make any inquiry as to the extent to which he has succeeded in impressing his ideas on them. The pupils themselves do not aim at thoroughness. What they want is to pass. To secure that object thorough proficiency in any subject is not at all necessary.

We do not contend that this system can be adopted with advantage in our English schools and colleges. Considering the number of students and the short hours of work in almost all these institutions, the most zealous teacher would find himself altogether unequal to the task of managing his pupils, in the manner native pundits do in their *toles*. Even if it were possible for our modern pedagogues to adopt the native method of teaching, it would hardly be worth while for them to take so much trouble. The keys, note books, lexicons and other books of reference now available, enable the students to master their course of study, with but slight help from their teachers. The most important function of the school master at the present day, is to test the progress made by students, by every means possible. The test by written questions and written answers, is good so far as it goes But it does not afford any incentive to acquire thorough mastery in any subject. On the contrary it gives a direct premium to doing things by halves, nay, sometimes by a lesser fraction. We are of opinion that the test by written examination should be supplemented, not by *viva voce* examination, as suggested by some educational authorities, but by a change in the method of teaching itself. The plan which we would recommend is that the actual work of teaching should be done by the more intelligent and diligent students, one of them being called upon each day to undertake the work without any previous notice, and the teacher himself doing nothing beyond watching, directing and correcting errors. This system would give to all the students the most powerful incentive for acquiring thorough mastery, and, at the same time, lighten the labor of the teacher. To us it seems that the system is thoroughly feasible; and we cannot imagine that there can be any objection against it.

It seems also that written examinations may, with advantage, be supplemented by a similar test, in the case of those who aspire to the higher honours of the University, or compete for appointment in the public service. Such an examination would not only test the educational progress of the examinees, but would also enable the examiner to form an opinion as to their tact, nerve and pluck, and there would not be any ground for superseding competitive examination by nomination.

If the system which we recommend be adopted, then the study of Sanskrit, simultaneously with that of English, would cease to be deemed as impossible. We have already shown the importance of Sanskrit to native students. By a knowledge of it alone they can hope to enrich their vernaculars with good original works or readable translations from English. If Sanskrit be properly studied in our English schools and colleges, it would, in a short time, become the *lingua Franca* of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, and from the Indus to the Brahmaputra. English is a foreign language. It can by no means be made intelligible to the masses. But those, who had had the pleasure of hearing the speeches of the late Pundit Dayanunda Sarswaty, can have no doubt that the language of our gods may be made intelligible to the masses, by any one having sufficient command in it. During the palmy days of the Rajas of Nuddea, they and their courtiers generally used to converse in Sanskrit, and even their menial servants experienced no difficulty in understanding the orders and instructions which were given to them in the classical language. Even now some of the pundits of Dravidra, Maharashtra, Punjab and Kashmir, who sojourn in Nuddea for studying Nya, can converse in such smooth and easy Sanskrit as to make themselves intelligible to persons altogether ignorant of it. There can, in fact, be little reason to doubt that Sanskrit is the language best suited to be the common medium of communication throughout India, though, as English is now serving the same purpose, the necessity of cultivating our classical tongue to attain that object may not be generally admitted.

The most important consideration in favor of the study of Sanskrit is, that by the cultivation of it alone we can learn to have that self-respect which we now sadly want, and, at the same

time, become able to form a correct estimate of the powers and capacities of our nation. No doubt, we have amongst us some patriotic orators and bards who take a delight in singing the glory of Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidas. But these frequent references to the great names in Sanskrit literature appear to most people as simply nauseating, instead of inspiring them with genuine self-respect. Mere rhapsodies about past glories cannot serve any useful purpose. What is wanted is that intimate knowledge of the classical literature which alone can enable us rightly to appreciate the achievements of our forefathers, and to discover the true cause of India's political degradation, in spite of the ability displayed by her sons in some of the most important departments of science and literature. As we are now in the position of a conquered nation, we are too apt to suppose that we are either naturally inferior to the nations of Europe, or that, in order to improve our present condition, we must adopt the habits, manners and customs of our rulers *en bloc*. The result is absolute despondency or that spirit of servile imitation which manifests itself too frequently in different forms. We have thus poetical quacks and religious reformers who would set our society topsy-turvy by their nostrums. There is a class among these who ascribe all the ills which our country is heir to, to the distinction of caste and would put an end to it *sans ceremonie*. Another class of reformers would introduce amongst us the European practice of marriage by courtship, as if the political regeneration of India depended entirely upon reviving that Gandharva form of matrimony which the experience of cases like that of Sakuntala proved to be fraught with evil, and which our Rishis took a great deal of trouble to suppress.

If it be not possible to improve our condition otherwise than by blindly imitating Europe, then the best thing that our reformers can do is to encourage drunkenness or at least moderate drinking and to teach their water drinking countrymen to disregard those precepts of their Shasters which inculcated total abstinence and effected that reform in India, several centuries ago, which is now being attempted in Europe by Temperance Societies. The fact is that in certain respects the civilisation of Europe is still far behind that of the Hindus, in spite of the rapid strides which the former has made since the discovery of America and the

invention of the art of printing. As things are at present, there are many things now in which we must yield the palm of superiority to Europe. But it does not necessarily follow that we are born to be slaves, or that our marriage customs are in any way to blame for our present political condition. It ought to be obvious to every man having common sense, that one essential condition of success in life is ambition. No man can become great, in the worldly sense of the term, without a strong desire for power, wealth and position. But, in India, the best men—we mean, of course the Brahmins—were enjoined by their religion to shun the world as much as possible, and to lead a life of study and religious contemplation. To the Rajpoots was assigned the duty of holding the kingly office and of maintaining peace and good government. But the military caste had not sufficient education, so that they could not record their experience for the benefit of their posterity. And each succeeding generation had to depend entirely upon its own resources in steering the vessel of state. There were no accurate histories or biographies to serve as charts and beacon lights, and some of the best Indian kings had their fortunes completely wrecked by shoals and sandbanks which could easily have been avoided, if there had been good records of past experience. The more one thinks upon the subject, the more he will be satisfied that the self-denying ordinance by which the Brahmins bound themselves not to covet wealth or power, was the main cause of India's political weakness. Their ideal of life was a very lofty one. But the man who would not stoop to be more worldly cannot possibly hope to achieve success in life, except by such rare good fortune as falls to the lot of few.

If the true cause of India's political backwardness be as stated above, then there is nothing in it of which we need be ashamed. In any case, nothing can be more mischievous than the want of self-respect and the spirit of servile imitation which are betrayed by our reformers. But their freaks and vagaries are the natural outcome of their education ; and their mania for reformation can be cured only by a systematic study of the legal Codes of Manu and other

Rishis. It is only by such study that our countrymen can learn to have that genuine self-respect without which no nation can become great.

J. N. BHATTACHARJEE.

## *SONNET,—TO MY LITTLE SON.*

(FROM THE GERMAN OF BODENSTEDT.)

O glorious child,—Spring's earliest dawn art thou!
My heart throbs when thy laughing eyes I see;
To new existence I awake in thee,
And, grateful for the boon, to God I bow.
Dark were the clouds which hover'd round my brow,
Within me all was night and misery;
Then like morn's roseate light thou com'st to me,-
At once I felt renew'd—I know not how!
May God in His great mercy guard thee well,
From pangs and griefs which to my lot befell,
With both hands bless thee,—kneeling, I entreat;—
What is to me denied, to thee grant here,
What in me is obscure, in thee make clear,
What in me wanting is, in thee complete!

O. C. DUTT.

# EASTERN BENGAL.

BENGALIS have been styled the Scotch of India, and in one respect at least the appellation is not undeserved. They are to be found throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula; and are equally at home in the deserts of Biluchistan and the trackless forests of Upper Burmah. But these voluntary exiles are tempted from their fatherland by other considerations than a desire to enlarge their intellectual horizon by contact with foreign races and strange conditions of life. Bengali tourists are rare as winter swallows: and since Bholanath Chunder laid down his fascinating pen, no native of these provinces has attempted a record of Indian travel. The spell is at last broken; and Dr. Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee* has given us a faithful picture of that little-known region which separates the metropolitan districts from our North-Eastern Frontier, and of the native state known as Hill, or Independent Tipperah, which serves as a buffer between our territories and the congeries of wild tribes known as Lushais. Dr. Mookerjee is the *Doyen* of the native press: and his first essay in the literary craft dates as far back as the Indian Mutiny. Nor is he wanting in practical acquaintance with his theme: for he paid four visits to Tipperah between 1877 and 1884, and was for nearly two years Chief Adviser to the Maharaja.

*Place aux rois.* A brief description of the Doctor's royal master must head my narrative. His Highness Birchandra Deb Barmana Manikya is in his 57th year: but innumerable cares of state have aged him prematurely and he seems at least a decade older. Time, however, has been powerless to quench the light of his fine eyes or to mar the clear-cut outline of his features: and his physical attractions are enhanced by a rare charm of manner and a smile which is simply irresistible. This fair exterior is not belied by his qualities of heart: and to know the Maharaja is to

* Trvels and Voyages between Calcutta and Independent Tipperah, by Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee, Calcutta. *Reis and Rayyet Office*, 1887.

love him. But qualities, which are innocuous and sometimes praiseworthy in private life are fatal to the well being of those born in the purple. A king must learn to repress his kindly instincts and to say "no" when the good of the state requires it. He must steel his heart against the supplications of those detected in tyranny or peculation. He must learn to think for himself and to avoid the domination of fawners and favourites. An inability to apply these wholesome maxims has made Independent Tipperah the reverse of a model native state Hundreds of square miles admirably adapted to the cultivation of tea, cotton, tobacco and sugur-cane are covered with primœval jungle. Agriculture and commerce groan under a multitude of imposts, the result of monopolies and farms granted to hangers-on of the Court. The profusion and waste which characterize the administration of the household are equally deplorable ; while the past mismanagement of His Highness's splendid zemindaries in British territory renders their future nearly hopeless.

In spite of all drawbacks, however, the Maharaja is literally worshipped by his subjects, who infinitely prefer his debile sway to the iron-bound system, the deadly monotony which prevail across the frontier. In Tipperah king and subjects are bound together by a community of religion, sentiment and interest. The heart of the people goes out to meet the sovereign on occasions of family joy or sorrow. The fact that the functions of Government are not strictly utilitarian adds colour to the national life. It was in this microcosm that Dr. Mookerjee spent two eventful years as *de facto* prime minister ; and if he failed to purify the Augœan stable it was because he undertook a task which would have baffled the mighty son of Jupiter himself.

The greater portion of this volume is made up of our author's itineraries in his various trips to the North-Eastern Frontiers. The ordinary route is viâ Goalundo and Naraingunge, the Dundee of Eastern India. There civilized adjuncts of travel end and the pilgrim must transfer himself and his belongings to a *bolio* or country boat and count on a voyage the monotony of which will only be varied by its perils. Anon, his clumsy craft will be borne by prosperous winds on the bosom of some mighty river "inspiring a consciousness of maritime adventure." He will marvel at the peace and plenty exhibited on its banks, indicated by the jewellery which sets off the shapely limbs of the village beauties, and by the well-covered ribs of the cattle.

If a student of history he will evoke the picture which this smiling land must have presented during the awful days which preceded the establishment of the *Pax Britannica.* He will conjure up the state of poor Bengal "hemmed in between the Portuguese and Mahratta fires—attacked by land and by water, the victims of marauders at home and fillibusters abroad." "What" he will ask with Dr. Mookerjee, "what must have been the anxieties, insults and wrongs to which our ancestors were exposed during that anticlimax of our country's lot?" And what gratitude do we not owe the regime which has given us an exemption so necessary to peace and order?"

Anon, the traveller's floating home will leave the swelling flood, and, after traversing an abruptly-shelving water course, emerge into a boundless expanse which, in spite of the invasion of the water, is still a sheet of living green. "There is nothing in the universe" exclaims our author with befitting enthusiasm, "to equal this boat-riding across country in Rural Bengal! We sweep gradually with a sublime music through the far-spreading velvet carpet of emerald, now rolling along the waving expanses of long grass which feeds the cattle of the country; now stemming the stouter and more loudly musical resistance of the later jute cultivation; and, anon, shooting athwart a central lake, through a sea of whistling paddy, ever and ever with an increasing sense of infinity."

The distant horizon will be broken by sparse village-sites made up of jealously-isolated homesteads each reposing beneath its grove of fruit trees. More rarely still will the traveller's eye rest upon any permanent work of man: for the denizen of Eastern Bengal amid all his material progress, has not risen above the wattle and thatch cottage which contented his harried ancestor. Occasionally, however, will the sky-line be relieved by irregular masses of masonry, the seat of some local magnate or by one of those lofty spires with which the piety of a past age was wont to mark a spot hallowed by a parent's funeral rites.

But the traveller's eye will speedily tire of so monotonous a panorama and will seek relief in his immediate surroundings. His boat's crew will now come in for a share of attention. He will find them a merry-hearted set, prone to happy-go-lucky navigation, but tugging at the tow rope with a will for hours together and lightening their toil by not unmelodious song. Should he succeed in gaining their goodwill, he will be made the confidant

of all their little troubles. He will learn how expensive a luxury is marriage, costing as it does Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 in purchase money and feasting caste-fellows. He will be struck with the contrast presented by the present condition of these once degraded people with that to which they were relegated in Hindu times. However conservative his instincts, he will be fain to admit that the poor Chandáls, like countless other "suppressed castes," have good reason to bless the even-handed justice of Britain. A less agreeable distraction is afforded by the ever present difficulty of procuring the barest necessaries of life. The rivers teem with splendid fish, and are dotted with the little craft of men who live by their capture. But to secure a supply of these welcome adjuncts to the eternal *curry bhat* is nearly as difficult as it is to purchase a pound or two of sole or whiting at English watering place before the arrival of the first train from town. The fisherman stands in mortal terror of the lordly bolio: and a signal to heave to becomes one for instant flight. If overtaken, the poor creature invariably swears by his innumerable gods that he has toiled all night and caught nothing. This apparent disregard for his interests is due to unpleasant memories of treatment received at the hands of traveller's servants: who have too often annexed his entire catch and vouchsafed but a curse in payment. Redress is out of the question: for it is a far cry from the Meghna or Brahmaputra to the nearest police station: and, as our author remarks, the police themselves are a terror only to the poor and lowly. Nor do his troubles end at the thanna, for his suit must be heard at a court 100 miles away: and he is hardly to be blamed for preferring the surrender of few annas worth of shrimps to incurring the loss of a fortnight's labor and an expenditure of Rs. 20 or more. Let those of my readers whose fate leads them to Eastern Bengal bear in mind the helplessness of the fishermen and strive to curb their underlings' rapacity and insolence.

The fruits of the earth are equally difficult of attainment: and when procured are the reverse of "kindly." The natives look rather to size than flavour. Their pumpkins are huge masses of tasteless pulp: their mangoes, Dead Sea fruit, each with a loathly worm at its core. They know not the luscious *champa* plantain, whose golden flesh recalls faint but delicious memories of jargonnelle or apricot: but are content with the woolly *kantalis* relegated in Calcutta to "widows and punctilious elders." Half-

starved in a land teeming with natural wealth, our traveller will bless the distant prospect of the *Nutun Haveli* as the deserted palace of the Tipperah kings is popularly styled. This structure is the chief glory of new Agurtalla, a city founded by the father of the present chief: but abandoned by the latter in favour of the old seat of his ancestors. It is a vast two-storied building with a pleasaunce attached, surrounded by a high wall; a hall of audience; and the usual appurtenances of oriental sovereignty. New Agurtalla also contains the state jail, a veritable "father-in-law's house" for its inmates; the Courts of Justice, and, last but not least in importance, the British Residency. The latter is occupied by Babu Umakanta Das, a Deputy Collector, who has been for the last 16 years our representative at the Court of Agartalla as assistant to the *ex-officio* Political Agent, who is also Magistrate of British Tipperah. Dr. Mookerjee is inclined to gird at the "bullyism" of the Residency: and it must be admitted that our relations with the Durbar have been occasionally somewhat strained. But the fault lies with the *laissez faire* of His Highness and his advisers: and our author would probably himself admit that most administrative improvements during the present reign has been brought about by the pressure of the Assistant Political Agent.

Old Agurtalla, the present capital, is still four miles distant and is approached by the only respectable road in His Highness's dominions. It shelters 8,000 inhabitants, is neatly laid out and does not materially differ from towns of similar dimensions in the "Moglan," as our territory is called by the Tipparahs. The palace is, of course, the central feature and the royal family possesess countless off-shoots whose dwellings are spread over an immense area. Here reside the two eldest of the Royal Princes, styled the "Bara Thakur" and the "Jubaraj." The first resembles his father in features and port: and has the same loveable qualities with a dash of wholesome obstinacy which is wanting in his sire. The Jubaraj's clever face reveals a slight infusion of Mongolian blood: and, in fact, his mother was a princess of the House of Manipur. He has pronounced European tastes, speaks English perfectly, and is a thorough sportsman: I will allow our author to describe the ordinary feature of a presentation at court, premising that visitors of distinction are received, in the first instance, by the body-guard, a soldierly corps, smartly clad in uniform of a French pattern. "I was then called up to the presence. Mounting a long broad

flight of rather steep stairs, straight after the first few steps, to the upper story, I passed through a room filled with valuable goods in glass-ware, cabinet-ware, ivory work, gold and silver plate, with musical and scientific instruments, etc. I was next ushered into a large and airy verandahed room, furnished, indeed crowded with furniture. Towards the centre a charming ivory chair, beside an indifferent mahogany table, surmounted by a costly clock under an old-fashioned chandelier. Here a neglected piano, there a brand-new first class microscope. Rich carpets and hangings heaped up in a corner, a silver half-drum *(bayan)* and full-drum *(pakhawaj)* mounted with ivory balls in another: Guns with boxes, and guns without, swords naked and sheathed, shields and spears of sorts, paint-boxes, stereoscopes, opera-glasses, telescopes, leaning against walls or lying at rest on the floor. On one side I found His Highness seated on the Indian bed of comfort and state called *gadi*: a roomy mattress stuffed thickly with cotton-wool, backed by an enormous round bolster and flanked by diminutive flat pillows. After the usual greetings, as soon as I had taken my seat, by permission, on the rich Persian carpet specially placed for me, His Highness enquired after my health, etc."

In marked contrast to this semi-barbarous splendour are some details given of a *soi distant* Christian colony, which still nestles under the shadow of the palace. The remote descendants of those ruthless Portuguese adventurers who were once the terror of the extreme East, these poor Feringis, as they are styled by their neighbours, have sunk as low as human beings can descend. Their pride still forbids them to seek alliances outside their narrow circle, and the process "of breeding in and in" has doubtless contributed to their moral and physical degradation.

To nations applies in its fullest force the terrible maxim *vestigia nulla retrorsum.* Decadence may be of slow development: but once the process has set in, nothing short of a miracle can stay its inroads. In this favoured tract its workings are exemplified only in the scattered communities representing the race which gave to the world Camoens and Vasco di Gama. Thanks to its unsurpassed natural advantages, to the introduction of wealth-giving staples, and to the education which is now brought to every man's door, Eastern Bengal will soon lead the van of intellectual and material progress. And it is to the fostering care of England that this prosperity is due. Our author, Indian of the Indians as he is, acknowledges

the undying obligation under which the parent State has laid his country: "It is necessary" he writes, "to keep the best men and the best races straight . . . . . But this insane jealousy of the white man I can never sympathize with: It is neither patriotic nor candid. It is simply ignorant and puerile. A moment's inward glance at the source of our most energizing ideas, the slightest enquiry into the derivation of our physical enjoyments of what we eat, or drink, or wear, or sleep in, or write with, the houses we live in, the furniture we use, ought to be sufficient to disabuse every honest Indian of this unfortunate prejudice." Happy would it be for the dominant race and happier still for its great dependancy if all Dr. Mookerjee's countrymen who aspire to form public opinion were actuated by such sentiments as these.

F. H. SKRINE.

## *REVIEW.*

*The Speeches of Eminent Indian Gentlemen on "Hindu Marriage Customs," delivered at the Meeting held on the 6th August, 1887, at the Sobhabazar Rajbati, Calcutta, convened by Kumar Neel Krishna and Kumar Binaya Krishna.*

THIS is a pamphlet which is likely to have some permanent value. The meeting whose proceedings are here recorded was large and representative. It was presided over by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra; the debate was opened by Babu Joy Gobindo Shome, M. A., B. L.; and among the speakers were such men as Dr. Guru Dass Banerjea, Babu Chundra Nath Bose, and Pundit Hara Prasad Shastri. The meeting contented itself with a discussion and did not think fit to pass any Resolution. The speakers did not all address themselves precisely to the same points, but we gather from the proceedings that it was sought to prove (1) that the evils of early marriage had been exaggerated; (2) that there had been compensating advantages suited to the requirements of of the society; and (3) that the remedy proposed was fraught with mischievous consequences. These points, it appears to us, were satisfactorily established, especially as the "remedy proposed" was believed to be a legislative measure declaring marriage of Hindus under a certain age to be null and void. Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra very properly said: "I cannot admit persons to claim Hinduship who will not abide by the Hindu Law." Government is committed to maintain Hindu Law among Hindus in some of the relations and transactions of life. One of those relations and transactions is marriage. Whatever differences of opinion there may be as to the details of the rules affecting Hindu marriage, legislative interference will, we believe, be universally protested against, and the opinions of so many learned, thoughtful and distinguished gentlemen on "Hindu Marriage customs" will have an abiding interest. We understand that copies of the pamphlet may be had, on payment only of half-anna as postage, of Babu Shib Das Ghose, 212, Raja Nobokissen's Street, Calcutta.

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# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

NEW SERIES.

No. 5.—NOVEMBER 1887.

## *THE CLASSIC LAND OF ITALY.*

### III.

ONE may spend months in Rome and yet not see all the sights of that wonderful place,—and I stopped there only for four days! One may write a volume without exhausting the ancient and mediæval remains of Rome, and I propose to write a few pages only! My readers need not therefore expect in these pages anything but the barest summary of those sights which most interest tourists by their historic associations or their beauty and grandeur as works of art.

There is a spot in Rome in which the history of two thousand years may be said to be recorded on the very stones of the pavement and on the hoary ruins which are scattered on it,—I need hardly say I mean the Forum. It is a low valley with the Capitoline Hill on one side and the Palatine Hill on another, and the traveller, the historian and the antiquarian find themselves lost here in a perfect wilderness of ancient ruins. From the Capitoline Hill to the great Colosseum of Rome, it is scarcely more than five minutes' walk, and in this short work the modern traveller sees the ruins of an ancient world and an ancient civilization. It was when sitting on a shapeless stone among these ruins that the historian Gibbon was first inspired with the idea of his matchless history; it was when standing amidst these ruins that Byron composed some of the sublimest passages that even he ever wrote; and the most commonplace tourist cannot survey this spot without,

for a moment at least, forgetting the present, and being lost in a reverie of the past.

A meandering path paved with irregular and massive stones winds from one end of this spot to the other; it is the *Via Sacra*, the sacred path along which the Vestal Virgins of Rome went in procession over two thousand years ago, and along which also at a later day went the more pompous processions which accompanied Roman victors returning from all parts of the old world, from Europe, Asia and Africa! How can the most listless tourist walk along this road without remembering, if it were but for a moment, that the history of the ancient world has been enacted here on every ruin that he sees, that the footsteps of Time are imprinted on every stone that he treads?

Let us walk along this path then, truly called *sacred*. Sacred no longer to the dethroned gods of ancient Rome, but sacred to ancient civilization, to history, and to the cause of human progress. Close to the Capitoline Hill is the Tabularium where the famous "Tables of the Law" were recorded, and not far from it is the massive arch of Severus still entire. Three solitary columns are all that are left of the temple of Vespasian, and eight Ionic columns close by are all that remain of the temple of Saturn. Proceeding along the *Via Sacra*, we have on our right the remains of the Basilica Julia begun by Julius Cæsar and finished by Augustus who dedicated it in honor of his daughter. It comprised the Law Courts and the Exchange of ancient Rome, and the pavement and the bases of the long lines of columns are all that remain of it. On our left is the famous column described by Byron as

"The nameless column with a buried base."

It was erected in the seventh century, and was dedicated to Phocas whose statue adorned its top at one time.

Passing further onwards along the *Via Sacra* we have to our right three beautiful Corinthian pillars which are all that remain of the temple of Castor and Pollux, and to our left the remains of the Regia where Julius Cæsar lived up to the time of his death, and where his body was cremated in sight of all the gods of Rome. Shakespeare has immortalized the real or imaginary scene of Antony standing on this very spot, and pointing to the bloody corpse of the great murdered Roman, and preaching the iniquity of that murder to thousands of Roman men and women who crowded in the temples and public halls and the slopes of these hills after that dreadful event. Near this Regia was the famous Lake of

Curtius, which was probably little more than a quagmire and was afterwards turned into a fountain. Proceeding further by the winding *Via Sacra*, we have on our right the site of the ancient temple of Vesta where the sacred fire was kept, and adjoining it are the ruins of the spacious palace where the Vestal Virgins lived. The Vestal Virgins were honored in those days as the custodians of the sacred fire; they were allowed the place of honor in all public processions and sights; and if history speaks the truth, they attained a considerable influence with the emperors in later days, after they had ceased to have all claims to the respect which is due to purity.

Many were the beautiful marble statues which adorned this palace at one time, and they were erected not by the virgins themselves, but by grateful persons for whom they had secured rewards or appointments from emperors. To our left, and therefore almost facing the temple and palace of the Vestal Virgins, are the ten beautiful columns that remain of the temple of Faustina. The beautiful and lofty temple was built by Antonius Pius in honor of his wife Faustina, whom history scarcely considers fit for the honour!

Further on, also, to our left are the ruins of the vast and collossal Basilica of Constantine built by Emperor Vespasian. Only one aisle, consisting of three arches, each with a span of 75 feet, remains, and this aisle gives us the idea of the magnitude of the temple when entire.

The winding *Via Sacra* now passes under the Arch of Titus—massive and still uninjured. It was erected by the people and the Senate of Rome after the taking of Jerusalem, and upon it therefore are sculptured the seven branched candlestick and other treasures of the Jewish temple.

"Standing beneath the Arch of Titus, and amid so much ancient dust, it is difficult to forbear the commonplaces of enthusiasm on which hundreds of tourists have always insisted. Over the half worn pavement and beneath this arch, the Roman armies had trodden on their onward march to fight battles, a world's width away. Returning victorious with royal captives and inestimable spoils, a Roman triumph, that most gorgeous pageant of earthly pride, has streamed and flaunted in hundredfold succession over these same flagstones and through this yet stalwart archway."

To our left now are the ruins of the great temple of Venus and Rome, erected in 391 A. D., and which was the last pagan temple which remained in use in Rome. The building was surrounded by a colonnade, and was 330 feet by 160 feet.

Passing onwards by the same paved way we proceed along a place which was probably the market for fruit and honey in olden days. Here Horace used to take his favourite walk as he has told us himself, and Ovid, too, delighted to see the purchases made here in his time.

We at last come to the remains of the fountains called Meta Sudans where gladiators used to wash before entering the Colosseum. Seneca who lived close by complains of the noise made by a showman who blew his trumpet at this fountain! The road now turns to the right and passes under the Arch of Constantine, and is called the Triumphal Way, as Roman triumphal processions used to come to the Forum by this way. There is evidence to shew that this Triumphal Arch—the largest and noblest that is still left—was erected by Constantine partly of stones torn from an arch of Trajan. Gibbon writes with his usual quiet sneer:—

> The Parthian captives appear prostrate at the feet of a prince who never carried his arms beyond the Euphrates, and curious antiquaries can still discover the head of Trajan on the trophies of Constantine.

To our front and a little to the left stands in all its solidity and vastness the huge Colosseum of Rome, the vastest monument that antiquity has bequeathed to modern times! This vast structure is an elliptic, its longer axis being 584 feet and the shorter 468 feet, and the arena inside is 278 feet by 177 feet. The height of the structure is 179 feet. It was commenced by Vespasian on his return from the war against the Jews, was dedicated by his eldest son Titus, A. D. 80, and was completed by his youngest son Domitian. It was calculated to hold 80,000 or 100,000 people to witness those cruel sports which delighted the populace of Rome. 5,000 wild beasts and 10,000 captives are said to have been slain at the inauguration of the structure by Titus, and for centuries after, thousands and thousands of prisoners, Christians or gladiators or captives from the far East and West died a cruel death and stained this ground with their hearts' blood, to make a spectacle for the rabble of Rome. "Two aqueducts were scarcely sufficient to wash off the human blood which a few hours' sport shed in this imperial shambles. Twice in one day came the Senators and matrons of Rome to the butchery; a virgin always gave the signal for slaughter." Roman virtue and Roman heroism have passed into bye-words in history and in tale; but every nation has its vice, and no civilized people of whom there is any record in history were so brutally cruel, so savagely and passionately fond of witnessing suffering as the Romans: "It is said, indeed,

that the truly brave are never cruel; but to that assertion the Flavian amphitheatre gives the lie."

The partial destruction of this solid pile is no doubt partly due to the effects of time and partly to the vandalism of barbarians; but it is mainly due to the vandalism of the people of Rome itself during long centuries in the middle ages. For centuries the Colosseum was used as a quarry, and many palaces of modern Rome, like the palace of St. Mark, the Chancery and the Franese palace, have been built with materials taken from the Colosseum. As Byron sings—

> "A ruin, yet what a ruin! From its mass,
> "Walls, palaces, half cities have been reared!"

I think the same cause accounts for the disappearance of the enormous ruins which must have lain in the valley that I have described above and which is known as the Forum. Nothing but pavements and bases of columns and isolated pillars stand here and there. The ruin of Ancient Rome must have been utilized in building up the private houses and mansions of Mediæval Rome.

We have now traversed the whole length of the valley from the Capitoline Hill to the Colosseum. Along one side of the valley, as I have stated before, is the Palatine Hill,—that Hill which was all Rome in the time of the early kings, but which was scarcely large enough for the palaces of Cæsars in the later days of grandeur, luxury and decline.

The Palatine Hill was originally the fortress of the Pelasgi, of which the name *Roma* which signifies force is said to be the only remaining trace. Romulus is said to have enclosed this fortress when tracing the limits of his infant town by a plough. At any rate this hill was undoubtedly the earliest settlement of Rome in the time of the kings.

The ancient way from the Forum below to the Palatine Hill is still pointed out. Immediately to the left of this entrance and on the hill are the ancient ruined arches of a house said to be the palace of Tarquinus Priscus, one of the later kings of Rome. To the right are the vast ruins of the later and more august palace of Caligula with its huge arches and long corridors and rooms for the Pretorian guard below. And behind this palace is the site of the palace of Tiberius.

Close to the palace of Tarquinus Priscus, of which mention has been made before, is the palace of Augustus, which is however mostly buried in earth; and the vast ruins now visible here are those of the palace which Vespasian built on the top of the older

palace of Augustus. The *Basilica* or the ancient law court, the *Tablinum* where statues and pictures were kept, the *Lararium* dedicated to the worship of deified members of the family, the *Peristyle* or courtyard, the *Triclinium* or dining room, and a *Nymphium* or fountain, are all pointed out to visitors. It is from the Peristyle of Vespasian's palace that we descend by a narrow staircase into the excavated fragment of the older palace of Augustus, in which are still remains of gilding and fresco paintings on the walls.

Not far from Tarquin's palace are the foundations of the famous temple of Jupiter Stator, said to have been built by Romulus. It was here that Cicero pronounced his first oration against Cataline, imagining that Cataline would not venture to present himself here. On seeing Cataline enter, Cicero burst forth into his celebrated exclamation,—"How long, O Cataline! wilt thou abuse our patience?" In another part of the hill are pointed out the ruins of an old wall said to have been built by Romulus, and at any rate belonging to the kingly period of Rome. Not far from it are the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Victor.

Beyond the Palatine Hill is a valley which separates it from the Aventine Hill. The Romans lived on the Palatine and the Sabines on the Aventine, and it is in this valley that the rape of the Sabines is said to have taken place.

From the top of the Palatine Hill are seen, like the vast ramparts of a fortified town, the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla! Next only to the Colosseum these baths are the most gigantic ruins of Ancient Rome, and even the Colosseum itself scarcely strikes one more than the vastness of these *baths* which occupy an area of 140,000 yards! The Romans came here not for bathing only, but to see races and sports which were held here, to see the training of gladiators, to meet their friends and acquaintances, and to pass their time among crowds of people come for the same purpose. The entire population of Rome turned out here and lounged about the walks and race-courses, or the ornamented walls and fine marble statues of these buildings, and regarded it as a place of public amusement. Some of the finest specimens of ancient sculpture preserved in museums have been found in this place. These baths were commenced by Caracalla in 212 A. D.

In the opposite corner of the city are the Baths of Diocletian, a part of which has been formed into the church of San Maria

Degli Angeli, and thus saved from the spoliation to which every other ancient building has been subjected. The superb granite pillars of the church, each consisting of a single block, 43 feet in height, still remain as they stood in the days of Diocletian. The conversion of a part of the baths into a church was the work of Michael Angelo.

The other most important ruins of Ancient Rome are the Pantheon, and the columns of Trajan and of Antonine. The Pantheon was built by Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, and is therefore eighteen hundred years old. The portico has sixteen magnificent Corinthian columns, with bases and capitals of white marble and with shafts of single pieces of granite 5 feet in diameter and 46 feet in height. The interior is a perfect circle, 142 feet in diameter. It was converted into a Christian church under Emperor Phocas in the seventh century, and to this fact it owes its complete preservation. Raphael, the prince of painters, is buried here. The last interment in the Pantheon of Rome was of King Victor Emanuel II.

Trajan's column stands in the place known as Trajan's Forum, strewn with nameless pillars and shapeless ruins. The column stands however entire and uninjured, probably because it was taken under the protection of the church, and Trajan's figure on the top has been supplanted by a figure of St. Peter! The column is 141 feet high and consists of 23 blocks of Carrara marble with a series of bas reliefs spirally arranged and representing the wars of Trajan against the Dacians, and comprising about 2,500 human figures, all in the dresses and costumes then in vogue. Antonine's column, is a similar one, consisting of 28 blocks of marble, and is of the same height as Trajan's. Though known as Antonine's column it is proved by an inscription found near it to have been erected by Aurelius. The statue on the top is now supplanted by that of St. Peter. Napoleon's column Vendome in Paris, constructed out of the metal of 1,200 pieces of cannons captured by him in battles, is in imitation of these ancient Roman pillars, as Napoleon's triumphal arches are imitations of the Roman arches.

I must not forget to mention among the ruins of Ancient Rome a temple of Vesta, in a good state of preservation, probably because it is converted into a Christian church. It is an elegant little structure, circular in form, and surrounded at one time by 20 Corinthian pillars, one of which is now wanting. In Ovid's time it was covered by a brazen or bronze roof.

Of the other ruins of Ancient Rome the vast aqueducts supported on arches are the most remarkable, and can be seen in numbers to the south-east of Rome. The Aqua Marcia was 56 miles in length, the Aqua Claudia was 46 miles, the Anio Novus was 62 miles. Aqua Julia was built by Augustus, B. C. 34, and Aqua Virgo derives its name from the tradition that its source was pointed out to the soldiers by a young girl. Older than all these is the ancient Cloaca Maxima of Rome, a part of which I saw among the ruins in the Forum, and which was built by Tarquinus Priscus or Tarquinus Superbus to drain that low valley by connecting it with the Tiber.

Among the tombs of the ancient times, that of Augustus is within the town, and that of Hadrian was in such a stupendous scale, that it has now been converted into a fort—the fort of St Angelo. The tomb of Metella on the ancient Appian way is also large and elegant. The tombs of the Scipios inside the wall of the town are interesting. The sarcophagi of the Scipios are preserved in vaults under ground along a dark subterranean passage. But I must now bring my account of Ancient Rome to a close.

Mediæval Rome boasts of one superb structure which combines with the stupendous size of the monuments of Ancient Rome, a beauty and rich elegance which has never been equalled in the world.

St. Peter's church is beyond comparison the grandest work built by the hand of man for the worship of the Deity.

> "But thou of temples old, or altars new,
> "Standest above with nothing like to thee,—
> "Worthiest of God, the holy and the true."

The church is approached by two semi-circular colonnades consisting of 284 lofty columns, on which 192 statues of saints stand as sentinels! But the loftiness of these columns is lost in the presence of the church itself, and the loftiness of the church too is lost in its extremely just proportions. The proportions are so just that the eye fails to grasp the stupendous height of the great edifice, and in this respect the St. Peter's church is certainly disappointing. The remark of Addison strikes every traveller who visits this church. "The proportions are so well observed, that nothing appears to an advantage, or distinguishes itself above the rest. It seems neither extremely high, nor long nor broad, because it is all in a just equality. As, on the contrary, in our Gothic cathedrals the narrowness of the arch makes it rise

in height, or run out in length; the lowness often opens in breadth, or the defectiveness of some other particular makes any single part appear in great perfection."

The same deception continues after one has entered the church, but in spite of his inability to grasp the vast magnitude of the building, the traveller is lost in admiration as soon as he crosses the portal. The magnificent gilded ceiling, the spacious marble pavement, the lofty marble pillars which rise on every side of him, the exquisite statues of saints and cherubs by which he is surrounded, the splendid bronze canopy supported by bronze pillars over the high altar, and the great dome towering far above, form a scene which for richness and elegance and grandeur surpasses his wildest expectations. The glorious edifice bursts upon his view in all its richness like the picture of a dream! It is an epic in marble,—but an epic of Virgil's,—ornate, elegant, and replete with beauty, as well as massive and stupendous.

"Rich marbles, richer painting, shrines where flame
"The lamps of gold, and haughty dome which vies
"In air with Earth's chief structures, though their frame
"Sits on the firm set ground, and this the clouds must claim!"

The deception of the eye however is complete. Letters inscribed on the dome appear scarcely more than a foot in length though they are six feet each. A pen in the hand of Moses scarcely appears 18 inches, but is seven feet long! The Baldacchino, the rich bronze canopy over the altar, looks about 25 feet high but is 120 feet in height! And even little cherubs in marble on the floor of the church appear of the size of little children, but are quite six or seven feet when you walk close to them! It is when you see the people in the church at a distance, creeping like pigmies on the spacious marble pavement that you can believe the comparative height of the figures and pillars. But even when the mind is convinced of this fact, the eye still fails to realize the vast proportions of this magnificent edifice.

I went all round the aisles and saw the exquisite marble figures on the tombs of the men buried here. One or two of these deserve mention. There is a tomb of the disinherited Stuarts of England whom the Pope of course took under his protection, and the fine monument over it is by Canova. In the Chapel della Pietá, there is a marble group by Michael Angelo, the great architect of this great church. It represents the Virgin with

the dead body of Christ on her knees. The tomb of Pope Clement XIII. is by Canova and represents the Pope in the attitude of prayer with figures of Death and Religion before him. At the angles are the celebrated lions, one sleeping and the other awake, considered among the finest works of modern sculpture. The monument on the tomb of Pius VI. near the altar is also by Canova. Under this altar is a gilt box, said to contain the body of St. Peter,—all but his head. The chair of St. Peter is behind the altar, enclosed in bronze and supported by four figures representing four saints.

The extreme length of the St. Peter's church within the walls is 607 feet and its width 445 feet, and the height from the pavement to the cross is 458 feet. Outside the church is the obelisk of the Vatican, one of the most remarkable monuments of antiquity. It is said to be one of the two obelisks mentioned by Herodotus as having been erected by Phero, the son of Sesostris, on his recovery from blindness. From Egypt it was transferred by the Emperor Caligula to Rome,—a vessel having been specially built for conveying it. The length of this obelisk including the apex is 77 feet, and it is said to be the largest wrought stone in Europe.

Close to St. Peter's church is the Vatican, the palace of the Popes who had a real kingdom until 1871 when it was annexed and united with the kingdom of Italy. There are some very fine pictures in this palace which visitors are allowed to see. The most celebrated is the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo, covering an entire wall of the Sistine chapel. On the ceiling are other pictures of Michael Angelo on sacred subjects,—Separation of the Light from Darkness, Creation of Adam, Creation of Eve, &c. These pictures are considered Michael Angelo's master pieces, but as they are on walls and ceilings, they have become discoloured, and cannot be seen to advantage. In a gallery above are some remarkable paintings among which the Transfiguration of Raphael and St. Jerome by Domenichino are considered the best. Raphael's Madonna de Foglio, Titian's San Sabastean and Madonna, Murillos Mary and Infant Christ, Caravaggio's Pieta, Corregio's Redeemer and Guido's Madonna are the most notable among the other paintings.

Adjoining to the palace is the magnificent museum of Vatican containing the finest collection of ancient sculptures in the world. One might spend years in studying the immortal works of Phedias, Praxiletes and a host of other sculptors of ancient times,—men who worked in the very infancy of European civilization, and yet

whose works have never since been equalled in any age or country in the world! These fathers of the art of sculpture did not try for effect; they did not put human forms in fantastic attitudes or violent action to attract attention. They knew the natural beauty and the dignity of the human figure, and they have sculptured that figure in repose or in dignified action, in calm delight or in patient suffering, such as no modern sculptors have ever since done. The celebrated Apollo Belvedere and the still more celebrated Laocoon group are in this collection.

Speaking of statues I ought to mention that there is another fine collection of old sculptures in the museum of the Capitol, comprising the celebrated Capitoline Venus and the equally celebrated Dying Gladiator which inspired some of the most magnificent lines that even Byron ever wrote.

Rome has more than 300 churches, and a few of them are worth a visit, even after one has seen St. Peter's. St. Paul's church, just outside the town, was founded by Constantine, and rebuilt in 388 A. D. and again rebuilt after its destruction by fire in 1823 A. D. The magnificent gilded ceiling, the spacious marble pavement, the rich chaples with mosaic designs, and the 80 Corinthean columns of granite, each of a single piece of stone, make the church one of the finest in the world. If the building has any fault, it is that it is too rich, too ornamented, too full of costly decoration. Under the high altar, it is said, are preserved the remains of St Paul,—all but his head.

In the church of St. John Lateran within the town are preserved, it is said, under an ornamental Gothic altar the heads of St. Peter and St Paul This church too was originally founded by Constantine but was destroyed by fire in the fourteenth century when Pope Clement V. began this new church. The facade is composed of four large columns and six pilasters, supporting a massive entablature and balustrade, on which are the colossal statues of Christ and ten saints. The inside is ornamental as usual with Italian churches, and the ceiling is richly gilt.

Close to this church is the famous Scala Santa, a marble staircase of 28 steps, which, tradition states, belonged to the house of Pontius Pilate, and by which Jesus descended from the Judgment Seat. No human foot is allowed to touch these steps,—they are covered by wood,—and even thus, people are not allowed to walk on them, but have to go on their knees from the bottom to the top. As I saw numbers of faithful believers slowly and painfully ascending

these wood-cased steps on their knees, I was reminded of the still more rigid self-imposed penances imposed by a still grosser superstition in my own country, where pilgrims from the north of India measure their length, and thus creep along day after day and month after month along the high road to Juggernath.

There is another magnificent church in Rome which I visited and which well repays a visit—it is the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. It was built in the fourth century but has been considerably enlarged and decorated subsequently. The richly gilt ceiling, the fine mosaics of the apse, and the splendour of the chapels of Sextus V. and the Pauline chapel charm the beholder as he enters this magnificent edifice. In front of it is the obelisk which at one time decorated the Mausoleum of Augustus.

Such are some of the most remarkable monuments of Ancient and Mediæval Rome. My list however, I need hardly say, is exceedingly meagre and defective. I could within the short period of my stay only visit the most prominent and celebrated among those countless monuments of olden days which have made Rome the marvel of philosophers and moralists, of historians, antiquarians and tourists. There is one other monument however which I *did* visit and which I must not forget to mention even in this meagre account. It is a spot redolent of holy associations, and in some respects more interesting than the vast Colosseum or the gigantic baths of Caracalla. While tens of thousands of proud Roman citizens were daily crowding in these vast and noisy assemblages, delighting in cruel sports and spectacles, while emperors and generals were returning from the ends of the earth in triumphant processions along the Appian Way and under the Arch of Titus, a band of lowly, silent, persecuted men were worshipping their god after the teaching of Christ in dark subterranean vaults within a few miles of Rome. Who could have foresaid in the first and second centuries after Christ, that the ebbing tide was with the proud and haughty Romans, the conquerors of the world! that the rising tide was with these persecuted lowly vagrants, crouching themselves in the very bowels of the earth to escape observation and persecution! And yet this was what happened. Rome fell, and Christianity triumphed in Europe!

A little over a mile from the city gate, along the Appian Way are the catacombs of St. Callixtus. These catacombs were originally excavated by the early Christians as burial places and were subsequently used for meetings and religious worship. A monk

with a candle in his hand led me through the dark winding and subterranean vaults. The worshippers of Christ were buried in the walls on both sides of these winding passages, and their bones crumbling to dust are still shewn to curious and religious visitors after eighteen hundred years. A skull or an arm bone here and there is entire, but most of what remains now of the early Christians is crumbled, almost prowdered bones. When Rome adopted Christianity at last, the remains of the more eminent among the early teachers, the "Saints," were removed from these catacombs to the newly-built churches of Rome, but the great mass of bodies buried here in the first, second and third centuries after Christ were left undisturbed. No subsequent interment took place in these catacombs, as men were buried in Christian churches after Christianity became the religion of the people.

The church of St. Sabastian was erected over catacombs where so many early martyrs had been buried. What a place this for contemplation. The ruined temples of Rome mark the departing grandeur of an ancient religion; the catacombs of Rome mark the lowly origin of a modern religion.

R. C. DUTT.

# *WILLIAM PENN.*

## II.

AT this period of his life William Penn's time was much employed in arranging and carrying out plans for the settlement of West New Jersey in America; he had become a trustee for one of the co-proprietors of the estate: yet, however much he might be occupied, he made time for the furtherance of the cause of truth, which for him meant liberty of conscience as a foundation, with a superstructure of self-conviction in matters of worship. This was a most troubled time in the history of the English people, the nation was restless and uneasy on account of the fear it entertained of designs for subverting the Protestant religion and restoring Popery. The different Acts which had been enacted against Roman Catholics, began to be enforced with extraordinary rigour. Only a few years before, the Great Fire in London had taken place, the cause of which had been attributed to them. The fires on St. Margarets Hill and in Southwark which followed had been attributed to them also. And now, to add to the public consternation, a design of a most wicked and mischievous nature was said to be discovered, which, on account of its nature and intended effects, was denominated the Popish Plot. Under these circumstances both the Parliament and the people were so incensed against the Roman Catholics, that all the laws which had been passed against them were pressed to their full extent. Hence it happened that the Dissenters, against whom these laws were never intended, became unexpectedly the objects of them; for wherever Roman Catholicism was suspected, it was sure of being put to the test. Thus almost immediately they experienced the same severe prosecutions in the Exchequer as the Roman Catholics for penalties of twenty pounds a month for absence from the national worship, or of two-thirds of their estates for the like offence, though there was actually no exsiting law against them. The evil then, as may well be supposed, where so many might be suspected, had been carried to an alarming

length, of which the Parliament itself had indeed become so sensible, that it took under its consideration a distinguishing clause in the Bill against Popery, or a clause for the discrimination of Protestant Dissenters from Papists, so that they who would take the oath and subscribe the declaration therein contained, should not suffer by such laws. Now this measure, though reasonable in itself, and sufficient as it related to other Dissenters, was of no use to the Quakers ; for, being unable on account of their religious tenets to swear at all, they had not even the door, which was intended them, for their escape. Matters being thus it was not possible that William Penn would remain unconcerned. He therefore drew up a petition on their behalf, which was presented to both Houses of Parliament, and Penn was admitted to a hearing before a Committee of the House of Commons. In the course of a faithful and candid address to the members of it, he remarked—

It is hard that we must bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment ; but it is worse, that some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration. But mark : I would not be mistaken. *I am far from thinking it fit*, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists, *that Papists should be whipped for their consciences.* No : for though the hand pretended to be lifted up against them, hath, I know not by what discretion, lighted heavily upon us, and I complain, yet I do not mean that *any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they should come in our room, for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves ;* I would have *none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand.*

The address is marked throughout by good sense and ability, and he was heard with the greatest attention.

We now come to the time in the life of Penn when he was brought still more prominently before the men of his own day, owing to his becoming proprietor of a large estate in America. Penn has been chiefly known to posterity through his colony of Pennsylvania. In winding up the affairs of his father with Government, he found that the Government was indebted to him sixteen thousand pounds. He was, however, not anxious for the money, but wished to take land in America in lieu of it—having already had four years' experience as trustee for one of the proprietors of West New Jersey. Penn's object was not gain ; he desired to make his colony as a model of Government on Christian principles, and as a refuge for all that were oppressed for conscience sake, first for English men and English women, yet open to all the peoples of Europe. With such thoughts in his mind he petitioned Charles the Second, that Letters Patent might

be granted him for the same. The tract he solicited was to lie north of Maryland. It was to be bounded on the east by the Delaware River. It was to be limited on the west as Maryland was, and it was to extend northward as far as it was plantable. The King having read it sent it to the Privy Council; and the Privy Council having considered its contents, sent it to the Lords' Committee of Trades and Plantations. Great opposition was made to it in both places, and for no other reason than because William Penn was a Quaker. Several sittings took place, in which the objections of the Duke of York as proprietor of a large tract of land in the neighbourhood of that which was the object of the petition, and those of Lord Baltimore as proprietor of Maryland, were fully heard and debated. The advice, too, of Chief Justice North and the Attorney-General Sir William Jones was taken on the subject of the grant. The matter at length ended in favour of William Penn; and he was by Charter, dated at Westminster, the fourth of March 1681, and signed by writ of Privy Seal, made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of all that tract of land which he had solicited and marked out, and invested with the power of ruling and governing the same.

William Penn having now a colony of his own to settle, was obliged to give up his management of West New Jersey. The first thing he did, after obtaining the Charter, was to draw up an account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America for public distribution, so as to obtain colonists; and it may be proper to give here an extract from this circular, which was singular for its simple honesty.

I desire all my dear countryfolks, who may be inclined to go into these parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle but from a solid mind, having above all things an eye to the providence of God in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such at least to have the permission if not the good liking of their near relations, for that is both natural and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this, both natural affections and a friendly and profitable correspondence will be preserved between them, in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us; that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours, and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us and our posterity.

He drew up next a form of conditions or concessions to be agreed upon between himself as Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and those who should become adventurers and purchasers in the same province. These conditions

related to the building, forming, and settling of towns, roads, and lands, and to the treatment of the natives and other subjects. They consisted of twenty articles. Among other things it was stipulated in behalf of the Indians that, as it had been usual with planters to overreach them in various ways, whatever was sold to them in consideration of their furs should be sold in the public market place, and there suffer the test; whether good or bad: if good to pass: if not good, not to be sold for good; that these poor Indians might neither be abused or provoked. That no man should by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong an Indian, but he should incur the same penalty of the law as if had committed it against his fellow-planter; and if any Indian should abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, the planter should not be his own judge upon the Indian, but that he should make his complaint to the Governor of the province, or his Deputy, or some inferior Magistrate near him, whose duty it would be to communicate with the Chief of the Indian, and to see that all reasonable satisfaction was made to the injured planter. All differences that might arise between planters and Indians should be settled by twelve men, that is, by six planters and six Indians, that so they might live friendly together, as much as in them lay, preventing by this procedure all occasions of heart-burnings and mischief. These stipulations in behalf of the poor natives should forever immortalize the name of William Penn. He soared above the prejudices and customs of his time, for in those days navigators and adventurers thought it right to consider the inhabitants of the lands they discovered as their lawful prey, or merely as animals, whom they might ill treat, use, and take advantage of as they pleased. Penn regarded them as creatures endued with reason, as men of like passions and feelings with himself, as brethren both by nature and grace, and as persons, therefore, to whom humanity and justice were to be extended, and who, in proportion to their ignorance, were the more entitled to his protection and care. Noble sentiments these!

As many purchasers of land had now come forward, Penn thought it was necessary, before any of them embarked, that they should know something of the political constitution under which they were going to live, and as well have an opportunity of approving or otherwise the clauses in the frame of Government which he desired should become the future and permanent one of the province. He, therefore, drew up a rough sketch and

submitted it for their opinion. It consisted of twenty-four articles which were preceeded by the following grand declaration :—

I do for me and mine, declare and establish for the first fundamental of my province, that every person that doth or shall reside therein shall have or enjoy the free profession of his or her faith and exercise of worship toward God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe as most acceptable to God. And so long as every such person useth not this Christian liberty to licentiousness or the destruction of others, that is to say, to speak loosely and profanely or contemptuously of God, Christ, the Holy Scriptures, or commit any moral evil or injury against others in their conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid Christian liberty by the civil magistrate.

With respect to the articles it may be sufficient to observe, that the purchasers and adventurers were well pleased with them and that they unanimously signed them.

The conditions and frame of Government having been mutually signed, three ships full of passengers set sail for Pennsylvania ; two from London and one from Bristol, and safely reached their destination, though one owing to bad weather was driven out of her course and reached the colony much later. In one of these ships went Colonel William Markham, Penn's Secretary, and he was accompanied by several Commissioners who were specially sent to confer with the Indians respecting their lands, and were to endeavour to make with them a league of continual peace. They were the bearers of a letter from William Penn, who had most solemnly enjoined them before departure, to treat the Indians with all possible candour, justice, and humanity. This letter is so remarkable for its honest sincerity and justice that I think an extract from it will not be out of place here.

There is a great God, and Power, who hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you, and I, and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in the world.

This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help; and to do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein: but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends ; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another, but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world ? Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantage by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you. This I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you , and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood ; which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great

love and regard toward you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

The terms of this letter were faithfully kept by both sides while Penn and his descendents held the reins of Government in Pennsylvania.

J. H. LINTON.

# THE LATE HON'BLE KRISTA DAS PAL.

THE good fortune of the late lamented editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* has not deserted him even after his death. In this ancient land of ours, there have been certainly far greater men than the deceased representative of the Indian *tiers etat.* But never had any native of India such an excellent biographer as the learned author of the book* before us. We do not mean to say that Mr. Ghose's hero does not deserve the worship that has been accorded to him. But in this country, such honor to the memory of a departed genius must strike every one as exceptional.

The work under notice is not a mere biography. There is a short account of the life and doings of the deceased journalist and councillor in the book. But the sketch is rather brief. Perhaps the author did not think it prudent to throw too much light on the subject, following apparently the principle *de mortuis nil nisi bonum.* There are, however, in the book before us, some important details which bring out prominently the salient features in the character of its hero, and show the nature of the metal he was made of. We read in it that "when the mutiny ceased, it was he who suggested to older heads the idea of sending a congratulatory address to Government." When it is remembered that at the time he was not yet passed his *teens*, it is impossible not to admit that he was born a politician. There was surely something extraordinary in the stripling who, in spite of his poverty and his humble birth, could originate such plans, and assume an attitude of such importance to the Power at whose feet even the crowned heads of India lie prostrate.

Political addresses, congratulations, deputations and mass meetings are things with which the boys of our English schools are now quite familiar. But the juvenile enthusiasm for local self-government and volunteering is of recent origin, as every one knows. In the earlier days of the late Baboo Krista Das' life,

*Krista Das Pal: A Study. By Mr. N. N. Ghose, Barrister-at-Law. Published by Messrs. S. K. Lahiri and Co., 54 College Street, Calcutta.

even older heads fought shy of politics, and were content to play the *role* of religious and social reformers. The phenomenon of a boy, aspiring like a fire balloon to soar high and to shine among the heavenly luminaries, was at that time quite unusual. Mr. Ghose in one part of his book observes :—

> The people of India do not live a political life; they have no political enthusiasm. Not being a self-governing people, they have little interest in the proceedings of Government. They view the Government as a huge machine grinding out laws, taxes and resolutions—a machine which it is hopeless to resist, and whose movements it is useless to observe. They are poor, and occupied with the struggle for existence; or they are apathetic and take things as they are.

The correctness of these observations, with reference to the state of things 30 years ago, being unquestionable, it must be admitted that the late Babu Krista Das was one of that exceptional class of men who can devote their energy to the study of questions which have either no concern whatever with their sphere of life, or are very remotely connected with it.

In addition to the biographical information in the book before us, it contains very valuable dissertations on some of the most important topics of interest to Indian journalists and politicians. The dissertation on the philosophy of success and failure in life, and those on the arts of Journalism and public speaking, are masterpieces both in point of sentiment and style. As an English writer Mr. Ghose's reputation is too well established to require any encomium that we might feel inclined to pass on him. The simplicity and expressiveness of his style render it eminently adapted for practical purposes. In point of sentiment also, the book before us clearly proves the author to have an eminently practical turn. In fact, considering the ability displayed by Mr. Ghose both as an author and a journalist, it seems to us that he also has in him the possibility of having a career almost as brilliant as that of Krista Das, if he would only care to aspire for similar kind of success in life.

In his work under notice, Mr. Ghose has propounded certain views and opinions, the justice of which may not be readily accepted. For instance, he takes the zeminders of the country to task for the manner in which they squander their resources, and for their selfish apathy in all matters relating to the welfare of their ryots or of their country generally. No doubt, there are among them some whose life and doings render them deserving of the strongest condemnation. But as a class they are more to be pitied than to be denounced in sweeping terms. The majority of the zeminders

of this country live, in a manner hand to mouth, their incomes just sufficing to make the two ends of their accounts meet. Nominally some of them have big rent rolls. But, even in the best managed estates, the amounts actually realised fall far short of the demandable rental; and the balance, which is left after paying Government revenue and taxes, is more or less completely eaten up by the cost of litigation, the exactions of the police, the misconduct of servants, and the official demands for charity. Persons born in wealth are exposed to risks and influences from which men in mediocre circumstances are comparatively free. The son of the big zeminder has no friend in this wide world. Even if he happens to be so fortunate as to have an honest and disinterested adviser, the influence of such friend is more than neu tralised by the little army of swindlers who surround him. By the manœuvres of these people he is either made to pass his days in drink and debauchery, or to rusticate himself in the frivolities of some remote hill sanitarium, or to turn a religious devotee, and to become indifferent to the affairs of this world, like the famous Raja Ram Kanta of Nator, and the equally wellknown Lala Babu of Pikepara. Any how, he is kept in ignorance of his affairs; he is plunged in ruinous litigation; he is made to pay for enabling his Managers and Private Secretaries, by giving balis and dinners to high officials. For a time, things go on thus merrily as a marriage bell. But in the end the estate becomes heavily encumbered. Then the eyes of the prince are opened, perhaps, not even then; for there are swindlers who can keep their victims in fool's paradise, even when they are on the brink of total ruin. For a time the catastrophe is delayed by mortgages and putnee leases. But ultimately the crash becomes unavoidable. Sometimes the crisis is tided over by that economy and prudence which are usually taught in the bitter school of experience. But in any case the estate is seriously crippled for ever.

Mr. Ghose has instituted a comparison between our zeminders and the landed aristocracy of England, and has placed the latter on a higher level. So far as we are aware, there are at least some among the hereditary Peers of Great Britain, who, in point of intellectual culture or moral character are the exact counterparts of those Indian princes who are ruined by wine, women, parasites, landagents and jewellers. The commercial prosperity and the industrial progress of England are not due to its hereditary landowners, but to the enterprise, skill and ambition of its middle classes. No

doubt some members of the British nobility have, in every generation, attained great eminence, and have rendered great services to their country. But that is because the House of Lords, existing side by side with the House of Commons, kindles a spirit of emulation and rivalry which is impossible in any other form of Government. It is worthy of note, however, that the aristocracy of England cannot claim one single great name in science, literature, philosophy, mathematics, engineering or medicine. India is not a free country, and it is for this reason only that even the greatest and best of our men cannot attain the positions which are held in the country of our rulers by the scions of their ancient aristocracy. But in other respects the difference between English and Indian Zeminders is not very considerable.

Some of Mr. Ghose's observations with reference to our zeminders are fully justifiable, however offensive they may be to the parties on whom the strictures are passed. Our author observes :—

The Indian aristocrat fancies that he has no higher duties than to enjoy life in complacent indolence. He hardly understands what it is to make a sacrifice for a public cause. He has not a single bright or original idea to which he clings with persistence and which he is prepared to carry out.

So far we are quite prepared to agree with Mr. Ghose. But we cannot accept the ideal of philanthropy which he inculcates. His recommendations are embodied in the following extracts :—

The zeminders must protect the ryots ; not fight them. In the parts of the country which they own, they should establish schools, hospitals and dispensaries ; cut down jungle, dig wells and tanks, construct roads : in times of flood or famine or outbreak of disease, they should render every help, and, if possible, relieve and encourage the distressed by acts of personal kindness and courtesy.

As a matter of fact, most of our zeminders do all these things whether out of vanity, or for the selfish motive of ultimate pecuniary gain, or with the object of propitiating the authorities. But we cannot quite approve the direction which is usually given to the charity of our men of wealth by official preaching and pressure. Schools and dispensaries are good things no doubt. But Charupath or *Nux Vomica* cannot directly serve to give food, shelter or clothing to our masses. It is sheer mockery to open schools and dispensaries among a people who, for want of capitalists to provide them with work, live, for the greater part of the year, in a state of semi-starvation. Considering the causes which render the condition of our labouring classes so miserable, it seems to us that the amelioration cannot be effected until our countrymen see th

necessity of concentrating all their energy and all their resources, for the purpose of having free scope given to the manufacture of salt on the sea-board of Bengal and for opening as many cotton mills and iron founderies as are required to prevent that huge loss which India has to incur at present in freight, insurance, warehousing and in feeding the labourers of Manchester and Birmingham. But for the premature repeal of the import Duties on piece goods and ironwares, these industries would have flourished in the country in the natural course of trade. By yielding to the clamours of Manchester for party purposes, the Home authorities have not only made the Income Tax inevitable, but have inflicted a death blow on the great but infant industries of the country. We cannot expect now that any future Ministry, whether Liberal or Conservative, will have the moral courage to undo the mischief that has been done. We must therefore depend entirely on our own efforts, if we would do anything in the matter. The country is poor. Its surplus wealth is so completely drained by an abnormal foreign commerce, and by the demand of Home charges, that we have very few capitalists amongst us. Our only hope, therefore, lies in concentrating all our resources towards giving new life and vigor to the struggling industries of the country instead of squandering our small stock of wealth in idle luxuries, or in charities which give only momentary relief, but in the end serve to intensify the misery by the unproductive consumption of capital.

We must here conclude this notice of Mr. Ghose's admirable book, in order to avoid being too tiresome. Some of the topics discussed in it are handled with such ability that we almost feel tempted to make more copious extracts. But we have not space enough for the purpose, and all we can do is to recommend the book itself for the perusal of our readers.

EDITOR.

## *CONJUGAL RIGHTS.*

*Memorandum on the question of amending the provisions of section 260 of the Code of Civil Procedure 1882 regarding execution of decrees for restitution of conjugal rights.*

THE letter from the Government of Bombay founds the demand for a change in the law in regard to execution of decrees for the restitution of conjugal rights on the single case of *Dadxji* v. *Rukhmabai* (Indian Law Reports IX Bombay, 529 and X Bombay, 301). Neither the merits of the case nor any special grounds are stated for invoking the interference of the Legislature. The aforesaid case is still before the Court of Appeal, and it is not mentioned in the reference now before us what is the special hardship or hardships of the case which would justify the upsetting the marriage institutions of the whole country, because as I shall show further on that would be the effect of the measures which foreshadowed in the letter of Mr. Secretary Mac Donnell.

When the above case was remanded by the Appellate Court (which reversed the decree of Pinhey Justice) and the matter came before Mr. Justice Farran, there was no defence whatever on the merits, and the judgment passed by Mr. Justice Farran has been again appealed from and the case is still *sub judice*. There has been no application for execution by imprisonment or otherwise, and I fail to understand that passage in paragraph 2 of the Bombay Acting Under Secretary's letter which says "and it is understood that Rukhmabai is determined not to obey," because there is no document in the published Reports nor in the reference now before us which supports this assertion. The Appellate Court finds that at the time of marriage Dadaji was about 19 or 20 and his wife of 11 or 12 years. Not one of the allegations against the husband's physical or moral character has been proved. I therefore fail to understand the data upon which the proposed legislation is to be based.

In a Poona case (*Yamunabai Pendse* and *Narayan Jagannath Bhide*. v. *Narayan Moreshvar Pendse*, Indian Law Reports, I

Bombay, page 164.) decided by the Bombay High Court in its Appellate Jurisdiction by Melvill and West Justices their Lordships have held as follows :—

"In a suit by a Hindu husband against his wife for the restitution of conjugal rights, the criterion of legal cruelty, justifying the wife's desertion, is the same in this country as in England, viz:—whether there has been actual violence of such a character as to endanger personal health or safety or whether there is the reasonable apprehension of it.

Every person who receives a married woman into his house, and suffers her to continue there after he has received notice from the husband not to harbour her, is liable to an action for damages, or injunction, unless the husband has by his cruelty or misconduct, forfeited his marital rights, or has turned his wife out of doors or has by some insult, or ill treatment, compelled her to leave him."

In the above Poona case all manner of allegations had been hurled against the unfortunate husband, but their Lordships held that under the Hindu Law, except on certain grounds which they have laid down they could not allow the wife to desert her husband. In the present case none of the wife's allegations has been proved and therefore I must take it that they are untenable. That being the case I fail to perceive the grounds on which the Bombay Government asks the Government of India to subvert the marriage laws of the country on account of a case the merits of which have, I apprehend, not been properly understood.

Government will remember that in the case of nearly all the native communities and especially among the Hindus and Mahomedans, the fifth condition laid down in paragraph 3 is virtually making a new law of divorce for the whole country opposed to the Hindu Law, the Mahomedan Law, and even the new act made for the Parsi community. It is said that non-compliance with the decree shall be deemed a desertion, and a suit for judicial separation may be forthwith instituted. And again in paragraph 4 of Mr. Secretary Mac Donnell's letter it is said that with reference to point 5 above, that "non-compliance with the decree should be made a ground for dissolving a marriage upon the application of either party," I venture to say that this innovation will revolutionize the whole of native India, nullify the sacredness of the marriage tie, make a new law of divorce where none exists, and open a new door to all forms of licentiousness which will ruin the community. An eminent writer in the Encyclopaedia Britanica, Vol. VIII, 8th edition, page 71 observes as follows:—

"It has sometimes been urged that cruelty should have a more extended signification; that other causes of divorce, or at least separation from bed and board should be allowed, such as mutual dislike, incompatibility

of temper, neglect, severity, and repeated provocation ; and that these separations might even be voluntary, if the parties were forbidden to seek such a dissolution of the marriage contract as would leave them at liberty to marry again. We cannot assent to these suggestions."

In the case of individuals if there be a sacrifice required it must be made for the greater and more general good of the community. It is only upon this footing that any statesman can proceed, and it is not shown in the correspondence now before us, what are the data on which this boulversement of our social structure is to be made for some supposed wrong which has not been made out. The Parsi Marriage Law was made in 1865 and no case whatever has been even suggested for removing the penalty clause of section 36 of the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act XV of 1865, except the fanciful one of introducing greater uniformity. If anything has been proved during the last 22 years, it is this that for the good of the Parsi community itself, its social organization requires to be more strictly guarded than it has latterly been. The proposed change, therefore, I submit, will not only do no good but aggravate the evil by opening a cheap door for divorce which will sap at the very foundation of our social morality.

I have thus endeavoured to make brief remarks on what I may be allowed to call the non-technical phases of the present question. The new innovation will affect the laws of inheritance of guardian and ward with all its ramifications and open up a variety of questions which will no doubt be taken up and amply dealt with by those learned gentlemen to whom this subject has been submitted for criticism. To my lay mind the very basis upon which this proposal is founded does not exist, and I respectfully but earnestly deprecate any action being taken by the Government of India on such a wide reaching subject for which the native communities are not only not prepared, but any more in which by Government is justly looked upon by an overwhelming majority of the Hindu public as sapping the very foundations of their social and religious system; and which other communities look upon as an impolitic experiment for reasons above submitted.

R. D. MEHTA.

## OBSESSED!

WHY haunt me still?—Long years have past away,
Since I, thy willing captive, was set free,
And thou didst trample, in thy wanton play,
On the fond heart that worshipt only thee.
Hast thou not wrought on me thy wicked will?
Away!—why haunt me still?

At morn or eve, in crowds, or when alone,
I know, tho' none perceives, that thou art nigh,
Ever I hear thy low and dulcet tone,
Which drew me to thy feet in days gone by;
And in hard work I seek relief from pain,
Alas! I strive in vain.

But most at night thy influence I feel,
And by thy spell I see thee face to face,
Thy lips draw close to mine,—my senses reel,
I long to hold thee in my warm embrace;
My Will is vanquish'd—in thy toils I lie,
Till morning opes its eye.

But I will wrestle with my grief and pain,
But I will battle with the fiend Despair,
And I will try again, and yet again,
The unfailing potency of fervent prayer.
Off Vampire!—of my blood thou hadst thy fill;
Away!—why haunt me still?

O. C. DUTT.

# *THE BURMAN DACOIT.*

## I.

FOR months before the British ultimatum and consequent forward movement of the British forces, the Indian public had been educated by most of the newspapers, to look on annexation as inevitable; and to believe King Thebaw to be a monster of a very dark type. A man whose pastimes were drunkenness and debauchery, coupled with cutting off of heads innumerable and crucifixions. This Thebaw's greatest pleasure seemed to be the wholesale oppression and destruction of his people. Such being the case as stated, the most simple person could not but conclude that the sooner such a man was removed from his mischievous position of power, the better would it be for mankind in general and for his subjects in particular. Most people, then, asked if the British Government could be quiescent while such atrocities were being perpetrated, if not under the eyes of its officials, at least within the compass of their information. Could a power notable for its advanced principles of Government, and for its doctrines of the liberty of the subject, and the voice of the people being paramount and able to set aside the authority and rule of kings and ministers, could such a power remain passive? Impossible! The best instincts of manhood revolted at such a thought! Money in large sums would have to be spent, and many valuable lives would have to be sacrificed! True! But what of that? A suffering people called to us for deliverance and British gold has ever been poured freely forth for such a purpose! and the British soldier holds his life cheap in such a cause.

It is true that Upper Burmah is a highway to China, and that this highway could be wonderfully expanded by the railway. It is also true that the great manufacturing centres in England are continually clamouring for new markets for their products,

and that the wealthy and powerful lords of trade, who exercise authority in such places, have a tendency to look on the British soldier as an opener up of ways and channels for their use and benefit. These lords of trade often exercise a subtle and occult influence over Cabinet Ministers, as was shown in the repeal of the Indian cotton duties. Of course such thoughts are only problematical. The great power of the British manufacturer was not as a feather's weight in turning the scale in favour of annexation. We went to deliver an oppressed people who were waiting with open arms to receive us.

I am not at all concerned to show King Thebaw as a maligned martyr; he may be very bad man, and may have come very comfortably through a career of murder and violence; but before condemning him *in toto* we should remember that Burmese civilization is not English civilization. Our unreclaimable fault is a continual looking at foreign peoples through the medium of English glasses, hence these peoples not only appear grotesque but often repulsive and provocative of a feeling of horror. Let us, however, put on the glasses of the people we are looking at and things assume a different form. Let us look at crucifixion as a capital punishment, through Burmese glasses, and our views of it will be much modified. Be it also remembered that the Romans crucified culprits; and no one will deny that they were a highly civilized people, and have left the impress of their civilization throughout the Kingdoms of Europe; in fact to this day we display a good deal of the leavening effects of Roman civilization. Can any Christian help avowing that the Bible, if viewed through sentimental English glasses, would cause a revulsion in the mind, for it is full of pictures of cruel slaughter. We have a prophet of God, decapitating with his own hand, and in cold blood, captive kings; and his action has been commended because there was a needs be.

Viewed through such a medium the Jews stand revealed as a most cruel people, and their history as conveyed in the Old Testament becomes unreadable. How do the Covenanters appear? And what can be said in favour of Cromwell's Puritan soldiers? These fifth monarchy men were guilty of some terrible deeds!

Whether we invaded and annexed Upper Burmah, solely on high moral principles, or whether there was a commercial undercurrent, it is now too late to inquire. It is, however, evident, that we were greatly misinformed as to the people being ready

to receive us as deliverers. The people of Upper Burmah are the same in national traits and characteristics as our own subjects, and are quite as intelligent. It does seem surprising that these people who have had the advantage of associating with their fellow-countrymen under British rule, for over a generation, and have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the good Government under which they live, should still so tenaciously manifest a desire for their native method of Government. Such a desire seems a conclusive answer to those who declare that the native Government was but another name for the oppression of the subject. I again say that the Burman is no fool, be he a resident of Upper or Lower Burmah. I have known Burmans intimately, at different periods of my life, and men in different social positions, from the Burman gentleman to the artisan, and there are no Asiatic people that I know of who resemble Europeans so much in their ways and customs. A European feels quickly at home as a guest in a Burmese house. There is certainly more politeness and ceremonial observable in a Mahomedan or Hindu gentleman in Calcutta, but no doubt many have felt that on such occasions a tinge of Bohemianism would be a relief; it is all so oppressive. They say that the Persian is the Frenchman of India, but if they excel the Indian Mahomedan or Hindu gentleman in politeness, it must be worth one's while travelling to Persia to become acquainted with their manners.

I do not venture to state that the Burmese are still struggling for the restoration of Thebaw, or that lawless men are not taking advantage of the change of Government to commit depredation, but I do state that the majority of the Burmese are struggling for the restoration of their own princes and native rule. It is cruel to brand such men with infamy; let it suffice that they are sacrificing their lives; it may be that they are doing so for an idea, while we are offering them the advantages of British government, coupled with British commerce. Such men are not rebels inasmuch as they have never acknowledged or accepted British supercession. Hang them! shoot them! We have better weapons and the power of possession. Let the dead rest in honoured graves! These men are not dacoits. The Buddhist priests have never sanctioned lawlessness and no dacoit has ever been able to say that he has had the sympathy or the presence of his priest to sanction his proceedings. The men who are waging a guerilla warfare have the sympathy expressed or implied, of the

whole Buddhist hierarchy and phoongyees are often in their Camps. The Burmese dacoit of Lower Burmah was feared by the villagers, and they were only too quick in giving the authorities information about him. Is that the case now?

To make my meaning clear I will give an illustration or two. The French overran Spain, and Napoleon set his brother up as a puppet king. The Spaniards resisted, but when they found they were not strong enough to cope with the Marshalls of France they had recourse to guerilla warfare; and during the struggle did they not make those of their countrymen suffer who had submitted to the Invader? It is the necessary outcome of such a mode of warfare. How fearfully these Spaniards repayed the Frenchmen, when opportunity afforded, for their dominance of the country; they were merciless in their pursuit of the French. In those days the sympathies of England was with the struggling Spaniard, whom she helped with men and money. Who has not felt morally invigorated by a perusal of the events at Corunna, Budajos, Vittoria, Salamanca, and other heroic British efforts in behalf of the downtrodden? These Spaniards live in history as patriots, not as dacoits and rebels. The only difference is that our occurrence took place in Europe and the other is happening in Asia. Again let us suppose that the French invaded Belgium, because the king of the Belgians happened to be as mad as Thebaw was said to be, (of course we must suppose Belgium to be outside all international compact), supposing the Belgium acted as the Burmese, and the French acted on the same lines we are following in Burmah. What indignation it would cause in England! While the right of the conqueror to pacify the country conquered, even by extreme measures, might be admitted, there would be a strong protest against branding the vanquished with the infamous terms of robber and rebel. The same facts present themselves in Asia and what different conclusions are arrived at.

# *THE COMING CONGRESS OF INDIA.*

THE time is fast approaching when the third Congress of India will meet at Madras. The Southern Presidency is showing signs of life and political energy it never manifested before. Grand preparations are being made in several districts for electing competent delegates for this National Assembly. Not only in the Southern Presidency, but in the other parts of the empire the leaders of thought and action are vigorously co-operating with each other in a cause which has enlisted the universal sympathy of the nation. Slowly but steadily are the various races of India approaching a condition full of promise. It was left to England to dispel the darkness of ages by the vivifying rays of western education, and to raise India up in the scale of nations. Already has the light dawned and disclosed the truth, the lesson which the past history of nations has taught, that the political regeneration of India can be effected only by unity.

The history of this Congress furnishes an interesting chapter in the regeneration of India. Such a National assembly binding in one common interest, though for a time, the various conflicting elements of this vast empire, was considered three years ago, as a utopian institution which existed in the imagination of some educated men in Bengal. For it must be admitted that the torch, in this respect, was lighted in Bengal, a torch whose rays have now illumined the whole of India. The Ilbert bill controversy brought into strong relief the necessity for such a union. This was followed by the memorable reception of Lord Ripon when he started on his memorable tour. All the Indian races forgetting their differences, united themselves to give a fitting ovation to the most popular Viceroy India had ever seen. To leaders of public opinion the truth presented itself that the nations which could weld themselves into one homogeneous mass to shew their respect to a retiring Viceroy, could also unite

more strongly on any other occasion in a cause in which the whole empire might be interested. Then Bengal took the lead and she was strongly supported by Bombay and Madras.

The first Congress met at Bombay and even its enemies declared it to be a success. Its admirers, among whom numbered some Europeans of great experience, remarkable for their sympathy with the Indian races, thought that the initial success which had crowned their efforts was beyond their most sanguine expectations. The first Congress was not a representative institution, as the members who had joined it were not duly elected by constituencies. They were simply men of light and leading who had evinced an active sympathy in the proceedings of the Congress.

The proceedings were published, and they drew the attention of some of the statesmen in England and evoked their sympathy. It was admitted by foes and friends that the proceedings were conducted with great wisdom and moderation and the arguments which were adduced to support some popular demands of the day were unassailable. The proceedings of the second Congress have also been published. It is admitted on all hands that they were conducted with great loyalty, moderation and wisdom, and they at once shew that they had been controlled by men of ripe experience and political knowledge, who in congenial soil and in a free country would have been considered great statesmen and patriots.

The third Congress is about to meet. Madras is certainly the best place for such an Assembly. There self-governing institutions have grown and flourished in a way nowhere to be seen in India. Almost every district in the presidency, which ten years ago bore the sobriquet of *benighted*, has become the nucleus of a representative constituency in imitation of the English system, and the formation of these representative institutions is rapidly advancing. The people of Madras take the greatest delight and interest in political matters, and there is no doubt that the coming Congress will be a great success. The great defect in the constitution of the last two Congresses was that the delegates were not duly elected by their constituencies. Hence the proceedings did not possess the strength and political significance which otherwise they would have possessed. England is the mistress of representative institutions which have attained a degree of perfection on her soil which cannot be seen in any other part of the civilized world. The political regeneration of India must begin from England,

where *imperial exigencies*, which are superior to every other consideration in India, do not exist. The best statesman in England who has attained a reputation for wide sympathies with subject people, yields in India to those *exigencies*, and the interests of the Indians are sacrificed to them. Hence to make an impression on the thinking public in England, it is absolutely necessary that we should so manage and control our proceedings as to make them acceptable to that public. If this Congress wants to claim for it the status of a national assembly, delegates coming to it must be duly elected by their constituencies; in fact the Congress must be constituted strictly upon the elective principle which finds favor in England. These election proceedings should be published and the names of the candidates who are returned for the Congress by each constituency should also be made public a short time before the Congress holds its sittings. Gentlemen who are fully acquainted with the English system of election should be deputed to each centre without loss of time, and they should train the body of electors in the manner in which elections are to proceed.

These elections should be managed under certain rules and bye-laws which should be published at once under the authority of the Executive-Council of Congress. The ultimate success of the Congress depends much in the manner on which it is formed, and if the leaders succeed in giving it the shape of an Indian parliament, the time will not be distant when its moral strength will be felt in England and India.

The Mahomedans in Bengal did a great injury to the national cause by holding off from this great representative assembly. The object of the Congress is to establish unity among all classes of the Indian people, but this object—the very moving principle—will be defeated if our Mahomedan brethren do not join. They can have no objection to join, when they see that the proceedings of the last two Congresses were conducted in a true and genuine spirit of loyalty in which neither the Hindus nor the Mahomedans have been found wanting. While their accession gives strength, their secession leads to weakness and disunion amongst a respectable people who are aspiring to be strong and united. Let not the future historian of India cast a stain on the conduct of the Mahomedans in Bengal when the history of this critical period comes to be written. The national Congress will deal only with questions possessing an imperial interest, in which all races living in India are equally interested.

So long as these grievances are loyally laid before the Government, with moderation and practical wisdom, I think every true born Indian who is not blinded by improper sectarian considerations ought to join.

The kind reception which the Viceroy accorded to the delegates must at once convince our Mahomedan brethren that His Excellency did not in the least look with disfavour on the proceedings of the Congress or that the delegates lost his favour by joining the Assembly. A true born Englishman of Lord Dufferin's sympathies cannot possibly view with disfavour the attempts which the Congress is making to raise the nation from its fallen state, and although he cannot yet legally recognise the Congress, he must have every sympathy for its objects.

K. P. SIRCAR.

## *ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.*

*Naba-Juga*: *A monthly magazine and review*: *Barat Press, Calcutta*: We have received the first number of this Bengali monthly. The present number contains three articles besides the preliminary notes. The preliminary notes explain the object of the undertaking in a neat and concise way. The character of Padmabati of Bankim Baboo's "Kapal Kundala", has been excellently analysed by Baboo Girija Prosunno Rai Chowdry, the distinguished author of "Bunkim Chundra". And Mr. P. Mukerji's article on "*Surkarabhuk-Udvida*," seems to us very thoughtful, and may be advantageously read by lovers of Science. The long list of contributors is itself a certificate of honor to the maga zine. We wish the venture every success.

*Punchayet Karjya Bidhi: By Baroda Das Bosu, Sub-Deputy Magistrate and Collector.* It contains Act VI. 1870 of the Bengal Council as amended by the Acts I of 1871 and 1886, and has been intended chiefly for the use of the Punchayets, and for those of our. countrymen who cannot afford to know more of the above Act than what can be told in a little book written in the Bengali Language. It is written in very simple language, and will prove highly interesting to those for whom it is intended; and the low price places it within the reach of all.

*A Junior English Grammar, Compiled by D. N. Basu, Calcutta.* In our days, we are hardly in want of good English Grammars for our schools, when the books of men like Messrs. Bain, Morris, Latham, Angus, &c. are available. The compiler's excuse for attempting to write a grammar, is that books like the above are deficient in some points which though quite intelligible to advanced English students, present difficulties of no ordinary character to beginners. In the present work the explanations of the various grammatical terms convey the exact meanings in very plain and simple language; and we are glad to be able to say that it is a most

successful fulfilment of the author's promise. We can fairly recommend it to the students preparing for the M. E. S. Examination.

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*Pagaler Smasan: By Hari Pada Chakrabarti; Sitapur, Howrah:* As appears from the preface, it is the first attempt of the author in poetry,—a juvenile pastime, and not the careful production of a practised writer The author is very successful in his descriptions of nature and in the delineation of the character of his hero. We notice something fresh, vigorous and simple in the mind of the writer. We wish the young poet every success.

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*Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao on Hindu Marriage.*

DEWAN BAHADUR RAGHUNATH RAO has favoured us with a copy of his lecture which discusses the following question concerning Hindu marriage: "When does the bride attain the Gotra, Pinda and Sutaka of the bridegroom"? It appears that this question has assumed a special importance in certain controversies now being carried on on the other side of India. The most important point, says the Dewan Bahadur, between him and his "would-be orthodox brethren in the matter of Hindu marriage laws," is that they believe that as soon as the *saptapadi* ceremony is gone through, the bride becomes one with her husband in Pinda, Gotra, and Sutaka, while he holds that this unity of Pinda, Gotra and Sutaka comes into existence three days after marriage. It seems to be admitted on both sides that civil rights, consequent on marriage, are obtained after attaining the aforesaid unity. It is only upon the attainment of this unity that the bride becomes a member of the family of her husband and loses her hold on the family of her parents. The question, therefore, as to the point of time when unity commences, is one of great importance as affecting the status of a female in her hasband's family and in that of her parents After this point of time and not before, the bride becomes "entitled to participate in the funeral ceremonies of her bridegroom and renounces her right to the same in her parent's family." The Dewan Badadur cites several authorities in support of his contention that the unity commences three days after marriage.

The Sutras are declared by one of the Honorable Judges of the High Court of Madras to be "collections of important Vedic texts,

constituting the foundation for rules of conduct". They are called Aswalayana, Apastamba and Gobhila Sutras, and they all decalre that unity is arrived at on or after the fourth day from the marriage (Aswalayana Sutras 1-8-12; Apastamba Sutra 2-6-15-10 ; Gobhila Sutras 2-13-15, 2-5-1 ). The following *Smritis* assert the same : Manu, Yama (page 29, verse 86, Bombay Edition) Likhita (page 377, Calcutta Edition), Vrihaspati. his view is further supported by Hary Vamsa of the Mahabharat and Vishnu Puran. It is maintained in the Viramitrodaya (P. 608, Calcutta Edition ; *vide* Mitakshara, page 306, and Sir T. Strange's Hindu Law, vol II. p. 32). After adducing the aforesaid "conclusive authorities ", the Dewan Bahadur observes : " If this one point be admitted by the majority of my countrymen, we may all unite in asking the Government to declare by a legislative enactment that the aforesaid is the correct view of Hindu Law".

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# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

NEW SERIES.

No. 6.—DECEMBER 1887.

## *CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA.*

AN event of much interest which in the last few years has attracted notice mainly, or, indeed entirely, from only one point of view, has escaped notice from the point of view which is destined to be more durable and to have wider influence than the single aspect now presented to us. The military significance of the annihilation of the barbarous domination of the Turcomans in Central Asia, has attracted in India attention to the consequences which might follow the renewal of a barrier which for centuries has effectually separated the inhabitants of Hindoostan from intercourse with the people of the sandy deserts of Turkomania. It is unnecessary now, and it is not intended in the remarks that follow, to make any criticisms on the purely military aspect of affairs beyond the borders of Afghanstan ; but the remark may be correctly ventured that the military view of this important event is already dissolving, or, if that be thought too sanguine, the evidence of hostile movements, previously conceived and materially assisted by the events of the past few years, is dwindling down to the probably far more just opinion that the Russian Empire in its progress towards the East, its natural tendency, has reached its borders in the direction of Central Asia and India.

When the history of the extension of the Russian Empire over Central Asia has been written, the remarkable similarity between the course of events in India in the last century or more, and the course of events in Central Asia in the last thirty years, will be made

more manifest than it is now. And of both conquests the same remark will in time, we may predict, be made, that the improvement in the circumstances of the people has been the result, even although it may be equally truly said that the welfare of the people was not at any time seriously taken into consideration in either instance. Conquests in the olden times, when Rome was in the height of its glory, were made for personal aggrandisement almost entirely; trading profits formed no part of the reasons for undertaking those predatory excursions; but the extension of empire, the leading captive prisoners of war, and the gratification of pride at the results in that way obtained, sufficiently rewarded the generals for their efforts; but laid no foundations of future empire which could not easily be removed by the successful attempt of foes as adventurous and as unscrupulous as themselves.

But although the improving of the condition of the whole people of India or of Central Asia cannot be affirmed to have been the origin of the attacks made on their independence by two such distant nations as those of England and Russia, the "march of events" has tended towards that result and nothing apparently could now happen which could effectually overthrow it. If, therefore, we take only a glimpse at the future life of the inhabitants of Central Asia or India, we shall get a view only of their material advancement; their military history will not come before the eye that has closed; its future pages will bear records different from its past, the army in India will be as it has been for some years past an institution preserved by the wisdom of the Government, patiently awaiting events which may never happen, and which may, we may suppose, become less likely to happen as one year succeeds another.

This is not an exaggerated prospect, but is simply an opinion culled from the events that have passed away, some of the most impressive of which have occurred in the lifetime of a large number of persons who can, by an act of memory, verify the conclusion that is now put forward. But, nevertheless, the balance on the side of happiness which most of us anticipate, may now be easily struck by the least enthusiastic of our friends, and there will be deductions to make from it, which may arouse a discussion at some future period as to the advantages substantially ensured by a crowded population, a continuous and perhaps more difficult struggle to exist, as compared with the sparse population and the wild lawless life of centuries

long since passed away, when the calamities of an invading army on its march were unexpectedly encountered, when lives were ruthlessly sacrificed, homes destroyed and misery and want imposed in the midst of plenty, the abundant crops burnt or carried away at the very moment of gathering them.

The great and durable event, then, that we must all look forward to, is the commencement and continuance of commercial intercourse between the people of India and of Central Asia. The advances from India in this direction remain much the same as they have been for several centuries. The Hindu merchants of Shikarpur, who have kept up their intercourse with Afghanstan, and, as far as possible, with countries beyond, continue their undertakings with less hindrance than heretofore. The roads are better and safer, the routes are more expeditious, the profits come quicker and more surely, and the number of their transactions is yearly increasing. The traders in Kandahar and Cabul are reciprocating, and trade which has languished for years is being revived and carefully nourished. The Russians, too, in Central Asia have begun in earnest; the Government of the Czar conspicuously aids the merchants, admittedly regarding increase of trade as the sole advantage to be expected from conquests gradually advancing and, apparently, permanently secured.

The commercial spirit is peculiarly characteristic of modern times. The natural love of gain, parent of the hope that inspires enterprise, has ever been the motive power for trading with foreign nations. But the present day is provided with means and methods altogether unknown for long centuries in the remote past, and in this way all classes of people are more or less interested in, and larger numbers derive their incomes from, foreign trade. In the earlier ages commerce was the occupation of a few only and so rare were the opportunities of carrying it on that the novel and interesting work was usually undertaken either under the direct control of the sovereign or under his patronage and protection. So far did this interference of the rulers extend that they often fixed the prices of the goods and they made the use of proper weights and measures imperative. The caravans left under escort provided by the King and were accompanied on their long journies in a similar manner and their arrival at their destination was an event of vast importance and of sincere congratulation. The roads that were used for these trade routes are

in existence now; the caravans that in the present day leave the northern limits of the Chinese Empire and wend their way for months slowly across the west and south, making for India as one of their destinations, pursue the same routes that their predecessors have taken and nearly under the same disadvantages and with the risk of similar disasters occasionally overwhelming them, which have existed throughout; but the tales of which have never been told in accents sufficient to prevent the incurring of the same risks again and again, the traders frequently escaping the dreaded fate, and, whenever successful, deriving new hopes for new adventures.

The trade carried on within the limits of Hindoostan was subject to the same difficulties, disasters and calamities that have existed at all times up to quite recent years. The journey from East to West in India and from North to South, was performed after months had passed away in going from one city to another, over routes never free from marauders, and through cities where the arbitrary authority of the Prince might either impose heavy taxes which annihilated profits or prohibit the further progress of the patient merchant. During all this time trade was carried on extensively by a few merchants only, their enterprise made the manufacture of valuable goods advantageous to the few whose labour made these costly fabrics; but extension of this trade or of any trade whatever was impossible, the time occupied in going from place to place and then returning home again, limited production, and the lack of regular information as to the success of their adventures prevented the merchants from sending orders, and thus the requirements for a caravan for the one adventure of the year were never exceeded and commerce for centuries must have been carried on at a dead level of production and consumption which must have materially interfered with new undertakings and have sometimes entirely crippled the oldest struggles.

Some time may pass before the trade which is destined to thrive between India and Central Asia has fairly begun. Hostile tariffs may do much to hinder its development, but hostile movements of armies will be the subject of discussion only and may keep alive for a time the nervous feelings which still control the foreign policy of the British Government, but actual results will show in the immediate future the groundlessness of the alarm which has prevailed for many past years and which has caused the expenditure of money in futile attempts

to stem the current of events which have steadily followed each other from year to year till the barbarous tribes, who ruined cities and laid waste cultivated lands for centuries, have at last been themselves brought under control and compelled to acknowledge the power and influence of a civilised nation. Trade, which under the most depressing influences has been kept alive through countless ages, will assuredly have little difficulty, especially if allowed to use its own influence unrestrained, in opening out new routes and in extending the old ones. The Governments of both England and Russia are themselves deeply interested in the successful progress of commerce, and the facilities that commerce has itself created, can be used to the advantage of merchants, and at the same time the large numbers, who share in these days the enterprises because they can avail themselves of the railroads equally with the wealthier traders, will join their efforts to extend commerce in new directions. We may, therefore, justly anticipate that the intercourse, once more begun between the people of Central Asia and of India, will tend to the consolidation of two great empires and the promotion of the permanent interests and welfare of the loyal subjects of both nations.

J. C.

# THE BURMAN DACOIT.

## II.

THE true Burman dacoit is very similar to his confreres in India or elsewhere, and is no fit object for sympathy or advocacy. He is led to adopt his profession not from pressure of circumstances, or from a chivalrous desire to rob the rich to bestow on the poor, but from innate lawlessness, and because dacoity including castle-lifting is lucrative employment; for timber and other traders wander for inland with cash and merchandise in their possession, and form a ready prey; while border inroads into Siamese or British territory was easily effected and generally safely accomplished, and Burmah being such a well-wooded country, these forests afforded safe retreats in case of pursuit.

One Nga Shoay Bho will serve one typical dacoit. This Nga Shoay Bho was a powerfully built man; rather light in complexion for a Burman, but instead of the usual cheerful open countenance that characterize this race, his feature denoted a sullen humour; he was possessed of a sort of reckless courage, but like all law-breakers his courage had no staying qualities; of tenderness of conscience or feeling he appeared void, and was impartial in robbing and ill-treating the king of Ava's subjects, or those of the British and Siamese. He began his career in a small way in Upper Burmah, and soon became distinguished for his successes, and numbered over a hundred followers; then he crossed over into British territory, where he increased his reputation and obtained recruits from the wild Karens and lawless Burmese and Taliens, till his followers numbered several hundreds. Some have said that he at one time had over a thousand men. Being so strong Nga Shoay Bho confined his depredations to British territory, with an occasional visit to the Siamese, which he signalized by looting and then burning the villages, and laying the country around waste during

his retreat. The divided bands of his people ravaged the country for great distance and carried away their booty on ponies. Though Shoay Bho served to live and riot in British territory, he was wise enough to have his strongholds among the independent tribes; to these stockaded encampments he sent the principal part of his spoil, likewise such merchants and others who were held captive for ransom. He often had a considerable number of Shan traders thus in bonds. They were, however, not otherwise ill-treated and were allowed to depart with their merchandize when the sum required was paid. So great did this man's influence become, that bodies of Shan traders, and Burmese timber and other dealers, who knew that they had to pass localities infested by his bands, thought it wisest to come and pay blackmail before proceeding on their journey; when captured they were released. His name was a terror to the people for more than a hundred miles round.

The British authorities determined at length to capture him or drive him out of their territory, and for this purpose two strong parties of troops were sent after him. Nga Shoay Bho drew in his scattered parties and retreated before the troops, till a favourable opportunity offered of drawing one detachment into an ambuscade and inflicting considerable loss on them, which obliged them to withdraw from pursuit. He kept the other detachment employed in following him about, never permitting them to come with him, till the rains set in, when of course the troops had to return to cantonments. Then Nga Shoay Bho returned and traversed his old haunts and in revenge burnt more villages than he had ever done before, carrying off hundreds of men, women, and children, as captives. Besides this he plundered and cut up nearly fifty timber merchants and became so emboldened by success that he actually built stockades and standing camps in different places in British territories near the principal forest routes, and held possession for a time a good portion of the country.

After the rainy season was over and the state of the country permitted military operations, a *nondescript* force was sent into the disturbed district: it consisted of about 500 irregulars, Policemen, and Burmese and Karen volunteers, with some half a dozen European artillery-men, who were in charge of two small howitzers. The Burmese and Karen volunteers were under the command of their several "Myo Thorgyees," or head of districts while the whole force was in charge of a civil officer,

who was assisted by a non-commissioned officer. Such was the force that was supposed to clear the country of these lawless men. Very different from an army of occupation assisted by strong levies of Punjab policemen ; but then, of the time I am writing of, we had to deal with *puckah* dacoits. Another noteworthy fact was that the Burmese and Karens, who composed part of the force, volunteered to serve without pay on condition of being provided with arms and food during the expedition.

This force entered the disturbed locality and encamped a short distance from a few Karen villages. Hardly was the encampment set up, when the Karen Tsokays or heads of villages, came flocking in with their little presents of fruit or grain, expressing their joy at the appearance of a force to aid them, and their earnest hope was that the dacoits would be soon driven out of the district. They gave a most lamentable account of Nga Shoay Bho's doings, enumerating burnt and plundered villages and men, women, and children, carried off captive. These Tsokays offered the service of the young men of their villages in driving out the marauders ; but the officer in charge could not increase his numbers as he was carrying his commissariat supplies in the shape of rice and salt fish with him on elephants, for he knew that the pursuit of the dacoits would lead him through pathless forests and over mountainous ranges, where it would not be possible to obtain any supplies. He also thought that the men with him were sufficient to be able to give a good account of Nga Shoay Bho and his following.

Whether Shoay Bho had incorrect information of the movements of the detachment, or whether success had made him over-confident, like all Asiatics, certain it is, when the British force entered this district, Shoay's men were scattered in various bands all over the country, engaged in their usual work, and he himself was out at the head of a rather strong party, but his whereabouts was not known: thus every one of his stockaded and standing camps in British territory, fell one after another, into the hands of the punitive force. The force was now divided, one-half going overland and the other proceeding by water, on light rafts and canoes to a point, where it was said a large band of dacoits were devastating the country. The stream the water party proceeded down was a narrow one with a lot of serub on its banks; they had not proceeded many hours when they saw a band of dacoits ready to dispute the passage, when two boats crews were immediately landed, who after

a short struggle drove the dacoits inland. A little lower down the stream one of the rafts was snagged, and its occupants were soon floundering in the water, the canoes however soon came to the rescue and all the men were landed safely, though the stores on it were partially lost and those recovered, were found completely damaged. Every effort was now made to float the raft and to repair injuries as there was no room for the men in the other rafts, or the canoes. Some hours were spent in this work, and when at last the raft was afloat, it was too late to proceed further, so all the rafts and canoes were moored round a sand bank and the force camped for the night.

The next morning as the party was still proceeding down stream, two Karens were descried on the opposite bank, and on being communicated with, gave the information that a large band of dacoits were then a little distance inland engaged in plundering a village and carrying off its women and children as captives. The officer in charge of the expedition immediately landed with a hundred men, while the rest proceeded on their way, and taking the Karens for guide set off for the village indicated. After several hours brisk marching they came upon the band, laden with plunder and captives, when the officers ordered his men to charge, the dacoits gave way before the rush and were soon flying over the country, having relinquished their spoil and captives. The dacoits were doubtless taken completely by surprise and besides were hampered with their booty and prisoners. The British force followed in pursuit and hunted them through a dense forest, as far as they could go, till the band appeared completely broken up, when they returned to the river bank, and camped for the night, having left the villagers assured that they would be free from further molestation.

The next day they marched along the river bank and late in the afternoon reached the point at which the canoes and rafts were directed to wait for them; and the whole party were soon on board. The whole of the craft were moored for the night along side a sand-bank. The next day they had rather a dangerous portion of the stream to proceed down, and the result was the complete wreck of three rafts, the men from which were saved with the greatest difficulty, happily no lives were lost, but a large quantity of stores was gone beyond recovery. The whole party camped on the river bank with the purpose of preparing fresh rafts as it was found impossible to raise those lost. They obtained a few canoes in

the neighbourhood with a supply of bamboos and strips of cane and were soon busily engaged in preparing new rafts, by lashing two canoes together and covering them with a bamboo flooring, and were hopeful of being able to proceed on their way the next day.

Early the next morning while the men were employed preparing their morning meal, the camp was suddenly and boldly attacked by a party of about 150 dacoits. They had stolen up behind some rocks, within a distance of fifty yards; their shots perforated the officer's tent, and struck some men, before any one was aware of their proximity. There was hardly time for the men to seize their arms and for a few men to make a rush to a rock that commanded the position. There were a few yards of sand between this point and the rocks held by the dacoits, and this space some of them tried to pass with a dash, while others kept up a sharp fire from the rocks. This effort failed, however, as our men who took possession of the rock kept up a steady fire and were soon supported. The Burmese and Karen volunteers were then advanced in line, while the one howitzer with the party was brought to bear on the dacoits position. The volunteers advanced steadily and pluckily and drove the dacoits back with loss, following them up in to the dense forest, when they were recalled. When the volunteers got back to camp it was too late to proceed that day, so another night was passed on the same spot.

The rafts and canoes were proceeding suddenly a dropping fire was opened on them from the high wooded right-bank. A party of Karens supported by a body of irregulars was sent to drive them from their position, but this was a difficult task as the bank was rocky and well-wooded, all they could accomplish was to make the dacoits fall slowly and steadily back so as to permit the flotilla to proceed on unmolested.

Two days later, the river force came in sight of an encampment of dacoits, and a strong party posted in advance of their camp, which position they seemed determined to hold. They had chosen ground on the top of a high ridge of rocks jutting out into the river and round which it would be necessary for the rafts and canoes to pass, if they were to proceed further. As it could not be hoped to carry the position in front without serious loss of men, a party of Karens were detached, who were ordered to make their way through the forest on the top of the high bank, and take dacoits in flank and rear, their first discharge being the signal for others to rush in. This arrangement failed, owing to

the density of the jungle and the difficult ground to be passed over. The howitzer were then landed and two shells were pitched with beautiful precision into the dacoits position; at the same time Karens advanced instantly at a run and the place was carried without the loss of a man. Then the whole force passed on to the camp of the enemy, which was situated on a hill commanding the river. Our force was divided into three parties so as to attack the camp on both flanks and in front, which was carried out with such spirit that the dacoits were compelled to fly precipitately. Their camp was given up to plunder and burnt; while a strong party followed in pursuit and obliged the dacoits to relinquish all their baggage, which was being carried away on elephants, and a greater portion of their arms and amunition. A little lower down the force was joined by the party that had proceeded overland. This party had encountered and dispersed with loss two bands of dacoits and had placed guards along the route at parts indicated. At this point the rafts and canoes were abandoned.

The force was now reduced to 350 men, who marched inland with the purpose of scouring the country right up to our frontier with Karen territory and back again, placing guards all along at necessary spots. For two days they made long marches, over high hills, and through dense forests, along the bed of a stream, or by a deer-paste, without meeting a single soul, or a vestige of human occupation till they reached Huime-longyee, which they found had been burnt down by dacoits, though little injury was done to the extensive stokade, which formed a parallelogram, with irregularly shaped wooden towers at intervals, capable of being easily defended against musketry alone. It is situated on an extensive open plain, surrounded by distant mountains, and watered by a fine stream of some magnitude and of the clearest water, along the banks of which and those of its numerous tributaries, teak of magnificient growth is the prevailing forest tree.

The high level plateau on which the place is situated had evidently yielded a rich harvest of rice, maize, and sugar-cane, and was planted with various descriptions of fruit-trees; game of all descriptions, particularly hare abounded; indeed the deer of the country, *Cervus russa*, and the wild hog, afforded good sport throughout the expedition, and proved of great assistance to the commissariat. They marched again in two days and reached Poung-met-seh in five long marches, over a very difficult country. The tops of the lofty mountain here appeared crowned with fir-trees, which grew in

clumps; the valleys, watered by numerous mountain rills, producing the wild citron, the orange, and a variety of plantain with strange tapering stem. All around bore marks of the devastating freebooters; the Karen hamlets were burnt, their granaries rifled, and the dead lay unburied by the wayside.

At Poung-met-seh the British force received information of a party of dacoits who were then engaged in pillaging a neighbouring village, and a party was detached to attack them, but they took to flight on the approach of our men; they appeared to the Red Karens, who are said to be the most fierce of the mountain tribes of Burmah. Those Karens have a peculiar dress of their own and are thus recognizable at a distance. The dress consists of a loose short trowsers generally red, with black wadded jackets. They wear their hair long fastened in a knot on the top of the head and covered with a broad brimmed straw hat. After a day's halt, the force marched on, passing charred and blackened posts, which marked the site of three very large villages. The route became now more easy, but it was still mountainous, with intervals of forest or brushwood. Later in the day a party of Karen hunters brought information that a number of dacoits were lying in ambush, on the path by which the force was advancing, detachments were sent out to surround them, who succeeded in taking them by surprise and making twenty prisoners, without bloodshed.

The next day in the afternoon, the force reached the river Salween and descried on the opposite bank, in Karen territory a strong encampment, with large and well-built houses and which was said to contain some 400 or 500 armed men. This was Nga Shoay Bho's head quarters. During the day a considerable body of dacoits, fully armed crossed over and demanded the release of the twenty prisoners in the British Camp. They were of course refused and retired vowing vengeance. They were allowed to retire unmolested as they had come from beyond the British frontier. During the same evening and part of the night large bands of armed men passed through the British Camp and crossed to the opposite shore. The dacoit leaders were evidently mustering their men for a trial of strength. It was, however, ascertained from the prisoners, that Nga Shoay Bho was not in the encampment, but was still in British territory.

The following day the dacoits became more emboldened, and crossed over in boats, in large parties, all of whom were more or less intoxicated with their favourite liquor, which is a kind of

"Sham-Shoo" distilled from rice; these men danced and howled in their boats, opposite the British Camp, while they shouted they had no chiefs and did as they pleased. The officer in charge with great forbearance kept his men in check, as his desire was to try and first obtain the co-operation of the independent Karennee chiefs, so as completely to break up this nest of hornets; but all these intentions were frustrated by the dacoits capturing shortly afterwards two of the Burmese volunteers who had strayed some distance from camp. A canoe was therefore sent across with a request to deliver up these men, to this message the dacoits replied by shouts of derision; but one of the prisoners broke loose and rushed down to the canoe, pursued by a band of hooting, shouting men, armed with spears, swords, and *dahs*, the poor man almost dead with fear, succeeded in reaching the river bank, when he plunged into the river and was brought off. He reported that himself and companion were tortured and that the latter would be murdered. A rupture could not be avoided now. A simple ultimatum was sent to give up the Burman unhurt or we would come and take him. The answer was renewed shouts of derision and the first shot fired.

The dacoits' position was close to the river, on a high steep bank, protected by a *chevaux de frise*, and contained now considerably more than 500 armed men. The breadth of the river between the two camps was above 400 yards, the stream very deep and rapid. Unfortunately only four canoes could be procured, and these were obtained with the greatest difficulty. There was a long sand-bank in the river within 300 yards of the dacoits' position, to this bank our men crossed and drew up; the two howitzers were also placed in position here. The dacoits opened fire, but their shooting was random, their shots generally passing over our men. The howitzers soon replied with shell, which appeared to throw them into great confusion. A large body of dacoits held a high points above our ground, where they were protected by large trees. To dislodge them from this position forty-five picked men headed by the officer crossed over in the canoes, but instead of crossing right opposite as the enemy expected, the canoes shot down with the current and our men landed some 200 yards lower down; and when the dacoits left their cover and ran along the bank to prevent the landing they were exposed to the fire of our guns, which so shook them, as to render the volley they poured on our men ineffectual, and before they could reload, our men with loaded pieces

had dashed up the bank and were on a level with them; seeing the disadvantageous position they were in, they broke and fled, leaving several dead on the ground. The remainder of our men crossed quickly, when the stockaded encampment was stormed in grand style. The dacoits fought well and stubbornly at the first onset, but soon were flying precipitately in all directions, leaving a large number of dead and wounded. The poor Burman was recovered but so mutilated that he died soon after. The camp of the dacoits was burnt. A large party of Shan traders and others, prisoners for ransom, were found here; they were immediately released and their property restored to them.

The following day the force crossed into British territory, and pickets were placed in Ambuscade in all paths leaving out of it. The news of the destruction of their stronghold was soon conveyed to the numerous bands of dacoits still scattered in different parts of British territory, filling them with surprise and terror for they had never dreamt of such a result. These bands came trooping over the country, laden with spoil, and dragging their captives with their young women and children, torn from their parents, with their arms so tightly fastened behind their backs that the cods cut deep into the flesh, while their little naked feet left blood-marks on the sharp stones, as with tears and agony they were goaded along by the points of the ruffians' spears. A great number of these parties fell in to the hands of the ambushed pickets, and were very severely punished and their captives released. On two occasions they received the most severe punishment, and on both these occasions the picket was a Burman leader. In these instances the chiefs of the dacoits were shot, and nearly half their number killed. The dacoits were always well armed and offered shout resistance.

During the next few days the force made rapid marches of fifteen to eighteen miles daily; and parties were detached on both flanks, to sweep the country of the numerous bands of armed plunderers. Then it wheeled about and marched in an easterly direction, sending out scouts and parties right and left so as effectually to scour the whole country.

At this time a rather large body of dacoits were advancing from the centre of the district with the greatest caution; their advanced guard with ponies and elephants laden with booty were met by one of our searching parties, when they fled at once, without waiting to be attacked, leaving every thing behind, and so great

was the panic inspired, that their main body, though nearly double the British force, reduced as it was by detachments out in different directions, fled and dispersed before they could be come up with.

A few days subsequently information was received that Nga Shoay Bho was in the neighbourhood, having with him a considerable body of men, he was, however, endeavouring to escape out of British territory, having heard of the destruction of his stronghold and the subsequent cutting up and dispersing of his numerous bands. The day following our force came on the track of a large party of men, who had one pony, and apparently one woman with them ; this corresponded with the description of Nga Shoay Bho's party. A small party of the stongest Karen Volunteers were selected by the officer in charge, and he set off in pursuit, having the other to follow. They marched rapidly and in two days had proceeded sixty miles at least, climbing up and down water-courses, over steep mountains, and through dense forests, when the trial was lost in a beaten foot-path, leading out of British territory. The exhausted pursuers threw themselves down on the ground.

The country had now been thoroughly swept and there was not a single armed party or dacoit left in it ; and all this was accomplished in a little more than three months ; because the villagers in every place willingly gave information about the dacoits. Thus ended Nga Shoay Bho's career, for he was never again heard of in British territory. This hurried sketch of the Burman dacoit I think will show that he differs from the ordinary Burman as light differs from darkness. The ordinary Burman is a gay light-hearted being, and one who shows generous sympathy for his fellow creatures ; of course I mean the Burman of to-day, and the Burman of fifty or a hundred years ago. The people of Burmah have been, and are progressing in civilization, just like the rest of the world. We ought all of us clearly to understand that thus is the period so vividly described in prophetic scriptures. The period when men are running to and fro and knowledge is being increased. It shows ignorance of the "signs of the times" to say that any people will be left in the dark, that on the face of this great globe, teeming with men and women, there will be some of them who will not receive the benefits derivable from the light which civilization gives. Such a thought is quite contrary to the teaching of history and the

still more certain teaching of scripture. Soon, very soon, will not only the light of civilization cover the whole earth, but what is much better for the happiness of peoples, the knowledge of the Lord will cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. That blessed line of happiness is right, even at the doors; that period of universal joy, during which the swords of men will be made the instruments of blessing instead of being a curse, for the swords will be converted into plough-shares, and the spears also, will serve for pruning hooks; and then nations shall not learn war any more. Bright as the picture is, students of prophecy know that it can be fulfilled, till man first passes through much sorrow, affliction, and trial; and this period of bitterness and sorrow is alas nearer than he period of universal joy! The whole race of man must first pass through this period of suffering, every kingdom, all peoples, and all tongues, none shall be exempted. But even nature teaches us, that sunshine follows rain, the storm is succeeded by calm, and the greater the storm, the deeper the thick darkness, the more perceptible is the after calmness, and the light, and not only is it the more perceptible, but also the more welcome. Metaphysics also teaches us that sorrow is the germ of joy, that men and women can only be perfected by suffering; experience tells us that this is true of all peoples. Conceive a man or woman who have known no suffering and are unacquainted with grief, and you concieve a shallow-hearted being, who knows nothing of the music resounding heartchords produce; and of that deeper, sweeter, more celestial music that crushed and bleeding heart-chords give forth. In a word such a being know nothing of love. It has been so, and while time and earth last, it will still continue to be so, man is perfected by suffering. There is no golden rule, no royal road, to the beatitudes.

VICARIOUS.

## *THE CLASSIC LAND OF ITALY.*

### IV.

LEAVING Rome about midday on the 5th December I travelled for hours through classic land, replete with ancient associations. The Campagna of Rome is covered with the ruins of some of those magnificent aquaducts of ancient Rome, fitly described as "Rivers on many an arch high overhead."

The Claudian arch, portions of which are here visible, is 46 miles long, of which 10 miles are on arches. And the Anio Novus, bits of which can also be seen here, is no less than 62 miles long of which 14 miles are over ground. These huge lines of arches, colosal and striking even in their ruins, show at once the untiring industry of the ancient Romans, as also their ignorance of the simple law of Hydrostatics that water will always rise to the level of its source! These high arches were perfectly unnecessary therefore, as water conveyed in pipes under ground would have risen to its proper height in the town! But such criticism on ancient and classic labours is ungracious or at least irreverent!

Twenty-six miles from Rome, I come to the ancient Volscian town of Velletri which was engaged in hostilities with Rome in the time of Ancus Marcus. The great Volscian patriot and warrior Coriolanus fortified this place against the Romans; but in 338 B. C. the Romans at last dismantled the fort and transported the principal citizens to Rome.

Forty miles from Rome I pass by the ancient town of Segni colonized by the Romans under Tarquinus Priscus. The ancient walls and 2 gates still remain. Ferentino is another old place where many old remains may still be traced. At last we reach the important town of Ceprano at sunset. It used to be the last frontier town in the south of the Dominions of the Pope before those Dominions were all amalgamated with the kingdom of Italy in 1871. The town is beautifully situated, and the view from it, extending to Monte Casino in one direction and through the

valley of the Liris to the lofty Appenines on the other, is very fine indeed. The sunset too was magnificent, and was such as can only be seen in these southern climes. The whole range of rocks and mountains were illumined with lovely and variegated tints, blending almost imperceptibly into each other, and changing their colour until they all disappeared in gloom as the sun went beneath the horizon.

I could not see much of the country between Ceprano and Naples, where I reached late in the evening.

The beauty of Naples is in the lovely bay on which it is situated. It is like a vast ampitheatre which seems almost closed by the island of Capri in the south and those of Procida and Ischia on the north. A great part of this vast ampitheatre is studded with white buildings which look all the prettier from a distance, while the great Visuvius rises in the back ground, with its eternal film of white smoke ascending in a blue cloudless Italian sky. Such is Naples as viewed by an artist or a partial tourist. But a closer view of the town somewhat disenchants him! In spite of some fine roads and many fine buildings, Naples is a dirty town, one of the dirtiest, I think, even of Italian towns. The streets are badly paved, and pools of mud and water collect every where in rainy weather. Some of the roads are so dirty that the traveller stops his nose when driving along them, while hundreds of lazy and dirtily clad people swarm everywhere. Beggars too, rare in countries like England, France or Germany, are a nuisance in Italy, and many of those who publicly practise begging in the streets are by no means deserving of charity.

The palace of Naples is a historic building and has been the residence of long lines of kings who reigned in Naples when Naples was a separate kingdom. In front of the palace is the church of St. Francisco de Paolo with a graceful semi-circular portico on either side. The old castle is now appropriated by the Municipality. The Via Roma is the finest road in the town, and runs through nearly half its length.

The Museum and Aquarium of Naples are its chief attractions, but of these I will speak further on.

To climb to the top of the Visuvius and to look down on the boiling crater below had been my cherished desire since many a long year, and its fulfilment was luckily at hand! There is a company in Naples which spares modern tourists even the trouble of climbing, and takes them nearly to the summit

of the volcano by a railway car! Early one morning then I paid my 28 franks at the office of this company and found myself along with a German traveller who spoke English, and an Italian priest who did not, journeying in a comfortable carriage drawn by two powerful horses, towards the summit of the volcano! We soon left the town behind and then began our ascent by a zigzag road up the side of the mountain. For miles and miles in every direction, the sides and the base of Visuvius are covered by vast masses of lava which have rolled down during long centuries and have congealed and formed themselves into all fantastic shapes and designs! As we slowly toiled up the winding path we saw nothing on all sides of us but this uniform unending sheet of lava stretching in black masses in every direction, and filling up every crevice and every slope of the hill. The weather was not fine, and torrents of rain descended as we drove upwards.

From time to time however it cleared up, and as we ascended we had a most beautiful view of the town and the lovely bay sleeping below. I do not think I have ever looked on a prettier picture than this. The blue and placid bay of Naples with its magnificent curve bounded far off by Capri and Ischia slept gentle and azure and motionless far below. On its shores the lovely town of Naples and its suberbs of Resina and Torre del Greco stretched their "far white walls" and white houses in pleasing contrast to the blue waters of the sea. While behind the towns stretched lovely green fields and pastures for miles and miles, looking from this height more like a beautiful and extensive picture on a canvas than a real landscape!

We descended from our carriage at last and I stepped into a hotel where a little hot luncheon with a half bottle of Italian wine were not altogether unwelcome after our long journey in this damp weather. Thus refreshed we began our ascent over the remaining portion of the hill.

The slope here is so precipitous as to be impracticable for horses. A railway has accordingly been constructed, but the car is pulled up this almost perpendicular height not by steam or electricity, but by ropes and pulleys, along the rails! In this way then we were gradually "pulled up" nearer and nearer to the summit.

The temperature was rapidly growing colder and we saw patches of snow on the sides of the hill which contained living fire in its bowels! At last we reached the terminus, and from this point we were to walk up to the summit.

The walk was one of about twenty minutes, but a crowd of soi-distant guides of the true Italian type here invaded us, representing to us the great difficulties of the walk, which they said would take quite an hour, and offering with excessive kindness and courtesy, the help of their arms to support us, or even seats on which to carry us up.

The unsuspecting tourist who accepted a seat was afterwards informed,—quite incidentally of course,—that the charge of a seat was only 25 franks! And the tired traveller who had leaned on the arm of a sympathetic and affectionate guide was as quietly told afterwards, that the help thus offered for 15 or 20 minutes, was priced at 6 franks! Should the tourist then venture to remonstrate, the guides would immediately bring out their printed tariffs of which they always keep a good stock, and thus silence arguments.

Declining therefore with many thanks the help of a sympathetic arm and the honor of a seat I walked up over the lava dust which covered the mountain side, and reached the top.

I stood on the very brink of the crater and looked on the volumes of white sulphurious smoke issuing from below. The Visuvius is active now, and the smoke is accompanied every now and then by showers of stone issuing with great violence. The smoke issues with such great velocity that beside the big crater in the centre it has worked many small holes all around from which also it issues with great velocity. The mouths of these small holes are encrusted with sulpher. We threw a piece of crumpled paper into one of these small holes, and instead of going down it shot upwards with the velocity of a bullet through the force of the smoke issuing. Fresh lava rolls down from the crater almost to the foot of the hill on the Pompei side.

I was considerably amused when I came back to my hotel to hear some Americans talk about the volcano. What a waste of hot air,—they remarked. If it had been in America, we would have utilized this fine stream of hot air by means of pipes to heat our ovens and rooms! And by sending some shafts from the sides down to the bottom of the volcano, we might have given a new direction to the lava and so prevented destructive eruptions &c &c. All these proposals were made and discussed seriously!—Very American they sound,—don't they?

Nothing however which I had yet seen in the course of my continental tour had excited keener interest in me than

the ruins of Pompei, disinterred from the ashes and dust of eighteen centuries, and disclosing to modern nations the habits and manners and the daily life which men and women lived in ancient times! As I walked along the stone paved streets, loitered among the ruins of ancient temples, forums or courts of justice, or examined minutely the courtyards and walls and paintings of private houses, as I surveyed the ampitheatre, the larger theatre and the smaller theatre, or walked past the public baths, the wine shops, and the fruit shops, or looked into the house of the poet Sallust or of the Vestal Virgins, I could vividly realize, without any great effort of imagination, the joyous and vigorous if somewhat coarse and cruel life which men and women lived in this very town, two thousand years ago. I could almost imagine their showy processions and public worship along these rough paved streets, their vociferous gatherings in the public places or near the stalls, the meetings of men in the outer courtyards of houses and the meeting of women in the inner courtyards, and on great occasions their tumultuous gatherings in the great ampitheatre to see prisoners and gladiators die a cruel death among the riotous joy and applause of multitudes. The scenes so often and so vividly described by writers seem to be passing before one's eyes,—ancient Roman history seems to be repeating itself as one strolls silently and thoughtfully along these streets, conjuring up the venerable shades of an ancient world.

Unlike Herculaneum, Pompei is not covered up by the lava of the Visuvius, but only with lava dust which is soft as earth, and the process of disinterring is therefore an easy one. The hard incandescent matter thrown out by the volcano caused the first destruction and probably set the roofs on fire or broke them down, and also killed many men. As only a small number of skeletons have however been found, it would seem that the inhabitants were mostly able to run away. Torrents of water and ashes and dust soon filled up the whole town, and the layer has thickened in subsequent ages to its present depth of 13 feet. To disenter the ancient streets and houses from this soft lava dust and ashes is easy, and it is scarcely creditable therefore to the Italian Government, that in over a hundred years they have scarcely yet disinterred one-half of Pompei. The destruction it is well known took place on the 23rd November 79 A. D., and the buried city was first discovered in 1748 A. D.

I do not propose to give a detailed account here of the entire town that has been disinterred. An account of a few notable places will convey a fair idea of the whole.

The quarter of the Forum is the finest. There are three triumphal arches here built of brick and encased in marble. The civil Forum paved with marble and surrounded on three sides by porticos is a noble place. The Forum was the centre of all Roman towns, and naturally therefore we see here some of the finest temples of Pompei; the temple of Jupiter, the temple of Venus, the temples of Augustus and Murcury, the tribunals and the prisons.

Not far from this place is the quarter of the Theatres, with its great triangular Forum, the temple of Neptune and the extensive Barracks in which 63 skeletons and a great number of valuable objects have been discovered. Here are situated the large theatre and the small theatre, the first of which could probably accommodate nearly 4000 people. Here, too, is the temple of Isis in which Lord Lytton lays one of his most striking scenes in his Last Days of Pompei; and not far from it is the great ampitheatre of the town with its 34 rows of seats which could accommodate probably 30,000 people! The skilful novelist has very justly laid the last scene of his immortal novel on this spot.

In the quarter of the Public Baths, we see the ruins of the Public Baths, and close to them we find wine shops and fruit shops and other establishments to which the people must have crowded daily from the baths. The temple of Fortune is not far; the houses of the Faun, of Apollo, Meleager, the Nereids, the Quaestor, of Pansa and of the Tragic poet, are all in this neighbourhood.

One of the most important quarters however of Pompei is that near the northern gate, called the gate of Herculaneum. The street outside the gate is called the street of tombs on account of the number of funeral monuments with which it is bordered. In this street is the villa of Diomede one of the largest habitations in Pompei. The bodies of 17 persons were found here during the excavations. Near this villa is another called Cecero's Villa. Inside the Herculaneum gate are the house of the Vestal Virgins, the house of dancing girls, and that of the Poet Sallust, one of the most elegant in the city. There are bakeries, laundries, stablings, fuller's establishments and all other establishments such as are met with in the busy towns.

The most careless observer walking through these streets and houses of an ancient world cannot fail being struck with some important distinctions between ancient and modern methods of living. The splendour and beauty and magnificence of all ancient public places, be they forums, temples or baths, contrast with the utter insignificance and, one would think, the positive discomforts of private houses. The ideas of comfort and even of sanitary laws were very crude in ancient times all over the world. The largest and finest houses in Pompei would scarcely equal the size of a rich man's house in an ordinary modern town, while in most of the houses the rooms are so small as to be almost uninhabitable. Travellers who are surprised at the small windows and the scant ventilation of old houses in ancient Indian towns like Ujjaini or Benares, will learn with astonishment that among a highly civilized European nation like the Romans, *windows in private houses did not exist at all*, judging from what we see in Pompei, there was very little ventilation. As in India there is an outer courtyard for men, and an inner courtyard for women; the men's appartments, small and without windows surround the outer courtyard, and the women's appartments still smaller and closer, surround the inner courtyard. To come out of then dark cells and sit in the courtyard, was apparently the only way of enjoying a little of free air and heaven's light.

Of decorations there is a profusion, both in the way of statues and of paintings on the wall. The paintings are not daubs such as we see in the old palaces and temples of Indian cities, but are really beautiful. Nothing can surpass the grace in expression, figure and attitude which marks these ancient Roman paintings. Modern painting excels in character, and in the expression of passions and feelings; but in mere elegance of figure and altitude and in the beauty and comeliness of face, the art of painting has made little progress in 2000 years. The subjects are mostly mythological, and some historical. There are indelicate paintings too in many houses.

The streets are paved with huge blocks of stone scarcely levelled, as one sees in many ancient Indian towns. The widest street would be called a lane in a modern town, and is just wide enough for two carts, while most of the streets were barely wide enough for one. Over these narrow and rough-paved streets, which served as drains as well as streets, were witnessed, 2000 years ago, riotous processions, joyous religious festivities, assemblages of thousands

and thousands of human beings, warriors from distant climes, matrons and Vestal Virgins in their gala costumes, senators and guards, thinkers and poets, and a miscellaneous and vociferous multitude, all proud to call themselves Roman citizens, the conquerors of the world! What a tale could every stone trumpet forth, if it could but speak, of a glorious and triumphant past! what joyous scenes every one of these dismantled houses must have witnessed!

But the stones and the houses are not altogether silent, there are no more valuable materials of history in its true sense, than these silent ruins. They tell us how the ancients lived and died, how they assembled in their forum, worshipped in their temples, gathered in thousands in the amphitheatres. We see the houses where they lived, the rooms which their women occupied, the shops where they purchased their food, the wine stalls where they gathered in crowds. The very sins of this ancient people are laid open to modern eyes. Close to temples or market places are brothels with four or five or six small chambers designed for so many women. The chambers are so small as to be simply loathesome to the lowest pleasure-seekers of modern days, but were in keeping with the size of houses in the olden times. The very beds are there, beds of masonry which were probably covered with mattresses, while the walls are disfigured by paintings, the most obscene that human imagination can invent. It is curious that these indelicate paintings are not confined simply to houses of ill fame, but are also found in many private houses. Domestic articles like lamps or vessels were often very indelicate in their designs, and a large collection of such things are kept in a separate room in the Naples museum. Outside the walls of houses too one not unfrequently comes across indelicate figures. Just facing the house of the Vestal Virgins is a house of ill fame, denoted by a most disgusting sign sculptured over the door-way. This public exposure of indecency is shocking to modern ideas. I do not think the moderns have improved very much over the ancients in morality, but modern nations choose wisely to throw a veil over their sins which ancient peoples thought unnecessary, because so transparent.

There is a small museum in Pompei with a collection of pottery and bronze and other articles found among the ruins. There are some dead bodies here, found in course of excavations, of men and women encased in lava dust, and thus preserved for 18 centuries since the great eruption. A dog too is thus embalmed and preserved.

Herculaneum is nearer the foot of the Visuvius, and is therefore covered over, not by lava dust like Pompei, but by hard solid massive lava which flowed into it as it poured out of the crater on the eventful day of the 23rd November 79 A. D. New towns like Portici, Resina and Torre del Greco have now been built over this solid foundation covering the ancient city. To disinter Herculaneum therefore it would be necessary not only to dig out the hard lava which covers it, but to destroy the new towns which have been built over it. For both these reasons Herculaneum has not yet been disinterred and probably never will be disinterred, the more specially as such disinterment is not likely to lead to any fresh discoveries, beyond such as have been made in Pompei.

A portion of the great theatre of Herculaneum has been cleared. It consists of 19 tiers of seats and could probably accommodate 10,000 persons. The orchestra lies 26ft. below the modern town of Resina. Other excavations have also been made disclosing several private houses, similar to the houses in Pompei. The garden of the principal house disclosed is enclosed by an arcade of twenty columns and six buttresses.

The treasures and mementos of the ancient world found in Pompei and Herculaneum have been collected and preserved in the National Museum in Naples, which is therefore unique in its value and importance among the Museums of the world. A collection of no less than 1600 wall paintings gives the visitor a fairly correct idea of the art of painting as it was practised among the ancient Romans in the days of their highest prosperity and civilization. The very materials of paintings,—chalks and stones and earths of various colours have been found among the ruins of the burned cities and have been carefully preserved. Even more interesting than these are the beautiful bronze statues both large and small which have been found in the burned towns. Six dancing girls with eyes of enamel adorned the Theatre of Herculaneum. A colossal figure of Antonio wife of Drasus the younger and a fine bust of Scipio Africanus are among the historic figures. Mercury in repose is one of the most exquisite statues in the Museum, while a sleeping Fawn, a dancing Fawn and a drunken Fawn are among the gems of the collection. A group of Bachus and Ampelus was found in the house of Pansa in Pompei, while a statue of Apollo holding a lyre is one of the best in the room.

Still more interesting than these remarkable bronze figures of antiquity are the industrial bronze things preserved in this collection. No branch of industry seems to be unrepresented. Pots and pans and cooking utensils, lamps of various designs and patterns, scales and weights and balances, sacred vessels and sacrificial vases, carpenters' tools and agricultural instruments, armours and toilet requisites, surgical and musical instruments, all the various arts and industries of a busy and civilised past are exhibited before the eyes of the antiquarian, the historian and the general student. Passing from room to room the visitor examines with curiosity the curious colored glass which was in use in olden times, and the finer rock crystal beautifully cut and engraved for the use of the wealthier people, and the beautifully worked gold and silver trinkets and ornaments which graced the fair foreheads and rounded arms and necks of the stately dames and damsels of old. In one room he sees the very clothes worn two thousand years ago,—the very food-grains, eggs and vegetables as they were used by the ancients,—the very preserves and fruits which had been stored by careful Pompeian housewives, ignorant of the great catastrophe which brought untimely ruin on their flourishing town and at the same time preserved these their handworks for the curious gaze of future generations of men. The visitor as he inspects these curious relics of the almost forgotten past cannot help losing himself in contemplation, and almost seems to be surrounded by those long forgotten men and women who wore these clothing, ate these grains, and stored these preserves in glass bottles for their brothers, their children or their husbands!

Beside the treasures from the buried towns, the National Museum also boasts of a fine collection of ancient sculptures and paintings. The famous Venus Callipyge is considered a work of Praxiteles is in this collection.

Before concluding my account of Naples I must make a brief mention of the Aquarium of the town said to be the best in the world. There is certainly a finer collection of sea fishes and animals here than I had seen in Brighton or Amsterdam. Of sea-animones there is a large and splendid variety, some of them of great delicacy and beauty. I saw also four huge octapuses with their huge ugly arms, and an electric fish sent a shock into my arm as I pressed it at the bedding of my guide! I saw live conches, huge snail like animals crawling in and out of the

shells, and I also saw a great variety of live sponges of all colors and sizes. Corals of all shapes and colours beautified the collection, while a great variety of sea fishes flitted merrily in their native element, apparently unconscious of their confinement.

Leaving Naples on the 9th December I slept that night in Rome, and on the 10th I was in the maratime republic of Pisa. In the early dawn of modern civilization, Pisa took the lead of the Italian commercial republics in the tenth century of the Christian era. In the eleventh century, the fleet of Pisa was supreme in the Mediterranean, commanded the coasts of Corsica and Sardinia, Sicily and Africa, and helped the early crusaders in their memorable expeditions to the East. In the 13th century, as Genoa rose in power, the power of Pisa began slowly to decline, and in 1298 A. D. the fleet of Pisa was destroyed by its rivals. Still however the city maintained its importance until in the sixteenth century it was merged into Tuscany.

This beautiful town on the Arno is one of the prettiest towns in all Italy. The beautiful town of Florence is higher up the same river,—but the river view at Pisa, with its gentle curve and the stately streets and houses on both sides, seems to me even prettier than the view of the Arno at Florence. Standing on the bridge near Via Solferino at night one has a magnificent view of the river rushing below and of the lighted streets and stately houses on its both banks.

Modern Pisa is known to Tourists best for its "Leaning Tower" i.e. the Belfrey. The Cathedral, the Baptistry and the Belfrey are three separate buildings, close to each other but totally detached. The Cathedral is the most ancient and was built in the eleventh century. It stands on a platform of five steps above the ground and is divided into three stories, all adorned with marble half pillars. Tradition states that it was the oscilations of the bronze lamp in the nave of this Cathedral that first suggested to Galileo the theory of the pendulum.

The Baptistry is a beautiful circular building of remarkable structure and was built in the 12th century. The interior is beautifully proportioned and is remarkable for its echo.

The Belfry or the famous "leaning tower of Pisa" stands at one end of the Cathedral opposite to the Baptistry. It consists of eight stories with a total elevation of 180 feet. The form and proportion of this marble tower are graceful, but it is the obliquity of the tower which makes it so famous. It leans so

much in one direction, that one almost wonders it does not fall down with a tremendous crash. Nevertheless it has stood there for six centuries, and may stand for as many centuries more!

The Campo Santo of Pisa is like those of Bologna and Genoa quite worth a visit, but I had not time to see it. It was here that distinguished Tuscan artists displayed their powers in the dawn of modern painting.

The University of Pisa was founded on the 13th century, and was renowned in Europe in the middle ages and still holds its own among the universities of the modern world. The Academy of fine Arts in Pisa was founded by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1812 A. D.

Coming from Pisa to Genoa one passes through some splendid scenery where the Appenines gradually approach the sea. At last the mountain chain runs quite close to the sea, and the train runs now over a narrow ledge of the mountain and now through it by numerous tunnels. Genoa itself is situated in its beautiful harbour of the shape of a horse shoe,—with the sea to the south and the mountains forming a splendid ampitheatre on the other three sides. It is in this beautiful natural ampitheatre that the ancient Republic of Genoa,—the rival and then the conqueror of Pisa, the pioneer of modern civilization and maritime discovery, and the birth place of Columbus, is enthroned in her glory!

As one leaves the railway station and enters the town, almost the first object that strikes him is a fine marble monument with the figures of Religion and Geography, Force and Wisdom on the pedestal. It is needless to say that above these figures, on a circular pedestal, is the figure of Columbus! Prows of ships adorn the circular pedestal, and America kneels before her immortal discoverer!

The Daomo or the Cathedral of Genoa was built like the cathedral of Pisa in the 11th century. The ashes of St. John the Baptist are said to be deposited in this cathedral, and are paraded through the streets of the town on Corpus Christi day.

Perhaps more magnificent than the cathedral is the church of the Annunciation with its magnificent nave and aisles supported by twelve columns of white marble inlaid with red.

Like most Italian towns Genoa boasts of a large number of places built by the princely Italian families of the middle ages, and containing many valuable treasures of sculpture and painting. The only palace, however, which I visited was the historical palace

of Andrea Dorea, the great admiral of the time of Charles V of Spain and Francis I of France. He served as the admiral of both these august personages as well as of the Pope, and prepared this palace as a place of repose for his old age. The palace still belongs to the elder branch of the Dorea family. Inside it are paintings of Charles V and of Andrea Dorea, and of the great Christian victory of Lepanto over the Turks. How different the fleets of those days were to those of the modern times. Vessels in those days were mostly galleys with numbers of oars pulled by galley slaves, and the picture of the battle of Lepanto is instructive and interesting. In size, too, the biggest vessel in the Spanish Armada sent to conquer England was about 1,200 tons, and such vessels were considered monsters, for Drake and others had circumnavigated the world in vessels of less than half the tonnage. An ordinary modern passenger steamer, is often more than four times the tonnage of the proudest vessel of the Invincible Armada, and is above ten times the size of the vessels with which Drake described a girdle round the Earth!

The one thing in Genoa which no visitor should omit to see is the Campo Santo or the Cemetary. It is outside the town and is beautifully embosomed in an ampitheatre of hills. The building is imposing and the graves are arranged in long Arcades as in Bologna, with beautiful and elaborate marble figures which defy description. There are graves and monuments also on the second and third storeys.

The Mazzini gallery is one of the finest streets in Genoa,—and is in fact an Arcade, arched over with glass. Some of the finest shops in Genoa are in this Arcade.

On the 12th December I left Genoa for Turin. We crossed the Appenines and passed through some magnificent hilly scenery and then came to the plain of Piedmont, stretching from the Appenines on the south to the Alps on the north. This plain has been the scene of some of Napoleon's most brilliant campaigns and we crossed the river Bormida within a mile of the celebrated field of Marengo. We then came to Alexandria and then to Asti, the birth place of the poet Alfieri, and it was dark before we reached Turin the capital of Piedmont.

Turin seems to be the "show town" of Italy, and without boasting of natural beauty or the historical association of Florence or of Pisa, Turin is, so far as modern improvements can make it so, undoubtedly the finest town in Italy. No Italian town can boast

of such magnificent and straight streets and avenues, such fine and spacious squares, such noble and imposing buildings. It has been built with all the latest improvements of modern capitals and it takes its place therefore by the side of Paris and Brussels, of Berlin and Vienna.

Nor is the natural position of the town by any means against it. Situated on the valley of the "wandering Po" it is embosomed in the wide plain overlooked by the snowy Alps on the north, west and south-west. Walking along the straight and spacious roads of Turin one can look on the snowy mountains to the north, and the snowy mountains to the south !

The castle, known as Palazzo Madama or Lady Palace is the centre of the town both in position and in point of interest. The castle was first built on the 13th century and enlarged by Amadens VIII in the 15th and then formed the residence of the Dukes of Savoy. Surrounding the square round this castle are the Royal Palace, the theatre and other buildings of imposing architecture, underneath the first stories of which run handsome arcades with beautiful shops. From the castle northwards as far as the Po runs the via Po which is lighted along its entire length by electricity at night. Most of the principal squares, too, as well as the Railway Station are lighted by electricity. Southwards from the Castle runs another beautiful street with handsome and uniform buildings along it, and called the Via Garibaldi. But the finest street in Turin running north and south along its entire length and planted with rows of shady trees like the Boulevards of Paris is the Via Victor Emanuel.

On the 13th December I left Turin and soon passed by Rivolie, the scene of another of Napoleon's brilliant victories. In the evening we crossed the Alps by the Mont Cenis tunnel 19 feet high and 26 feet wide and 7½ miles in length. Half an hour is required for the transit through the tunnel which is one of the longest in the world. We then came to Modane, the frontier town, where our baggages were of course examined, and a little dinner was ready for us. We then crept into our carriages again and the next morning we were in Paris. And the next day, (15th December) I was back again in London !

Thus I completed my six week's tour,—I must say, to my complete satisfaction, I had within these six weeks travelled through Belgium, Holland, Germany Austria and Italy, and I visited, though in a tourist's fashion, a good number of the historical cities

of Europe. The following is a list of the places which I visited, during the six weeks from Tuesday the 2nd November to Tuesday the 14th December.

1. Ostend.
2. Bruges.
3. Ghent.
4. Brussels.
5. Waterloo,
6. Antwerp.
7. Rotterdam.
8. Hague.
9. Leyden.
10. Amsterdam.
11. Harlem & North Sea Canal.
12. Helder & North Canal.
13. Minden & Zuider Zee.
14. Hanover.
15. Berlin.
16. Dresden.
17. Prague
18. Vienna
19. Salzburg.
20. Bavaria & Rosenhiem
21. Inspruck & Brener Pass
22. Verona.
23. Bologna
24. Florence.
25 Rome.
26 Naples & Visuvius.
27. Herculaneum & Pompei,
28. Pisa.
29 Genoa.
30. Turin

A few notes on practical matters may be of use to my countrymen. In all the respectable hotels in the continent, English, French and German are spoken, so that a tourist knowing any one of these languages has no difficulties in hotels. Of guide-books, Badeker's series are the best, they are so good that a tourist having these guide-books does not require a guide any where, and saves a great deal more than the cost of the books in this way, and also sees everything thoroughly and to his satisfaction. Bedeker tells you every thing you require to know. He tells you which are the best hotels in each town, with the charges in each. He gives you a plan of every town with a plan of every museum or picture gallery which is worth seeing, and tells you which are the most important statues and pictures in each room. He leads you to all the important sights of every town, indicating to you the important houses in each street. I never knew till I used these guide-books to what perfection guide-books have been brought.

From the morning of the 2nd November when I left London to the evening of the 15th December when I returned to London it was 44 days, including both the days. In these 44 days I had spent a little over £ 66. In other words I had spent a pound and a half a day. This is a high average, as a pound a day is considered sufficient for your expenses when you are staying in the

continent. But then I travelled so fast that I could not make it cheaper. European travellers generally select a small area of a country where they spend a summer or a winter, and then choose another place for the next year and so on. According to this plan you can reduce hotel expenses, for most hotels make special arrangements when one is living for a long time, and then the railway fare comes to next to nothing. A pound a day is quite sufficient under this plan. But this plan was of course not suited to me seeing that I have scarcely the chance of coming to Europe once in 10 or 15 years! I had therefore to travel fast, and that means much Railway fare and high hotel charges. My Railway fares alone come to over £ 20, and my hotel charges including hotel extras over £ 30. I had, therefore, only £ 15 left for cab hires and occasional guides, for entrance to museums and picture galleries and for such guide-books and a few photographs and mementos as no tourist can help buying. I don't think therefore I have spent too much.

I travelled 2nd class all through. Second class carriages are thoroughly comfortable, and the passengers you meet in them are all respectable. In Italy only there was occasionally a rush in the 2nd class carriages of passengers not of the best or the cleanliest description. But this was rather the exception than the rule.

I might have saved about £5 from the hotel charges if I had taken Cook's coupons in London. Cook & Son issue coupons which are accepted by respectable hotels (though not by *the very finest* hotels) all over Europe. You pay Cook & Son in London and then give these coupons to the different hotels that you go to. Your expenses then are about 10 or 11 shillings, including bed and three meals a day. I did not provide myself with these Coupons, and so I thought it best to go to *the best hotels*, like the Central in Berlin, the Metropole in Vienna, and the Quirinale in Rome, and my hotel expenses came to 13 to 14 shillings a day.

The best shopkeepers all over the continent speak English, as well as French and German. French and English gold are accepted every where, and a Bank of England note is accepted as readily in Berlin or Naples as in London. The coinage is different in each country and gives the tourist some trouble. In Norway and Sweden the kronor is the silver coin and is worth a little more than a shilling. In France the frank is worth 10 pence, and the coinage in Belgium is the same as in France. In Holland the guilden is about 2 franks, *i. e.* 1*s.* 8*d.* In Germany

the mark is exactly equal to the shilling. In Austria the florin is 2 franks *i. e.* 1*s.* 8*d.* In Italy the lira is equal to the French frank. Different Governments might bring about something like a universal silver coin with small effort. If the English Government without giving up the shilling were to coin a silver ten pence piece, and the Germans followed suit, and if the Dutch and the Austrians would coin a half guilden and a half florin respectively, something like an international silver coin could be had in the 10 pence piece equal to a frank, equal to a half guilden, equal to the proposed German coin, and equal to the lira! However Governments are not yet of the same mind as the perplexed tourist rapidly whirled about through six countries in as many weeks!

In about a week more, on the 23rd December I left England for home again! I escaped by just two days the severest storm that has visited the south of England and the English Channel within living memory.

R. C. DUTT.

# WORK FOR THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE practice of Indian administration is often called in question. It is only lately that the theory also is coming under review. So long an immunity from criticism being apparently due to the fact that while the practice is in the hands of a few living men, the theory was believed to rest upon ages of British experience and to be therefore invulnerable. It is within the province of the movement that has given birth to the National Congresses of 1885, 1886 and 1887 to make a change here: to alter the basis of criticism of the administration of India from one of British, to one of Indian experience.

So far, taxation has been regulated by the former only (Indian facts being fitted in as found possible): foreign policy has been condemned by it; social and political development promoted on its lines and on its precarious sanction, a policy lying under the imputation of being un-English become suspected being un-Indian also. Probably no country was ever so wedded to an idea as is England at present to the notion that India can be civlized after English fashions alone, and that on the lines of those fashions success is eventually certain.

The National Congresses of India must dispel this illusion. The voice of remonstrance though as yet faint is fast gaining strength, and at no distant date a rupture may be expected between home native opinion as to the right way to govern India. Moreover English constitutional fashions and economic dogmas, both suitable and unsuitable to India now, may become still more so hereafter when even their mother country may not impossibly repudiate them.

In order to understand how the policy enforced on the people of India is mistaken, it is necessary to have clear ideas on three matters of fact. First, the manner in which the policy was arrived at. Second, what it actually is. Third, what are the main points in which it can be proved to have failed to reach the high ideal claimed for it.

These matters, it may be said at once, can be discussed by all without prejudice to right an estimate of the vast benefit conferred on India by British rule. Only abuses have grown with the benefits. Weeds are mixed with the flowers, and in many instances threaten to choke them. That is the position. The errors are such as must inevitably have been fallen into by any great Western power which, full of its own cares and concerns, gives a fitful though honest attention to a huge Asiatic Empire. And the attention, it should be remembered, was at first purely one of self-interest; only in this half of the nineteenth century has it changed its character. But as egoist or altruist the errors to which England has fallen in governing India are not such as to cause her shame. British policy in India has reached its present phase, which may be dated from 1858, by two earlier stages. May the fourth end in a glorious fullness of achievement. The first was a puny commercial epoch that ended with Lord Clive's last visit. During this epoch India was a source of manufactured goods against which England set a determined and almost prohibitive custom's tariff. And she was right.

Then came the military period during which commercial dividends were sought as much by the sword and diplomacy as by trade, and during which the direction of trade was gradually changing its course, partly no doubt owing to the protective tariff above referred to.

During these two periods, considering that an empire that is the marvel and envy of the world was in course of construction it is extraordinary how little interest was taken by England in the experiment. Home opinions at that time shewed but a passing interest in India. Chiefly it was a question of dividends, and only when the nation was deeply moved by some signal success of arms or policy, or else less auspiciously, when rarely a great man and a great statesman forgot he was also an Englishman, did England think much about India. Then everything was left to the Indian officials. Since 1858, however, and after the great economic revolution that made England the apostle of free trade to an unbelieving world, the power and influence of the Indian officials have palpably waned. The H. E. I. C's power lapsed to the Crown, and since then it is British theory that has dominated the Government of India: of an India brought nearer by steam, by electricity and by Lesseps, and opened up by telegraphs, railways and a strongly growing native press, the latter at first seeing in British economic and educational liberalism a deliverance from a despotic Go-

vernment. Even then England did not give much time to India. The duty of attending to her wants was transferred on the one hand to philanthropists who took only a theoretical interest in the country and on the other was still left to the gentlemen embarked in the Indian trade. This had now become primarily an immense importation of English manufactures into India. There was to be nothing in the advice of these counsellors that would be inimical to English principles, but with that reservation they might do much as they liked. Moreover as introducing capital and education into India they might be sure that their advice would not be too closely scrutinized.

The Indian official conformed, with misgivings, to these ideas, and the administration of India notwithstanding the misgivings, now works mainly upon their lines.

Native unofficial opinion may be said to have had little real share in the building up of existing institutions though up to a certain point and for a certain time it welcomed the change introduced by the Queen's proclamation. Its complaint is that the programme of the latter has not been carried out. It does not yet realise that there were in the Royal programme directly conflicting elements.

The policy of British rule in India is a despotism in the interests of, and to some extent advised though not controlled by the governed. All persons in India have equal rights before the law. And so far as the law itself goes, the despotism is mild and beneficent, and so far as the administration's mere intentions go, they are good. The administration is a somewhat confused jumble of the past and present, of what it obtained during the Commercial, Military and Economic phases through which it has passed and is passing.

It is too late at the end of this article to do more than glance thus briefly at the second matter of fact with which it opened. The third can merely be stated.

The Government of India fails to reach its high ideal because it is allowing the people to be used for the advantage of the home country. The programme of 1858 afforded education on the one hand and admitted free-trade on the other. But the effect of free-trade has been to disconcert education and prevent develpment.

Free-trade is making the people all agriculturists: education in these circumstances can raise them no higher than clerks. That was not the ideal of the Queen's proclamation.

F. BEAUCLERK.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

*Notes on Hindu Astrology, by Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, K. C. S. I.* Printed at the National Press, Madras.

The Raja has done a great service to the country by the publication of this little pamphlet. It exposes the pretensions of Astrology withont mercy, and conclusively proves that the so-called science is from its nature false and unreliable if not a swindle pure and simple. For practical purposes very few men attach much importance to the calculations of Astrology. In steering their course through life, men ordinarily trust more to the chart and compass of their common-sense, and their knowlege of the world than to the influence of the planets in the heaven. But there is such an element of uncertainty in the affairs of this world—even the best navigators run such danger of having their fortunes more or less completely wrecked that at times our reasoning faculty is overpowered either by fear of evils to come or by the desire of having a peep through the veil which hides futurity from our view. Like the drowning man catching at a straw we then have recourse to astrologers, priests and panaceas. In fact, when men find no way of avoiding an impending evil, they are successfully duped by the swindlers who have the audacity to promise the performance of the impossible. We recommend the work under notice to the attention of those who have still a lingering faith in the mock science which it refutes.

*Betal Pancha Binsati, by Jointi Chander Sen.* Printed at the National Press, Madras.

The well known stories of the Betal Pachisi are narrated in this book in a versified form. We refrain from expressing any opinion with regard to it, and leave it to those who will read it more carefully to form their own opinion. The book may be had gratis on application to the author, or to Babu Sarat Chunder Sen. 27 Dalhousie Square.

*A Senior English Grammar and Composition, by Upendra Nath Chatterji. Published by Gurudas Chatterji, Medical Library, 201 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Printed by Cones & Co., Calcutta.*

This neat little volume is, we find from the preface, intended for young students preparing for the Entrance Examination. The author has been at great pains to make the book really useful by consulting the best known authorities on English Grammar and Composition. The book is written in an elegant, easy style, the rules and expositions being generally clear and lucid. We have come across several passages, however, which are rather peculiar. There is apparently something wrong somewhere in the following passages, for which, we have no doubt, the printer's devil is, to a great extent, responsible.

"When Grammar and Composition form a separate subject for the Entrance Examination, a young student preparing for the Examination is at a loss to find a number of volumes he has to study." *Preface.*

"Analysis of Sentence and Rules of Syntax, with copious and varied examples from best English writers &c." *Preface.*

"As an art, Grammar is concerned with right use and application of such rules either in speech or in writing." *Page 1.*

"This unsettled state of orthography and the want of some fixed rule for it led the Students in many cases feel difficulty in writing English words." *Page 5.* "As a general rule syllable should begin, as far as the pronounciation allows, with a consonant." *Page 6.* "Descriptive Essays—under this head includes,—description of places, animals, plants &c." *Page 186.*

The second edition of the book, we are sure, will be free from all such inaccuracies as occur in the passages quoted above. In the preface the author expresses a hope "that his work may be deemed worthy of being introduced into school." In our opinion the book may serve as good companion to Messrs. Rowe and Webb's admirable work on the same subject. The book is pretty well got up,—the exterior being neat and attractive,—though, we cannot say as much of the paper and type which are certainly not all that could be desired.

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*Bangsanucharita, by Hara Chandra Chowdhry. Printed by Umakanta Rakshit, Manager, at the Charujantra Press, Mymensingh.*

The pamphlet before us is, as its name implies, a "family biography" of the Chowdhry Zemindars of Sherepur, Zillah, Mymen-

sing. The talented author is a scion of this illustrious family. The book teems with interesting anecdotes and matters of antiquarian interest, and displays a great deal of scholarship and diligent research. The following interesting account is given of the origin of the Chowdhry Zemindars. About the tenth century of the Bengalee era, when the fierce Afghan Shere Ali Ghazee was lord of the *pergunnah* called after him Sherepur, there was employed in the *Kanungo dufter*, in a small village close by one Romaballabh Mazumdar, a *Vydya* by caste, who had a very beautiful wife called Padmagandha, the daughter of a certain physician in the village. Shere Ali smitten with the charms of Padmagandha, and desirous of obtaining her, induced her husband Romaballabh to join in a pretended pleasure excursion by boat, and luring him into a lonely wood, caused him to be assassinated. The widowed wife, who was *enciente* at the time, fled to Hilara the original village of her relatives. In due time she gave birth to a child, Ramnath, who was destined to be the progenitor of the distinguished line of Chowdhry Zemindars who form the subject of the present work. When the child was about six years of age the bereaved widow laid her case before the Subadar Aziz Khan Azum, and implored for justice. The result was that Shere Ali was made to forfeit the whole of his estate in Sherepur which was made over to the child Ramnath who thus became the first of the long line of Zemindars who have ever since been in possession of the same in Pergunnah Sherepur.

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THE

# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

**NEW SERIES.**

No. 1.—JANUARY 1888.

## *NATIONAL AWAKENING.*

Though India is asleep it is fortunately not necessary to accept the gloomy view of her destiny that compares the national intellect to an extinct world, without power of useful change. A closer inspection reveals that the mind of the people, I speak of all castes, though very much suppressed and therefore distorted, is not killed and dissipated. The readiness with which individuals, the Brahmin and the cooly alike, in countries where new surroundings beget new ideas and aspirations, shew aptitudes for work and business and, I may add, pleasure, unsuspected heretofore, gives promise that it is from intellectual catalepsy rather than crystallization that the people suffer. They require a gentle awakening.

In this transition state I think India is now. The powerful intellectual currents induced by the approach of western thought and civilization are quickening the inert mass of Eastern despondency. Metaphysics (that fruitless tree) is giving place to productive thought: fear to hope and courage: dependence on authority to free aspiration.

At this stage a serious danger threatens. The danger is greater than anything that the cynic can cause, for he does not threaten, he can only jibe more or less good-naturedly. And sarcasm is an incentive in itself.. The danger is that interested politicians finding the people awakening to the meanings of political life may

lead them still dreaming astray, tempt them by plausible words to follow paths which their fully opened senses may afterwards regret.

The enlightened among the people can prevent this. They can interpose to warn the masses that the first friend though a good friend is not always the best or the only friend. They can keep the people's judgment in suspense, and so prevent courses being taken that will lead to the very opposite goal to that which is desired. In fact, before deciding on their career this people, old in years but young in knowledge, awakening from a lifeless sleep of ages, requires education ; its powers brought out.

It is the highest duty of such a Government as India now happily possesses, and which if India is wise it will cherish, to seek out every path of education for the people. But the Government of India is an English Government and as such too prone to follow English methods. Only the people's own leaders can guide the well wishing of Government into safe channels. Indian development requires Indian methods, not English methods, in detail. If English methods are stated to be the broad paths of justice, good sense and generosity, then let English methods be so far followed by all means, but when it comes to detail, what is good sense in English ideas, may not prove justice in Indian results.

Therefore is it unwise of Indian politicians to ally themselves too closely with any one English School of thought for practical issues. For the English are very fond of insisting that what has answered in England must answer everywhere : a belief that has been rudely disputed, it may be said in passing, in every one of England's own colonies.

I will mention in this note one educational method only. England having safely started her industries and so secured the education of her sons and daughters along an immense number of parallel lines, required cheap corn for the rapidly increasing population. She could not produce it herself. She required cheap raw materials for her manufactures. She could not produce them herself. She therefore threw herself heart and soul into free trade.

She now says, or, what is the point here aimed at, the political party with which Indian liberalism seems to wish to ally itself, says, that free trade must develop in India the qualities and capacities that in England were antecedent to free trade.

But the opposite may be the case. Free trade in India, though owing to the unexpected vitality of the people it is not altogether killing mechanical industry, is possibly keeping it down and depriving India of educational methods far beyond schools and books,

the methods of various employment, and the development thereby of individual aspiration and achievement. If so it is killing ambition, that breath of the gods in man's nostrils. Government employment will not supply the void. The dispute between free trade and protection, become in England a mere question of advantage, of the fiscal requirements of the Government and the distribution and growth of wealth among the people, is in India still a question of education and of mental existence.

So also the Colonies find it: for the peoples of the Colonies are drawn from the less educated of the home classes, and they openly resent any suggestion that might keep them to a particular employment and so arrest their general development.

Diverse employment is probably the touchstone that will in the end reinstate India in her place among the nations. She should keep her hands free to secure it. She should use every political party only so far as it serves her to that end.

F. BEAUCLERK.

## THEBAW, EX-KING OF BURMAH.

I.

BURMAH is, comparatively speaking, a wealthy country, the soil is most fertile, and the universal wealth great. The portion of Burmah which has been now for over thirty years under British rule, has not only paid for the Indo-British administration, which is the most executive expensive in the world, but has yielded a yearly surplus of revenue, and that without burdening the people. The Burmese British subjects, are prosperous, happy, and contented. Upper Burmah, or that portion which was till recently under native rule, is by far the richer portion of the two, its soil if anything is more fertile, its forests of valuable timber, extensive, and, if judiciously worked, inexhaustible, while its mineral wealth is considerable. In the Mogoung district gold abounds; it is said that a field in this locality was some years ago tapped by an enterprising Australian, and he paid a royalty of Rs. 25,000 a year for the privilege of working it. This gentleman stated that in his experience the field was quite as rich as any in Australia, but unfortunately, before he could obtain the harvest that his pluck and enterprise deserved, he succumbed to the climate, and died of malarious fever. Then again gold abounds in the Shan States, to the north-east of Mandalay; it is stated that the field here is both rich and large. Gold quartz is found in abundance to the south-east of Mandalay, where reefs of it actually crop up from the ground. If these reefs were properly worked, the results would doubtless be valuable. In the Yau district at Sagaing, Konnee, Seni-joo, and in many other parts of Upper Burmah gold is found in the alluvial deposits, and it is found in large quantities. It is also found in the bed of the Kysudbeen river. As a matter of fact gold is procurable from most of the streams between Mandalay and Mogoung. These indications of the precious metal naturally lead to the inference that it must exist in large quantities, *in situ*, in some part of the country. Silver, copper, iron, lead, tin, platinum, graphite, coal, are all said to be found in the country in

workable quantities. Ruby and sapphire are the chief precious stones; they are of the finest description and are found in such quantities as to produce a considerable revenue to the State. Jade also yields a good revenue. The native method of working the mines is crude and superficial. When they are worked scientifically the product will be large.

The people of Upper Burmah, speaking generally, were not altogether badly governed. They were certainly contented. The vices of Thebaw and the evils of his administration have been greatly exaggerated in certain quarters. It used to be stated emphatically at one time that as soon as the invading British force crossed our frontier, the people would be found waiting to receive us with open arms. The resistance that has been offered, and the blood that has been shed, is a sad and bitter comment on such a statement. Men talk of the pacification of Upper Burmah. Pacify a people who were longing for delivery!

One of our ablest public writers has made the following statement. "As regards the finances of India a war with rich Burmah would certainly be more agreeable than a financially barren victory in Afghanistan." Another writer, a military officer of repute, says: "The viceroy would only think of war as a 'last resource,' and, even then, with our hands so full, that 'last resource' might be delayed to the heartfelt regret of Rangoon, Calcutta, Glasgow, and other commercial centres." Manchester, and the London financiers should have the honour of the first place in this list, and not be included in the vague term, "other commercial centres." It is the Manchester lords of trade, and the London bullion lords, who are responsible, through the preponderating influence they exercise, even over Cabinet Ministers, for most of the aggressive wars that England has waged in modern days. Enlargement of the circle of their commercial enterprise is all they care about; and to accomplish this purpose, they look upon the British soldier as an opener up of ways and means. The same writer goes on to say: "About the end of March, intelligence was received that a deceitful quiet prevailed at Mandalay; and King Thebaw, since the despatch of reinforcements, was reported to be in a conciliatory mood." Another writer makes a statement which, if well-founded, would go to show that the British Government did not then intend annexation. He says: "Nothing like the protracted struggle of the two former Burmese wars need be anticipated, for it seems clear that King Thebaw has completely alienated the affections of his subjects, and an invading army (British force) would be received with welcome, as a new era of prosperity would dawn

on Burmah were Thebaw dethroned and the Nyoungyon Prince (a refugee in Calcutta) established in his place and made a feudatory of the Indian Government." How has this anticipation been falsified, more especially the welcome that awaited the British force! Looking back from the present time it reads like satire.

Many of the towns and large villages of Upper Burmah have a handsome appearance, architecturally, that is, from a Burmese point of view, though some of them have been admired by Europeans. This is especially true of Mandalay. Some say that Mandalay looks much like a continental European city. "The City, (Mandalay) with the palace in the centre, forms a square, and is surrounded by four brick walls, each wall being three-quarters of a mile long and twenty feet in height; nine feet thick at the base, finishing off at the top to three feet, all the slopes of the walls being inside, where earth is also packed up to the height of about twelve feet. There are three entrances on either side, and the twelve great doors are shielded on the outer side by blocks of brickwork. These walls are again surrounded by a moat fifty feet wide, the inner edge of which is about thirty-five feet from the city walls. The city, with its walls and moat, is considered by the Burmese impregnable!" The following is a description of a view of Mandalay obtainable from the house of Signor Androino's, the Italian Consul, and the view is said to be charming. "On our left front on the other side of the city was Mandalay hill, with its white pagodas (reached from the surrounding level by great staircases ornamented with colossal dragons) shining among the emerald vegetation. In the distant east the Shan Hills, gently rounded, lay in purple shade. On the right rose a jagged peak, which local superstition avers to be the wild abode of the 'Nats' or evil spirits. At our feet was the city wall with its embroidered crest of notches, from behind which rose the roofs of the King's palace, and peaked Kyoungs and pagodas innumerable; and then there was the splendid moat, with its brilliant green mantle of lotuses, decorated here and there with the large white flowers that are the true Buddhist's veneration and delight."

Mrs. Rowett who visited Mandalay shortly before the rupture between Thebaw and the British, was much pleased with her visit, and agreeably surprised at the courteous treatment she received in the royal palace. She thus describes Mandalay: "As we approach Mandalay at sunset, the scene becomes more and more beautiful. Purple mountains loom in the distance, and the river, which is very wide here, is bordered by richly wooded hills

studded with pagodas. I shall remember this entrance to Mandalay as a thing of beauty such as I have seldom seen. My husband has been riding out every day, and seeing everything. He says the place is beautifully laid out as to plan, the streets being very wide, and bordered everywhere with grand trees. These would form perfect boulevards if the roads were but metalled. The Catholic Bishop of Mandalay asked with some anxiety when another British Resident might be expected, and he told us he was sure English people could reside here in perfect safety. My husband who went all over the town, has the same impression: he never met with the slightest incivility from any Burman—quite the reverse.

"The city of Mandalay is walled. It is a high wall of red brick, battlemented, and a mile and a quarter square. We passed through a great gateway, and found ourselves in a crowded city, and soon after at the palace gate. The palace again is inclosed by a high stockade about half a mile square. The royal guards are a most comical-looking set, some clothed and wearing shiny red helmets, others looking mere coolies. They have a queer collection of old muskets in their guard-house—quite harmless I believe, but they have some nasty-looking spears."

The Burmese monarch was a many-titled King. King Thebaw's official designation was, "Thebaw Min, King of Upper Burmah, His Most Great and Glorious Majesty, King of the Sea and Land, Lord of the Rising Sun, who rules over Samaparan, Zampo-deo-pa, and all the umbrella-bearing chiefs of the Eastern countries, Master of the Saddan (celestial) King elephant, Lord of many white elephants, Lord of Gold, Silver, Rubies, and Amber, the supporter of Religion, the Sun-descended Monarch, Sovereign of the power of Life and Death, Arbiter of Existence and Great chief of Righteousness, the Lord of the Golden Palace, King of Kings and possessor of Boundless Dominions and Supreme Wisdom." The chronicles of the Ava Court, however, state that though the titles of Thebaw are lofty and high-sounding, yet they are not unseemly for one whose ancestry is so ancient and illustrious. According to the Royal Book of Kings 587,000 Kings have sat on the Burmese throne in regular succession. On the other hand, his lineage is only carried back to 1740 or so, or to Alompra, by more accurate historians.

Alompra was a self-made man, for he began life as a Myo-Thuggi, or headman of a small village. Alompra was a mighty hunter, and acquired such a reputation for the huntsman's craft, as to obtain the position of a leader of a band of noted hunters,

hence his title of Mutsobo, or the Hunter Captain. Alompra's ambition rose with his fame, and he soon became a hunter of men, and village after village submitted to his authority, till in a few years he ruled over a great and populous Kingdom, nay an empire, for his sway extended from the Siamese capital to Dacca, and from the Gulf of Martaban to Western China. It was but a fragment of Alompra's great empire that Thebaw ruled, but such as it was, it was sufficient to make its Ruler a notable prince. The successors of Alompra had not his vigorous mind, nor his firm hand, and many of the native tribes that owned Alompra's sway, successively shook off the yoke under the feeble rule of the later Burmese Kings. It has been estimated that Thebaw's subjects did not exceed two millions.

The house of Alompra after ruling in Burmah for upwards of a century has ceased to exist as a dynasty in the person of Thebaw. Thebaw the last of the Burmese Kings, has a look of sadness; there is a pathetic touch in his expression. Say what we will, there is a divinity that doth hedge Kings in. Even the Americans, that most democratic race in theory, are forced to acknowledge it in practical, every-day life. It is matter of current history, that these Republicans seek with avidity alliances with princely or noble families. Even broken-down Italian Counts and French Marquises are at a premium in the American matrimonial market. Thebaw, late King of Burmah, now a State prisoner of the British Government, offers a salutary lesson regarding the truthfulness of the adage that pride goes before a fall; but if there is any truth in what scientists tell us of inherited tendencies, we can make great allowances for Thebaw. Alompra, the founder of the dynasty, was an exceedingly proud man. Alompra was a strong man; a man who could be self-reliant, hence his pride did not appear unseemly. His descendants displayed to the full Alompra's pride, that stubborn Eastern pride, which exalts to the highest limit the creed that teaches of the divinity that doth hedge in kings, without inheriting his strength of character. As each member of his family was further removed from him this weakness became more and more apparent. Thebaw is an excessively weak, vacillating man; a man with good purposes and resolutions, no doubt, but so weak of will as to be almost without personality; and yet this prince was the proudest of his race, prouder than Alompra himself. All the evil enacted at Mandalay and Upper Burmah, during his reign, though much exaggerated, owed its origin to this duality of character. It was mad, senseless pride that prompted him to

try and force the British Government into such a position that an ultimatum was inevitable, and then his weakness of character permitted him to think that he would in some miraculous way get out of the quarrel—he made next to no preparations for that which to a man who possessed common sense would have been nothing less than a death struggle. Thebaw had his eyes open when he adopted the course that led to his ruin; he was fully informed as to the strength and military resources of England; he knew the fighting quality of the material that composed her troops; he was well aware that in the most modern of destructive weapons of war, England was not behind the other nations of Europe. How could he have ever dreamt of success with his scanty resources and puny strength? On what did he found the slightest hopes?

The dynasty of Alompra appears, from a European point of view, to have been reckless of human life; massacres in the palace, and by the reigning prince's command, were normal. The slaughter of royal princes was looked upon as a matter of course. The root of such slaughter was jealousy, and the object, the removal of impedimenta from the throne; and this was on the same lines as those followed by other Eastern princes. Have not Mahomedan Kings and Nawabs, and Hindoo Rajahs as well, done the very same thing in India? For that matter, Europe is not free from blame in like cases. As regards the little value set by these Burmese Kings, according to some accounts, on the lives of their subjects, and the summary and cruel punishments they inflicted on them, they did no worse than what our ally the Ameer of Cabul is accredited with doing now. His hand is said to be very heavy on his people and he holds their lives at the lightest value. The House of Alompra cannot, therefore, be singled out. The Royal House of Burmah has always been distinguished by the same characteristics. The Burmese Kings who reigned before Alompra, were quite as haughty, and in a sense, quite as careless of the wealth, happiness, and lives of their people. They were each one as impatient of restraint, and as arrogant, as any absolute monarch, be his throne placed in the East or the West.

## THE SNOW.

*(From the French.)*

From what far region comest thou,
O snow, so pure, so white?
—"I come from the mountain's lofty brow,
"Home of eternal light;
"Boldly the sky it seems to pierce,—
"The clouds its regal crown,
"And from it thundering, loud and fierce,
"The avalanche rolls down."

"I found my dwelling sad and cold,
"So keen the bitter blast,
"And as the north-wind from his hold
"With snort and shout rush'd past,
"I stopt him in his headlong race,
"And begg'd him me to bear,
"On his pinions from such dreary place,
"To some city large and fair."

"And here I've come!"—O sad release!
Wherefore didst thou despise
Thy home of purity and peace,
To fall,—Ah! ne'er to rise?
For lo! the end of thy desire,
The profit thou hast gain'd,
Trod under foot, mix'd with the mire,
Thy dazzling whiteness stain'd.

O maiden, in thy rural home,
Midst birds, and fields, and flowers,
Ne'er let thy truant fancy roam,
Nor wish to quit the bowers,
Where peacefully thy days will flow;
— Cities are not for thee, —
For there thou'lt lose, as lost the snow,
Thy virgin purity.

O. C. DUTT.

# SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE HINDUS.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

*(A Retrospect.)*

["What chance that I, to fame so little known,
Nor conversant with men or manners much,
Should speak to purpose, or with better hope"
Wield the reformer's pen?]

IN considering the customs and social institutions of the Hindus, prominent place ought to be given to their division into castes. "Caste with the Hindu," says a writer on the Indian Mutiny, "is literally his God—it is all he lives for—all that he relies upon for a hereafter. The most potent of mankind will submit to every caprice of his conqueror, endure any form of oppression and even kiss the rod that smites him—so long as his caste remains untainted. But let that caste be menaced, and there is nothing which can restrain him from running into wild extremes." It was the knowledge of this fact that rendered the Court of Directors so jealous of the subject of Christian proselytism. They refrained from offering any encouragement to Missionary enterprise and even positively forbade their own servants to interfere in any way with the religious notions of the people of India. It was the interference of the Mahommedans with the caste prejudices of our countrymen, more than anything else, that rendered their Government so unpopular, and it is this scrupulousness and forbearance on the part of the British that have made their Government so popular. The caste of the Hindus suffered a great deal under the Islamite Faith, and brutal force was too often applied to batter down the mighty strongholds of Hinduism.

"Yet could no pangs the spirit immortal tame,
When Brahma's children perished for his name;
The martyr smiled beneath the avenging rod,
And braved the tyrant in his torturing hour."

I do not mean to say that the Mahommedan Kings were as a general rule determined to convert the Hindus at the point of the sword; but there was no sufficient check upon the force and violence practised by their subordinate officers and the Mahommedan subjects generally. The wisdom of the British rulers destined them to take a different and safer path. They have not only studiously abstained from all exercise of such brutal authority and force, but have determined that no force should ever be used in the matter of conversion and that everything should be left to time and education. And time and education, we find, have slowly and surely worked out their own fruits, and will do a great deal more. Caste is now not what it was before. It has lost all its fangs; much of that primitive exclusiveness and inveteracy has gradually given way. The *sudra* now sits on the same bed with the Brahmin, and the Brahmin now, in most cases, does not scruple to attend invitations at the *sudra's* house—circumstances which would have shocked the prejudices of our ancestors and brought down punishment on the heads of the apostate delinquents.

But is this state of things desirable? Is it wise to have no social order or distinction at all? Can we altogether dispense with caste? Things now are tending that way; and *liberty* and *equality* are the watchwords in the mouth of every educated native of Bengal. But are these ever to lead us to unalloyed good? Or are they likely to end as was the case with the great French Revolution—in nothing? But no! This is a transition state of society—the country is pasing through one of its most awful trials—things cannot stop where they now are—they must go either one way or the other; and considering the progress education is making and the enlightenment that is dawning upon the Hindu mind, it is possible a more refined system of order should be hereafter established, though we must say, we are not quite hopeful of the results, since the great body of the rising generation of Bengal has exhibited few of the virtues we demanded and expected of them. But we need not be quite hopeless either. Caste is already on the wane, at least it has lost all its orignal force and sway; and we have reasons to believe that with the spread of Western education it will eventually die out. The fabric of *kulinism* too is mouldering away and it will soon cease to be a hereditary distinction. There has, of late, been a great change in the taste and spirit of the public mind in this respect; very little reverence is shown to hereditary *kulins* if they are wanting in the requisite qualifications and virtues; and we have no doubt it will soon fall to the ground, and with it there will be an end to *kulin* polygamy.

We have reasons to anticipate these happy results but we should be very wrong to suppose that there would be universal equality established in its place. Such a state of things is impossible in human society. There must be order of some kind or other and let us hope for the better. Let us hope that in the place of caste and *kulinism* we shall have a system of order more refined in its principles and more enlightened in its doctrines.

Side by side with that abolition of caste which is being gradually achieved, we have to notice one, or two other customs of an inhuman character which prevailed in this country to an equal extent—and which did not yield till governmental agency was employed. I mean the customs of *suttee* and *infanticide*. The heart shudders at the thought of these, and they have left a deeper and more permanent stain on the Hindu character, than all the other pernicious customs which enslaved and benighted the Hindu mind. Both had the sanction of religion, as all things Hindu always have; and both rode rampant over the land with irresistible sway during the times of the Hindus as well as of the Mahommedans. How many thousands of Bengali sons and mothers have fallen victims to these atrocious and murderous rites!

The reader perhaps knows what Infanticide was. Mothers—human beings possessed of human feelings and human souls,—used to devote their first-born children as pious offerings to the sacred waters of Gunga Saugor and consign them to the turbid and relentless element, in the mistaken notion that they would be blessed with more offspring. Was humanity sunk so low? Were they mothers that did this infernal deed? Woe be to that head which conceived such a foul design! Woe to the mothers of Bengal and "Woe to the hand which shed this costly blood!"

But how long was Bengal destined to groan under this baneful custom? Was there to be no end to it? Happily for the country, under the auspices of the British Government no such inhumanity was to be permitted; and the fiat went forth from the cabinet of Lord William Bentinck making it penal to drown infants at Saugor.

The other was a practice as inhuman and barbarous—the burning of Hindu widows on their husbands' funeral piles.

"Her last fond wishes breathed, a farewell smile
Is lingering on the calm unclouded brow
Of yon deluded victim. Firmly now
She mounts, with dauntless mien, the funeral pile
Where lies her earthly lord. The Brahmin's guile
Hath wrought its will—fraternal hands bestow

The quick death-flame; the crackling embers glow,—
And flakes of hideous smoke the skies defile!
The ruthless throng their ready aid supply,
And pour the kindling oil. The stunning sound
Of dissonant drums—the priest's exulting cry—
The failing martyr's pleading voice have drowned
While piercing burning rafters fall around
And shroud her frame from horror's straining eye!"

The above will give a true picture of this rite. It was forbidden by a Legislative Act in 1829 under the auspices of that great benefactor of the Hindu race—the lamented Lord William Bentinck.

The abolition of the *Suttee* rite, however, ought to have been followed by the institution of widow re-marriage. Without some such provision as this, the condition of widows in Bengal will become more and more galling and degrading every day, and there will be no end to misery, and the crimes which have already stained female reputation in it. Constituted as Hindu society at present is, such an institution has become indispensable. The way has been shown by leaders in Calcutta; let it be universally adopted and extensively practised whenever it may become most necessary.

Speaking of widow-marriage reminds me of certain crying evils in our institution of marriage generally—I mean *polygamy* and *early-marriage*, which have done more towards perpetuating widowhood in this country then anything else. We may trace the cause of the institution of polygamy back to the days of Adisur and Bullal Sen. The first prince of the Vaidya family of whom we know anything is Adisur, who held his court at Nuddea, the great seat of Hindu learning. It is said that he became dissatisfied with the ignorance of his priests and applied to the king of Kanouj, Beersing, for a supply of Brahmins well versed in the Hindu sastras. That prince about 900 A. D. sent him five Brahmins, from whom all the Brahminical families of Bengal trace their descent, while the Kayasthas derive their origin from the five servants who attended the priests.

By the time that Bullal Sen became king, the five Brahmins who had settled in Bengal in the time of Adisur had got numerous offspring; and as many as fifty-six sons are mentioned. Bullal gave them fifty-six villages and classified them into four divisions—*mahhya*, *gouna*, *coolin* and *srotriya*. The Kayasthas and Vaidyas were likewise classified in the same manner and upon the same principles. This gave rise to kulinism. Bullal's object was praiseworthy—only he made kulins hereditary. In this he was wrong. A kulin's son is necessarily a kulin, though possessed

of no virtues whatever.' These men gradually degenerated and became immoral and having no better occupation or avocation, took to marrying as a profession. There was no intermarriage between one class and another; and then even among people of the same caste there could sometimes be no marriage. There were particular families among which only could marriages take place. Hence there were difficulties in the making of proper matches, and guardians were obliged to marry their daughters to men already married. This was the origin of polygamy in Bengal. This, however, was of slow growth and did not grow all at once. We have heard our grandfathers speaking of a man who had three hundred wives. So when a single man died he left three hundred widows.

On early-marriage it is needless to dilate. The evil effects of it are too well known and obvious. There is something in the affair which is ludicrous. Before our children have forsaken their toys, before they have learnt to understand the meaning of the word marriage, and its high purposes, the important ceremonies are performed and they become man and wife. In many cases the husband dies before the age of puberty arrives and leaves his bride 'a widowed solitary thing' like a rose that 'in the desert blooms and in blooming dies.'

In connection with this, one cannot help deploring the non-prevalence of intermarriage amongst our countrymen. I fear I am broaching heretical doctrines; I fear I am wounding the religious feelings and caste-prejudices of many of my countrymen. But to be serious, say, is not such a thing very desirable? Does not the good of the country demand it? What is there on earth that a race would not do, which would combine in it the shrewd intellect of the natives of Bengal, the manliness of the upcountrymen and the enterprising energy of Britain's sons? I say what is there on Earth that a race composed of the blood of these three races would not achieve? But let us not be over-sanguine and hasty in our expectations. We have seen caste-prejudices giving way. We have seen *kulinism* breaking down—we have seen *Suttee* and Infanticide extinguished from the land—we have seen widow-marriage begin—and let us hope that in the usual course of things we shall see our wants and deficiencies on this head duly supplied.

I wish to say one word more with regard to our marriage customs, namely, the way in which our marriage-contracts are settled. *Ghuttucks*—professional match-makers—are called, upon whom devolve the work of arranging the terms and prelimi-

naries of the contract, and then come the parents and guardians for their share of the work. Not a word is spoken to the parties who are to be wedded—not a chance is given to them to express their opinion on a subject to them at least of so engrossing a character. True, the guardians would rarely do anything to injure the interests of those placed under their care—true also that the nuptials are so early contracted that the betrothed parties are scarcely considered competent to pronounce any vote in regard thereto. But now that early-marriages are gradually done away with, a change seems necessary in the manner of betrothal. Marriage forms an important era in the lives of men. Upon that depends their whole prospect of happiness and peace. In how many cases have unfortunate marriages and ill-assorted alliances ended unfortunately! How many of our brethren have had cause to deplore the circumstance of this unsuitable matching! It is doubtful whether our *swambarism* would do for an age like this. The practice as we now have it, if modified a little, might answer our purposes. Let those professional mercenary men—the *ghuttucks*—arrange the preliminary articles as they have hitherto done, let our parents and guardians have the chief share in the matter, but let the parties who are principally concerned and whose interests are at stake also have some hand therein.

RAM KANAI.

## THROUGH THE WHOLE NIGHT.

When the Queen of nectar awakes
Through whole night,
When the tired world sinks in sleep
Through whole night,
In sleep I enjoy thy sweet face
Through whole night;
Awake I see thy heavenly grace
Through whole night!

When thou shalt depart high above
Shall thy charming heart O my love,
Through whole night
Wander around my dreaming eye?
In profound love shall lift me high
Through whole night?

When thou art gone and no more here,
Shall thy fairy self roam with me
In sleep through dream in woodlands green
Through whole night?

BENGALEE POET.

## *FACTS ABOUT RUSSIA.*

It has been the fashion amongst a certain class of Englishmen to paint Russia in the darkest colours imaginable. Apart from the political mischief that results from systematic misrepresentation, it is in itself wrong that false ideas should be propagated about any country. It is undeniable that the English constitution and laws are superior to the Russian constitution and laws, and that England is, in the whole of Europe, the favoured home of liberty. But that is no reason why Russia should be painted blacker than she is. It is the object of this paper to bring into prominence certain facts about Russia, and the writer is bound to acknowledge, in justice to Englishmen, that he is indebted for those facts to English authors.

The Russian sovereign who was contemporary with Elizabeth, was John IV, better known as "Ivan the Terrible." Terrible he was no doubt to many people, but he was a friend to England, for he it was, who first sent an Ambassador to Elizabeth, and opened friendly communications with the English Court, which friendliness continued uninterruptedly till within the last half a century or so there rose up a spirit of mutual hostility.

If we were not fortunate in having, at a most critical period, the Earl of Dufferin as Viceroy in India, not only because he is a strong man and an experienced and wise politician, but especially because he knows the Russians so well, and is one of that small band which seeks to know Russia, and to establish friendly relations with her, affairs might have taken a serious turn in Central Asia.

Well, to go back to Ivan the Terrible. We find that he had such good feeling towards England, and appreciated Englishmen so much, that he granted exclusive commercial privileges to English adventurers in Russia; and to an Englishman, the seaman Jenkinson, he gave permission to hoist the English flag in the Caspian. "It was Ivan who offered Elizabeth a monopoly of commerce with Russia in exchange for an offensive and defensive alliance

against Poland and Sweden; and, in short, it was Ivan who began those overtures to England for friendship which all the best rulers of your country from Elizabeth to Chatham, and from Fox to some of the modern English statesmen, have cordially welcomed."

There is one book about Siberia which would strike any reader as candid and unbiased. I allude to "Through Siberia" written by the Rev. Henry Lansdell. The book has this advantage that the author writes in no party spirit. "This testimony, therefore, is simply the best that exists, and henceforth in England there is no excuse for anyone who repeats the lying legends and calumnious traditions which seem to be handed from generation to generation of English Russophobes."

"Unlike most accounts of Siberian prisons which appear in England, it describes Siberia as it was in 1879 and 1880—not Siberia as it was twenty, fifty, or one hundred years ago. That little chronological fact really possesses more significance than you may think, even in Siberia, where, as Mr. Lansdell remarks, days are of little importance, and hours of no moment. What would you think of a Russian who passed off upon his credulous countrymen a frightful story of the horrors which undoubtedly existed in your penal settlements of Botany Bay, less than half as many years ago as the time that has elapsed since 'The Exiles of Siberia' was written, as illustrating the fate of English convicts of to-day? Yet this is the way English people are constantly treating Russians, and when their mis-statements are pointed out, even journals with the largest circulation in the world refuse to correct their mis-statements."

From Mr. Lansdell's book one gathers that he had gone from one end of the country to the other, and had visited nearly all the prisons and the mines where the prisoners worked, and he came to the conclusion that, "on the whole if a Russian exile behaves himself decently and well, he may in Siberia be more comfortable than in many, and as comfortable as in most, of the prisons of the world."

It is interesting to learn that want of work is the great grievance of the exiles in Siberia. The prisoners beg for work, and often work cannot be found for them. The popular English picture represents exiles as being worked to death beneath the blows of the merciless "historic kirout." "Most generally," says Mr. Lansdell, "we found they had a happy-go-lucky way, especially in the small prisons, of opening the doors in the morning and letting the prisoners, if they did not misbehave themselves, go

in and out of the yard, as they liked—to sleep, to talk, or walk in the sun, and in some cases to smoke." Mr. Lansdell goes on to show that the Russian convict system is far from being excessively severe, on the contrary it is open to the charge of extreme leniency.

A curious thing about this book of Rev. Lansdell's is the absence from it of even a single case of "horror." Then again, it is generally supposed that the political prisoners sent to Siberia number millions, and that most of these wretched people are Poles. The reverend gentleman states that he was surprised to see that of political prisoners, "the majority were free and tolerably comfortable." And as to the millions, he found none, nor was the number of Polish prisoners exceptional; he was again surprised to see in all the prisons and at the mines he visited, how few the political prisoners were: but let Mr. Lansdell testify.

"The severest case of punishment of a political prisoner I met with was that of, I think, a Nihilist, at Kara, who had daily to go to work in the gold mines; but on returning, he had a room to himself, some of his own furniture, fittings, and books, one of which was on political economy. His wife lived in the neighbourhood, and could see him lawfully, and bring him food at frequent intervals; and it was not difficult for her to see him unlawfully, for just in front of his windows passed the public road, on which she could stand and talk to him with ease."

This is Mr. Lansdell's illustration of the life of a would-be assassin of the late Emperor. "He was sentenced to the mines, and no doubt popular imagination pictured him chained, and tormented to within an inch of his life; whereas I found him confined, indeed, but only to the neighbourhood, and dressed, if I remember rightly, in a tweed suit." At Tobolsk a political Polish prisoner of a pronounced type, is thus described: "He had surrounded himself with small comforts, as Polish books, eau de Cologne, and cigarettes."

Further, says Mr. Lansdell: "My impression is that the greater number of the political exiles either go to prison only for a short time, or not at all, and are then placed in villages and towns, and there expected to get their living. They do this in a variety of ways. Some are teachers of languages, some are tradesmen, and some are photographers. We met, for instance, two exile photographers at Tobolsk."

"The prisons of Tobolsk reminded me most of those I had seen in Vienna and Cracow, in which, however, in some respects, a comparison would result in favour of Siberia; for at Cracow the

convicts had not only to work at the bench by day, but, if my memory does not fail me, to sleep on it at night. At Tobolsk a set portion of labour is imposed daily; but when this is done, the prisoner is at liberty to work for himself."

The Central Siberian prison, is situated at Alexandroffsk. In this prison the cells are well lighted and warmed, and, "far more endurable than those in some English gaols." Every Sunday and holiday is set apart for prisoners to see their friends. At Tomsk the governor complained that he had no legal power to compel his prisoners to work, and that the mass of prisoners in his charge had literally nothing to do. Three days' solitude, with a diet of bread and water, was the severest punishment he had power to inflict.

Mr. Lansdell gives his experience of a visit to a Jewish political prisoner at Kara, who was condemned to the mines; be it explained that Kara has the reputation of being the worst prison of the penal colony, for of its population of 2,000 convicts, over one-third are murderers. "Compared to the criminal wards in other prisons, his cell was a little parlour. It was clean and in a manner garnished. The Kara prison had certain pieces of furniture and eating requisites, the placing and arrangement of which indicated familiarity with the habits of decent society. One of his books I found was a treatise on political economy. The room certainly was not large, but there was abundance of light, the outlook from the long window being not on a prison wall surrounded by chevaux-de-frise, but commanding a view of the Kara valley such as a Londoner might envy; while just outside was the public road along which could be seen everything that passed. I speak only the truth, when I say that if I had the misfortune to be condemned to prison for life, and had my choice between Millbank in London or this political's cell at Kara, I would certainly choose the latter."

"All the gold mining is done above ground. The convicts work thirteen hours a day for nine months in the year. During the three winter months they do not work. The food of the convict miner is 4 lbs. of bread, 1 lb of meat, ¼ lb of buckwheat a day, together with quarter of a brick of tea per month—a ration, which is double of the English convict allowance. But although they are twice as well fed they do no more work. They do not appear to be worked harder, I should think not so hard, as our own convicts at Portland. At night the convicts of the higher categories go to their families, the lower grade sleep in prison. No women of any rank work in the mines of Siberia."

The hospital at Kara is described as a fine building, with large, lofty, airy, clean rooms. "The whole of the Kara penal colony, bore about it marks of the superintendence of a man who conscientiously acted from a high sense of duty." The whole experience of Mr. Lansdell at the mines, is given in the following words: "That the men who worked in the mines had no easy task was plain, but it was equally plain that their labour, as compared with that of an English navvy or convict, was nothing extraordinary. Comparing Siberian convicts with English, the Siberian has the advantage in more food, more intercourse with his fellows, and far more permissions to receive visits from his family. The Kara convict, when in the higher category, receives besides 15 per cent. of what he earns for the Government; and even in the lower category he is credited with the money, though its payment is deferred till he mounts higher. Political prisoners also may write to their friends; and though by strict right, I believe, criminals in Siberia cannot do so, yet this rule is not carried out."

Mr. Lansdell's opinion is based on personal inspection. We could, therefore, have no more reliable authority. His testimony then is that far from the Siberian prisons being intolerably bad, they are better than English prisons, as regards clothing, food, and shelter, which are generally supposed to be the principal needs of life; while the discipline is not so rigorous. He says: "I had now followed the exiles from Moscow all across Siberia, and with the exception of the mines at Nertchinsk and Din, had seen them under the varying circumstances in which they live. Looking at the matter calmly and dispassionately, I am bound to say that exile to Siberia no longer calls up to my mind the horrors it did formerly. I am quite prepared to believe that instances have occurred of bad management, oppression and cruelty; but that the normal condition of things has been exaggerated I am persuaded. Taken at the worst, condemned to the 'mines' is not so bad as it seems, and in the case of peasant exiles, willing to work, I cannot but think that many of them have a better chance of doing well in several parts of Siberia than at home in Russia."

The following is culled from the writings of an able and unbiased writer. "Nothing can be more astonishing than the change that has been wrought in Russian minds with respect to the omnious name of Siberia. That region, which imagination had invested with all the terrors of a place of expiation and torture, turns out now, in sober reality, to be an Eldorado. Not only

is there no limit to its mineral wealth, but large tracts of its soil, in spite of the climate, give evidence of prodigious fertility, and offer a wide field for the energies of colonising enterprise. The condition of a prisoner at the present day, the Russians say, if he will only work, ought to appear not unenviable; for he is not only well-fed and lodged and cared for, but even free to choose and change his abode, to pursue the occupation he prefers, to earn money and make his fortune while he rehabilitates his character. So great his well-being appears to be, say the Russians, that crowds of free and voluntary emigrants follow in his track. Siberia and Central Asia are to Russia what Australia and Van Diemen's Land were to England, with this difference, that the English Penal Colonies were at enormous distances beyond sea; Russia's Asiatic possessions are integrant parts of her territory, and can be occupied and turned to the purposes of civilization step by step and stage by stage, trade following on the settler's path and railways annihilating distance."

Although the gold mines of Siberia yield yearly above a million and a quarter ounces of gold and give employment to more than 70,000 persons, yet these are not her great source of wealth; the extreme fertility of the soil, which may without exaggeration be termed inexhaustibly fertile, is her greatest source of wealth. Silver, copper, and iron, with coal mines, are other sources of her wealth. I will again quote from Rev. Lansdell's book. He says: "But these are nothing compared with grain, for the production of which the country is admirably fitted. From the southern borders of the Tobolsk province, for 600 miles northward, lies a district of fertile black-earth; and so exclusively is it of this character in the valley of many of the rivers, which overflow like the Nile and leave a rich deposit, that the geologist finds it difficult to pick up a few specimen pebbles. It is like a vast tract of garden land, well suited for the production of wheat, oats, linseed, barley, and other cereals. Farther north are praries for cattle, and a wooded region, inhabited by various fur-bearing animals, where the pine, fir, and birch abound. These remarks apply to the valley of the Obi no less than to that of the Yenesei. Again, north of the wooded region come the *tundras*, over which roam the reindeer, wild and tame, besides which, the rivers are so full of fish that the fishermen try not to catch too many because of the frequent breaking of their nets."

The climate of the province of Tomsk is very good, and the land for agricultural purposes most valuable; the mountains of the district are very rich in minerals. This is what Mr. Lansdell says of the prarie land of the lower Amour, which is in the extreme

east of Siberia: "The soil of this prarie is clayey, with an upper layer of rich black mould, which is covered with luxuriant grasses, attaining often the height of a man. Among them may be seen Manchurian panic grass, and succulent, broad-bladed kinds, of which I do not know the names. Small shrubs of cinnamon-rose are hidden everywhere by the grass, and, with vetches and other climbing plants, render travelling over these praries, as Mr. Collins testifies, extremely difficult. This writer speaks also of grape and pea vines, and many varieties of flowers, among which the lily of the valley was so abundant as to fill the air with its fragrance. Below Aigun, the country on the north continues flat, and is covered with a rich black soil, in places fourteen inches thick."

Even Kamschatka, hitherto thought a barren and inhospitable country, receives a share of Mr. Lansdell's praises. He says respecting it: "The valley watered by the Kamschatka is composed of fine mould, and has abundant natural productions—fir, birch larch, poplar, willow, cedar, and juniper, and that of larger size than in the same latitude elsewhere in Asia. Raspberries, strawberries, whortleberries, currants, and cranberries abound; and flowers are seen in spring in almost tropical luxuriance." As regards the climate he says: "The great cold is not thought a grievance in Siberia, for a man clothed in furs may sleep at night in an open sledge when the mercury freezes in the thermometer; and, wrapped up in his pelisse, he can lie without inconvenience on the snow under a thin tent when the temperature of the air is 30° below zero." Of the summer in Siberia he speaks in high terms: "The summer climate, therefore, of those parts of Siberia through which I passed I consider simply delightful—neither oppressively hot by day nor unpleasantly cold by night."

Living in Siberia is very cheap, though some thirty years ago prices were still lower; meat can be purchased at six pice a pound, and the larger feathered game, such as grouse and so forth at six annas per pair. Many travellers have testified to the extreme cheapness of living in the country, but I think it worth while in confirmation to quote Mr. Lansdell's exact testimony; he writes: "I was offered a pair of ducks for 2½ pence; 10 brace of *riab chicks*, a sort of grouse about the size of a partridge, cost one shilling; a couple of fish called *yass*, weighing I supposed 1½lb. each, were offered for 1½ pence; and 10 large fish, as a lot, for ¼ pence each. At Juchova I was offered for 5 pence a couple of pike, weighing probably 20lbs., and a live duck for 1¼ pence; whilst at the villages in the district we passed, which are not easily accessible, a young calf, I was told, could be bought for six pence."

The price in Siberia of a good horse is about fifty rupees; a similar horse would cost in India about five hundred rupees. Many individuals in Western Siberia own herds of horses numbering from 4,000 to 5,000, the same men having droves of as many cows. The above quotations show that things in Siberia are cheap enough; but south of Tomsk things are even cheaper, according to Mr. Lansdell: "The price of land and provisions at Barnaul was such as might make many a man sigh to live there. The price for the hire of cleared black soil was 3½ pence per English acre. We saw them scratching the surface of it (for their instrument was so shallow that it was a mockery to call it ploughing), and yet such farming yields there an abundant crop. They take just a little of their stable manure for cucumber beds, but burn the rest to get rid of it, never thinking of putting it on the land; but when they have used a field for a few years, and it is becoming exhausted, they take fresh ground. The cost of provisions in this fertile district is of a piece with the prices quoted on the Obi. Black rye flour costs half a farthing per English pound; undressed wheat flour costs up to 16 shillings for a sack of 180 pounds. The price of meat is similar. In the summer, when it will not keep and is dear, beef costs 1¼ pence per lb; but in the winter, when it can be kept in a frozen condition, it sells for less than ½ pence per English pound. Veal is more expensive, and costs 1½ pence; whilst aristocratic persons, who live on grouse, have to pay as much as from 2 pence to 2½ pence per brace. In this part of Siberia it is rare to find a peasant without a stock of horses and cows, and a man with a family to help him can make an excellent living."

Other writers, as I have said, give statements of the cheapness of living, from which one gathers that the cost of a salmon weighing from 15 to 25 lbs is often less than four pice. Turkeys are said to be purchasable at one rupee and eight annas each, while pheasants can be obtained at four annas each. Mr. Wahl, in his "Land of the Czar," says: "Life among the civilised classes of Siberian society consists of a perfect round of pleasure, enhanced by the exhilarating influence of a beautiful South Siberian climate and the splendour of a gigantic nature. The name Siberia, so startling to European ears, produces an electric effect on whoever has lived in that country, as it is sure to recall sweet remembrances. The lower class as well as the higher both possess, more or less, the good qualities of Russian character without its usual faults. Although the greatest part of the population has sprung from criminals, their habits are pure and simple,

and their general probity is such as to render the locks for the door a matter of superfluity."

Another writer who had opportunities of knowing the country well, and who may be looked upon as not likely to give a particularly favourable report of it, for he had been banished thither from Poland, says: "Siberia will soon cease to be a region of terror and captivity; for it possesses all the means of becoming a land of prosperity and freedom. Siberia has no nobility, no peculiar privileged class, very few officials, and a population which has never been in bondage, and knows how to govern itself."

A Russian gentleman who had passed several years in Siberian prisons, as a political exile, speaks warmly in praise of the country; be it remarked that he was a man of refined mind and of liberal education. I think an extract from his writings will fittingly close this paper. He says: "In spite of the cold climate, Siberia is a nice snug place to live in, as the people are very simple-minded and conservative; innovations are abhorred, and things go on much the same as they did two hundred years ago. It is a pleasant country to live in. The climate is excellent, and there are many rich and hospitable merchants and wealthy foreigners scattered about the different towns and settlements. In short it is a blessed country. The difficulty is to know how to enjoy it; but there are some fortunate individuals who have learned the great secret of satisfactorily solving the riddle of life."

These are a few plain facts, and they teach a great deal more than vague and unfounded denunciations.

VICARIOUS.

## SHIFTING THE FOUNDATIONS.

When the legislative measure nicknamed "the Ilbert Bill" was pending in the Legislative Council of India, Sir James Stephen complained in an article which he contributed to one of the English magazines, that there was an attempt in certain quarters to shift the foundations of the Indian Empire. The Ilbert Bill is no longer pending, and it is of no practical interest now to discuss that opinion of Sir James Stephen's. But there can be no doubt that at the present moment there *is* an attempt in certain quarters to "shift the foundations of the empire," in a sense probably somewhat different from that in which Sir James Stephen used the phrase. Let us proceed to examine the nature of the foundations, and the way in which it is sought to shift them.

In the reign of William IV there was passed an Act for effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better government of His Majesty's Indian territories. When that Act was in the stage of a Bill, and the Bill had to be read a second time in the House of Commons, Macaulay took an active part in the debate. The following is an extract from his speech:

"There is, however, one part of the Bill on which, after what has recently passed elsewhere, I feel myself irresistibly impelled to say a few words. I allude to that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause, which enacts that no Native of our Indian empire shall, by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion, be incapable of holding office. At the risk of being called by that nickname which is regarded as the most opprobrious of all nick names, by men of selfish hearts and contracted minds—at the risk of being called a philosopher—I must say that, to the last day of my life, I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause. We are told that the time can never come when the natives of India can be admitted to high civil and military office. We are told that this is the condition on which we hold our power. We are told that we are bound to confer on our subjects—every benefit which they are capable of enjoying?—no;—which it is in our power to confer on them?—no;—but which we can confer on

them without hazard to the perpetuity of our own domination. Against that proposition I solemnly protest as inconsistent alike with sound policy and sound morality.

"I am far, very far, from wishing to proceed hastily in this most delicate matter. I feel that for the good of India itself, the admission of Natives to high office must be effected by slow degrees. But that, when the fulness of time is come, when the interest of India requires the change, we ought to refuse to make that change lest we should endanger our power;—this is a doctrine which I cannot think of without indignation. Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear. 'Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas,' is a despicable policy either in individuals or in states. . . . .

"The destinies of our Indian empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system, till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverses. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism: that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature, and our laws."

Section 87 of the Act [3 & 4. Will IV. C. 85] runs as follows:

"That no native of the said territories [His Majesty's Indian Territories] nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Government."

The Proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs and People of India, dated November 1, 1858, says among other things:

"We hold Ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind Us to all Our other subjects and those obligations by the Blessing of Almighty God, We shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil . . . We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disqualified by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the Law . . . . . And it is our further will that so far as may be, our Subjects of whatever Race or Creed be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

Lord Lytton's speech addressed to the Delhi Assemblage on January 1, 1877, after the reading of the Imperial Proclamation, contained the following observations among others:—

"On the first day of November in the year 1858, a proclamation was issued by the Queen of England, conveying to the Princes and People of India those assurances of Her Majesty's good will which from that day to this they have cherished as their most precious Political Possession.

"The promises then made by a sovereign, whose word has never been broken, need no confirmation from my lips. . . . .

"But you the Natives of India, whatever your race, and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian Statesmen, and by the Legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India, as binding on its honour, and constant with all the aims of its policy. . . .

"It is on the gradual and enlightened participation of the Indian subjects in the undisturbed exercise of this mild and just authority, and not upon the conquest of weaker states, or the annexation of neighbouring territories, that Her Majesty relies for the development of her Indian Empire."

Lord Dufferin, in the course of the speech which he delivered in acknowledgment of the addresses presented on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee, said:

"Within the period we are reviewing, education has done its work, and we are surrounded on all sides by native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose hearty, loyal, and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. In fact, to an administration so peculiarly situated as ours, their advice, assistance and solidarity are essential to the successful exercise of its functions. Nor do I regard with any other feelings than those of approval and good will their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs, and glad and happy should I be if, during my sojourn among them, circumstances permitted me to extend and to place upon a wider and more logical footing the political status which was so wisely given a generation ago by that great statesman, Lord Halifax, to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence, their acquirements, and the confidence they inspired in their fellow countrymen, were marked out as useful adjuncts to our Legislative Councils."

In the principles here briefly stated, may be discovered the foundations of the Indian Empire. Here also we get a glimpse of the superstructure intended to be raised on those foundations. Liberty and equality have been, in India, not the cry of the democrat, but the concession of the Sovereign. India is inhabited by people who differ in race, religion, language, manners, antecedents; but in all Royal and Viceregal Proclamations and other declarations, Indian subjects, of whatever race or religion, are treated as having the same rights and privileges, and the same duties, —in a word, the same status. Native subjects are placed on the same level as European subjects; and every class of native subjects is placed on the same level as every other class of native subjects. There is no ambiguity in this declaration: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects." Nor any in this: "It is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement and to administer its government for the benefit of *all our subjects* resident therein." No distinction is drawn between one class of subjects and another, on any ground whatsoever. No preference is shown to the martial races, no contempt expressed for the weak and timid Bengali, though Macaulay's denunciation of the Bengali character had already been published. The mercantile classes are not given any particular importance in consequence of their having improved the country by their capital and enterprise. The European and the native, the Hindu and the Mahomedan, the

Mahratta and the Bengali, the merchant and the clerk, are all given the same legal position, the same political power.

The policy which has been repeatedly declared to be the true policy for governing India, is justified not only on principles of morality but on grounds of political expediency, on the commonest considerations of prudence and necessity. The recognition of an equal status of all inhabitants of British India is not merely a compliance with the demands of abstract justice but is essential to the successful working of the Indian Government. The administration of India would be impossible if all the races and sects which inhabit it were treated as so many castes governed by distinct laws. The principle of non-interference demanded that in such matters as those concerning inheritance, marriage, &c, every community was to be governed by its own laws and usages; otherwise, the law was the same for all. In particular, the political rights of the people,—the right to public offices, the right to a share in the administration—were the same for all. The business of the country could not otherwise go on. All were to be judged by a common standard. A variety of standards would have created endless claims of an incommensurable character, would have caused serious embarrassment to the Government, and ultimately paralysed the administration. The common interests of the country would have disappeared in the presence of an unceasing struggle between interests of a minutely local and sectional character. If India was at all to be governed as a united country, it was impossible not to recognise an equality of legal and political status. If different races and sects were confined to particular tracts of the country and prevented from settling in large numbers in other tracts, a different method might be followed. But then India would be a group of several distinct countries, or, at best, some sort of "United States." A different policy, however, has been followed. England has determined to govern India as a united country. There are immense difficulties in the way of the peoples of India being united into a nation, having one religion, one language, uniform manners and customs. Such a union would mean the extinction of Hinduism, for if a Hindu marries any one but a Hindu, the offspring cannot be Hindu. Things unexpected happen very often, especially in this country; and it may be that at some very remote period or under very strange conditions, there may come to be formed a real Indian nation like the French or the English nation. But at present the difficulties in the way of such a consummation appear to be very great indeed. There seems to be no reason-

able prospect of a making of India in the same way as there has been a "making of England." The English people is the result of the fusion of various elements. Fusion always takes an appreciable time; but it has not even commenced in India. Left to themselves the various races of India would have gone to war with each other and ultimately evolved themselves into a nation. The English Government cannot allow any struggles to take place even though the struggles may be nation-making. As it is customary to talk of Development, *Laissez faire*, "Spontaneous Evolution," it is just as well to bear in mind that the English Government by making internal conflicts impossible, may be hindering the *natural* processes which form a nation. It is the duty of a civilised Government to maintain peace and prevent bloodshed, and not to allow the rough processes of nature to go on undisturbed. And, therefore, the English Government very rightly exerts its strong arm to maintain peace between the different races and sects of India. It allows all to flourish equally side by side, and does not allow any to absorb by violent means the others.

Therefore, only two methods of governing India are possible. Either there should be a segregation of races and sects, or all races and sects should be treated as having the same legal and political position. If Hindus, Mahomedans, Eurasians and other classes were distributed over distinct tracts, if a subdivision of these classes led to a more detailed distribution, it would be possible to govern distinct classes by distinct laws, in the same way as different nations are governed by different laws. The international difficulties that might arise would be settled by a code of international law framed by the English. In other words, we should get something like a modern reproduction of the ancient Roman method of governing the provinces. This, however, is not the method which the English Government has actually adopted. It has deliberately elected to govern India by the alternative method, namely by treating the people of India, in spite of their differences in race, religion, language, manners, antecedents, and civilisation, as legally and politically equal to each other and to the English. It has thus, so to say, attempted to create a nation, not in an ethnical but in a political sense. Not community of blood or faith, but community of rights and duties, the recognition of a common sovereign, is the tie which holds together the various peoples. The attempt may prove unsuccessful, or partially so. In that case the policy of segregation will have to be adopted to such an extent as circumstances may render necessary. In the meantime the other policy which has been formally announced

and largely practised, must not be tinkered or intermitted, but must be consistently persevered in. The statutes and proclamations cited at the commencement of this article indicate the policy in the clearest possible manner. And the whole course of Indian legislation and administration has been generally in accordance with it. Seats in the Legislative Council were opened to natives of India; the covenanted civil service was thrown open to competition; scarcely any disability was attached by law to natives of the country.

The system of English education which prevails in different parts of India, though introduced by the Government for other reasons than the effecting of political union, has, as a matter of fact, operated as a bond of union. A common language has been established among the educated classes; common aspirations have possessed them, not the least of which is the desire for nationality. If at the present moment there are, as Professor Seeley says, "germs out of which we can conceive an Indian nationality developing itself," it must be admitted that those germs have been the product of English education. If an Indian nation is formed at all by other means than a violent revolution, a great many changes must occur in the social life of the peoples which inhabit India; and English education is calculated to facilitate those changes. Such changes are already occurring on a small scale amongst the educated people. There have also been other results than these. Educated Indians have been of great service to the country and to the Government. Mr. H. J. S. Cotton truly observes in his *New India*: "The natives, as of course they must be, are the backbone of our administration." It is not only for intellectual merits that they are distinguished. They have exhibited in the discharge of their public duties moral qualities of a high order. Sir Henry Maine, in one of his annual addresses to the Calcutta University, as its Vice-chancellor, bore eloquent testimony to the unblemished character of the educated men who in different capacities administered justice, and contrasted the improved moral tone of the present system with the corruption which at one time was the disgrace of the Indian Courts. In their attitude to the English Government and the English people, also, educated men exhibit their superiority to the uneducated. Whatever suspicious men may think or say, the English people have no better friends in India than the educated natives. The men who are the best educated are among the most loyal subjects of the English Crown. Those who have travelled to England, have been educated there, and have assimilated English ideas, are the stanchest admirers of the English people and the English

Government. Men like Kristo Das Pal, Sir T. Madhava Row, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, might really be called "Pillars of the Empire." It is educated men like them, however critical they might be, that are in the last resort the interpreters of the Government to the people. If the masses are contented, it must be remembered that that contentment is the result of the wholesome influence exercised upon them by the upper classes. The masses, the uneducated people generally, know little of the proceedings of the Government. The educated men, however, are subject to a double misfortune. They are viewed with jealousy by a large number of Englishmen; and at the same time their backward countrymen regard them as anglicised, and as identified in interest with their rulers rather than with themselves. The fact, however, is undeniable, whatever the appearances may be, that English education has produced the best of England's bulwarks in the East.

The foundations of the English empire in India have now been briefly sketched. One cannot help observing with regret that there has been now and again, particularly in recent years, an attempt to shift them. The reactionary tone of a large body of Anglo-Indian opinion is most evident from the view which is expressed of English education and its results. It is said that English education has produced a race of discontented, disaffected men who are a source of trouble to the empire, whose demands are self-seeking, and who lack the moral qualities necessary for the discharge of public duties of a higher order. The charge has no foundation in fact, and, indeed, represents the reverse of truth, except in so far as imperfectly educated men claim the rights of the educated, and so far as educated men *are* somewhat discontented, in the sense of being critical. As a matter of fact, educated men have turned out to be very nearly all that they were expected to be. Lord Macaulay in his famous Minute on Education, dated February 2, 1835, said: "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect." Such a class, though small at present, has been formed, and it is precisely this class which is viewed with the greatest jealousy. There is a large number of Englishmen who are better disposed to the persons that are unrefined in taste and backward in opinions, than to those that are English in taste and English in opinion. Such Englishmen may be divided into two classes,—those that resent any sort of approach on the part of a subject race to their own level of life and thought, and those

that are too strongly possessed with the theory of "spontaneous development." Against the first class it is useless to argue; and against the second it is only necessary to point out that the "spontaneous development" of a community does not exclude the influences of education, and that any development that may now be looked for, must be a development of the present system, of which English education forms an essential part, and not a development of the system which existed centuries ago. Education is a developing and not a disturbing process; and the disturbance if any, which necessarily results from the propagation of truth, is wholesome. The demand for European institutions is regarded in some quarters as one of the evil results of education. What did Lord Macaulay say upon this point? "It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has out-grown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the noudest day in English history." A nervous race of men now seems to regard it as the blackest day. What Macaulay viewed as a glorious result, almost too good to be realised, seems to be considered as one of the most dangerous consequences which the highest statesmanship must endeavour to avert. English education, English ideas, English institutions, are intimately blended with each other; and repugnance to English education, whenever felt by the governing body or any section of it, is symptomatic of aversion to progress and of a desire to perpetuate ignorance and irresponsible power. There are, however, clearer and more specific indications, than a protest against English education, of the tendency to shift the foundations. Some of those indications are as follows.

1°. Except in a few specified cases and under specified conditions, native Indian judicial officers cannot try accused persons who are "European British subjects," in the same way as they can try accused persons who are natives of India. In criminal trials, accused persons who are European British subjects have several privileges which native Indian subjects of Her Majesty have not. How this practice is compatible with the theory of equality of legal and political status, as between the European and the native, it is difficult to see. There was a time when Europeans were excluded from the civil jurisdiction of native Indian judicial officers. When that privilege was abolished, Anglo-Indians

raised a violent hue and cry and predicted all sorts of evil consequences, none of which have been realised.

2°. Natives of India have not the same right as Europeans to enlist as volunteers, and to form a Volunteer Army. It is worthy of note that Eurasians have in this matter the same right as Europeans, though several of them are, and would claim to be treated as, "Natives of India," under Statute 33 Vic. Cap. 3. Section 6. The Viceroy, in replying to an address presented to him by the Indian Association, said: "I said that there was no doubt in my mind that their desire to enrol themselves as Volunteers was promoted by the purest spirit of loyalty and patriotism; but when the Government of India came to consider the practical method by which effect could be given to the movement, it very soon became apparent that the difficulties and disadvantages attending the elaboration of any plan for the embodiment of a Volunteer Army altogether out-numbered and out-weighed the military and practical advantages to be derived from the realisation of the scheme. Nor can I hold out to you any hope that either the Government at Home or the Government of India will be likely to change its decision." Native Indian Christians may enlist as volunteers; so that the disability attaches, in this instance, not to a Race but to particular Religions.

3°. Natives of India cannot, though Europeans can, possess Arms without a license.

4°. In addition to the scholarships which Government grants to successful students without distinction of race or religion, especial scholarships have been established for Mahomedan students in Bengal, in the North-Western Provinces and in Assam.

5°. A Resolution of the Government of Bengal, duly published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, has declared that "in offices in which there are at present no Mahomedans, the close attention of the controlling officer will be required to procure suitable candidates." Furthermore: "Those who have the privilege of making appointments should realise that something more has to be considered than the convenience of the moment; that, *besides the efficiency of the public service*, which is always the first thing to be regarded, *it is necessary also to attend to the due distribution of places of emolument*, so as to prevent the depression of a numerous and influential class, and secure their co-operation for the general benefit of the administration."

6°. The Calcutta Municipal Corporation has been constituted on a representative basis since the year 1876. The rights of European and native electors have, so far, been the same. But

in the Municipal Bill which is now passing through the Bengal Legislative Council there are some Sections which create inequality, and those Sections have already been passed. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and the Calcutta Trades' Association have been given the right to elect four commissioners (representatives on the corporation) each; and the Calcutta Port Trust will elect two Commissioners. These are European bodies. Of a total of seventy-five commissioners, these European Associations are given the right to elect ten. Not a single native Association, however large or influential, is given the right to elect a single member. Voluntary Associations have been given a large franchise, and they are all European. This, be it remembered, is *an innovation.*

These are illustrations, it is easy to see, of a "shifting of the foundations." The "shifting" process has been going on with increasing vigour in recent years; and one may very well inquire, Where is it to terminate? Are we to have a complete reversal of the policy of liberty and equality, so often proclaimed? We hear the most dangerous principles enunciated by influential officials with regard to Election and Competitive Examinations. Under the existing law and according to the existing practice, natives of India may obtain seats in the Legislative Councils. They are appointed to those seats by the heads of the executive Government, and are not elected by the people; they are always a small minority in the Council; they have no power of interpellation, and practically no control over the Budget. Besides the few ex-officio members, all members of Council, European or native, are appointed or nominated by the Government, and not elected by any constituency. The advanced classes of the Indian people now demand that the Legislative Councils should be, as far as possible, constituted on a representative basis, and that non-official members should have some control over the Budget and have the right of interpellation. In connection with this demand it is necessary to bear in mind that the system of Local Self-Government, upon an elective basis, is now in operation, and it is universally admitted that the system has worked wonderfully well. What is now wanted is not a creation of a new system, but a *development* of the existing system, not only in the sense of an extension of the area over which the system operates, but in the sense of an increase of powers and responsibilities. Indian Home Rule is not wanted; the abdication of the English Government is not wanted; nothing is wanted which would virtually take away the rule of the country from the English. All that is wanted is that the number of non-official

members of Council should be increased, that a certain proportion of members should be elected and not nominated, that in the Councils there should be a real and not a nominal discussion of measures, and that opportunities of interrogating the Government should exist. Little need be said on the principles involved in the demand, for such a careful ruler as our present Viceroy has acknowledged the necessity of expanding the Legislative Councils so as to admit a larger number of natives of India than can now obtain seats. But in this matter details are of as much importance as principles. It is not enough that the number of members should be increased, but it is necessary that they should be admitted by a particular *method*, namely election, and that they should have particular powers. The reform is, no doubt, attended with great practical difficulties. For instance, it is not easy to determine the qualification of electors, and, generally speaking, to frame a scheme of election. Nor is it easy to determine the relative powers of the Government-party and the popular party in the Councils. But whatever difficulties there may be, the proportionate representation of races and sects is not one of them. All races and sects are, for political purposes, One. There are men who may feel their breath taken away by this proposition; but it is one which we are not the first to lay down, but which has been laid down by English Sovereigns and Parliaments and by Indian Viceroys in the most solemn manner. That majorities have no inherent right to tyrannise over minorities, is as true in India as in England. Let schemes be constructed for the representation of minorities. In the meantime, to hold, as several men do hold, that a Hindu can only represent Hindus, that a Mahomedan can only represent Mahomedans, that a Parsee can only represent Parsees, and that an Englishman is fitted to represent Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees and all other classes alike, is to shift the foundations of the empire. Even if Hindus and Mahomedans and Parsees, were allowed separate representation, there would be the grievances of minorities. Whenever a man is not unanimously elected by a constituency, however homogeneous it may be in religion or race, there is a minority with a grievance. Such minorities and such grievances may deserve consideration. But that is no reason why in a country, where religion or race is no factor that determines political rights, particular races and sects should be spoken of as standing "minorities" entitled to special protection. To describe the Mahomedans and such other classes as "minorities" that can only be protected by being prevented from enter-

ing the same electoral arena with the Hindus, is a device, not wholly ingenuous, to rouse the sympathy of Englishmen, by the misleading use of the word "minority."

Facts are worth more than theories, and facts shew that though, so far, Hindus and Mahomedans have not been treated as separate constituencies, the elective system has been working admirably and Mahomedans have been fairly represented. In Calcutta, it is well known, Mahomedans have had their due share of representation on the Municipal Board. And as regards the interior of Bengal, I may quote the following testimony of the *Pioneer*: "On the whole, it must, we think, be conceded by the bitterest opponents of reform that Self-Government as applied to the Bengal Municipalities has proved itself, beyond doubt, successful. There has, of course, been plenty of scope for hostile criticism; but to us, and we believe to most sober-minded people, the wonder is that it has not been possible to pick a great many more holes. . . . . There can be no doubt that every instance of shortcoming has been duly chronicled and proclaimed; and it is as surprising as it is satisfactory that in so many centres in widely distant districts, non-official native gentlemen have been found in such numbers ready to sacrifice time, ease and money to pay close attention to the local affairs of their fellow-townsmen." The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in an address delivered at Patna, said: "Local Self-Government, so far as District Boards are concernced, is scarcely yet at work, and it is too early to say anything of its working. In regard to municipalities, there has been sufficient experience to judge. I have been a believer in the principle from the beginning, and have taken great interest in its development. It has disappointed its opponents, inasmuch as the work has gone on not less smoothly and efficiently for the most part than before. If its more unreasoning worshippers expected it to perform miracles, they will have been equally disappointed. On the other hand, it has shown conclusively that there are plenty of native gentlemen of education and ability with sufficient public spirit to work and work efficiently, at Municipal affairs . . . . The time, however, has really gone by for discussing these matters. I look upon the success of elective Municipalities as so far established that no one will ever propose retrogression from the principle. It no longer needs the encouragement given to an exotic plant by the protection of a hot-house and the artificial zephyrs of forced praises. It is strong enough and sturdy enough to grow by its own strength, and to endure the harsh winds of hostile criticism." The following table, based upon certain facts collected by the *Behar Herald*, will shew that Mahomedans, in

the recent Municipal elections held in the province of Behar, have obtained a great deal more than their proper share of representation, though they do not form a separate constituency from the Hindus:—

| Names of Municipalities. | Hindu Population. | Mahomedan Population. | Hindu Commissioners elected. | Mahomedan Commissioners elected. | Total of the Hindu Population in 7 Municipalities. | Total of the Mahomedan Population. | Total, Hindu Commissioners. | Total, Mahomedan Commissioners. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Patna ... | 127,076 | 43,086 | 10 | 10 | | | | |
| Durbhanga ... | 48,276 | 17,566 | 6 | 6 | | | | |
| Motihari ... | 7,492 | 2,771 | 6 | 2 | | | | |
| Mozufferpur ... | 29,746 | 12,479 | 6 | 6 | | | | |
| Gya ... | 60,181 | 16,161 | 12 | 4 | | | | |
| Arrah ... | 30,511 | 12,346 | 6 | 6 | | | | |
| Chupra ... | 39,651 | 11,912 | 9 | 3 | | | | |
| | | | | | 3,42,933 | 1,16,321 | 55 | 37 |

Yet it is said that in any system of election in which Hindus and Mahomedans vote indiscriminately, the Hindus will swamp the Mahomedans. Upon this assumption, and upon analogous assumptions, several Sections of the Municipal Amalgamation Bill, now pending in the Bengal Legislative Council, are founded. Some of the provisions clearly tending to an artificial exaltation of the European interests in the town have already been pointed out.

Representative Councils are still in the stage of discussion. With regard to the disposal of appointments in the public service, rules have already been passed, "shifting the foundations" to an appreciable extent. Reference has already been made to the Resolution of the Government of Bengal which declares that though efficiency is the first consideration to be regarded in giving away appointments, it is by no means the only consideration, and that heads of offices in disposing of appointments must pay due regard to the claims of nationality. This is a most dangerous rule, utterly subversive of established principles and existing practice. It seems to be the settled policy of the Government that in all offices Hindus and Mahomedans should be appointed in equal proportion, though the Mahomedan candidates selected may be inferior to the Hindu candidates rejected. How it is possible to make the claims of nationality over-ride the claims of "education, ability and integrity," or how it is possible to regard nationality as

a claim at all, in addition to the claims of "education, ability and integrity," it is difficult to see. Mahomedanism, however, is not a nationality but a religion; and to say that Mahomedans as such shall have certain claims, is really to put a premium on a particular religion. The Proclamation of Her Most Gracious Majesty states it to be the "Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured . . . . . by reason of their religious faith or observances." Special scholarships have been established by Local Governments for Mahomedan students! Surely if free trade is anywhere unexceptionable, it is in the intellectual sphere. But in India, while the fetish of Free Trade is so devoutly worshipped that import duties on cotton goods have been repealed, and no Government can make up its mind to re-impose them in the midst of the greatest financial embarrassments, Mahomedan students and Mahomedan applicants for offices are *protected* in their competition with the Hindus. Such protection may or may not be consistent with economic principles; it is certainly not consistent with promises and pledges. What is remarkable is that men who hold these views antagonistic to established principles, and who carry out a revolutionary policy, call themselves Conservatives. Conservatism implies conservation; and to effect sudden and violent changes is certainly not a policy of conservation. Conservatives must secure and not assail the foundations of the empire.

The fact is, all these recent innovations have sprung from a feeling of jealousy for the Hindus of Bengal. It is their misfortune to have received some measure of English education. They have been eager to acquire English education in the hope of pleasing their governors; in the hope of being patted on the back and advanced in life. Precisely at the moment when they expect from their rulers the rewards of their honest, industrious work, they are told that they are a contemptible class and ought not to have the same favours as those that have been backward and indolent. There was a time when receptivity of English ideas would have been regarded as a commendable quality of the native of India. To-day, the best educated native excites the greatest amount of suspicion and anger in many an Anglo-Indian breast. The Bengali has always been given credit for his quiet, law-abiding character. That character is now called by a different name, and men are ready to boast of their expertness in the use of the knife. The Bengali, true to his loyal instincts, is ready to receive a military education if that will please his ruler. If the use of the pen is to be called cowardice or servility,

the Bengali will be glad to learn drill and the use of the gun. Only he wants to be sure that his rulers desire him to receive this education. At present he is not sure. He is not allowed to enter a military college, not admitted into the army, not allowed to enlist as a volunteer, not allowed to possess arms without a license. Yet he is constantly taunted with his inability to bear arms. To put a man in chains, and then to complain that his locomotion is not rapid, is hardly fair. The Bengali has great plasticity. When it was proposed to give him an English education, men argued that the only English education which he could receive, would be an extremely imperfect, inaccurate, "spelling-book education." The Bengali has falsified those predictions, and he may live to falsify the present prediction that if he is given arms he will sink under their weight.

Government would do well to consider the ultimate drift of a policy of revolutionary reaction. History seems to have given her verdict against it. There are errors in statesmanship which may cause little or no harm. There are other errors which are serious, which produce irreparable mischief. Such an error is the attempt to fight against nature. A policy which seeks artificially to bring about a survival of the intellectually and morally unfit, can succeed no more than a policy of keeping alive the physically weak and infirm, and destroying the able-bodied members of society. Statutes and Proclamations may be cast to the winds, but Nature will not be rebelled against. To conduct a body politic with the assistance of its weakest members, rejecting the strongest, is not only foolish but mischievous. Nature is swift and certain in her penalties; and some catastrophe quickly convinces the architect of his error, who seeks to serve with sand the purposes of granite. In political life the claims of fitness, of justice, are higher than those of sentimental likes and dislikes. They are higher not only on grounds of morality, but on grounds of expediency. To disregard them in India would be disastrous; to give effect to them would lead to the realisation of those visions of glory which did not spare Macaulay's aching sight.

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NEW SERIES.

No. 2.—FEBRUARY 1888.

## *THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS.*

### *THEBES.*

Continuing our course down the river we reached Thebes, the "City of a hundred gates," on the 25th of December. It was an odd place for a Christian on Christmas-day, surrounded by lonely ruins, o'er-turned Colossi, under crumbling propylaca, distorted heaps of massive stones that have caused some visitors to question which was the most wonderful effort of man, the piling them up into lofty edifices, or such complete destruction, without the aid of gun-powder, as some have suffered.

Tottering columns and shattered obelisks lie strewn around as I sit on the fallen capital of what was once a lofty pillar, and survey the remains of this city once so powerful that, according to the authority of ancient writers, it could furnish 20,000 armed chariots. The period of its foundation is unknown, but according to Josephus it was the capital of Egypt before the days of king Meneo, who, according to the same authority, was the first king of Lower Egypt and ascended the throne 2320 B.C., or upwards of 1300 years before the days of Solomon. The ruins and tombs extend *over many miles* on both banks of the river. On the 27th December we started early in the morning, taking our breakfast and lunch with us, and spent the whole day amongst the ruins of the temple of Karnak—ruins so extensive that although I spent two whole days examining them, it is difficult to give an idea either of their present state, or of what the temple must once have been.

The approach is through a long *dromos* of sphinxes, a row of them being on either hand. These figures are much mutilated, and in many instances only the pedestals remain. The visitor then passes through the very lofty *pronaos*, or portico, flanked on either side by two massive propylous or pyramidal towers, covered with gigantic sculptures, and enters the sacred enclosure or *temenos*, once probably a garden, planted with trees; and still showing the remains of a thick, crude brick wall round it. Still proceeding between sphinxes, through another portico flanked like the first with towers, we enter a large hall with ante-rooms, on either side. Corridors are pillared off on both sides of the hall. Another gateway, very lofty, is then passed, and the visitor is all but lost amongst columns, pillars, obelisks, and statues, all more or less mutilated, with the fractured edges as fresh as if broken yesterday. At length a small isolated building is approached. It is composed of enormous blocks of polished red granite. Here sit the remains of three marble gods; for this is the adytum or *sanctum sanctorum*, where the high priests of the temple alone might enter.

There appears to have been six entrances to the temple, like the one I have described. It would be an endless task to attempt a delineation of the whole building, which is a mile and a half in circuit, and surrounded by an outer wall 25 feet thick; yet a few particulars may be given, which will afford some idea of its magnitude. The principal hall is 329 feet long, by 170 feet broad, having 12 massive columns down the centre, each 66 feet high, without reckoning the pedestal and capital, and 36 feet in circumference. Besides these, there are 122 pillars in 7 lines or rows on either side of the former; these are 27 feet in circumference. All the walls and pillars are covered with sculptured symbolical figures in *basso-relievo* and *vitaglio*, representing battles, processions, feasts, triumphs, offerings, and sacrifices to gods of so strange an appearance that the wildest dreamer of the present day could not have imagined them; some are unearthly and horrible, others of a character that cannot even be whispered to ears polite. In short, the temple of Karnak is unquestionably the most splendid ruin in Egypt, perhaps in the world, and it is the most ancient; probably it was built by a number of successive monarchs, each trying to surpass his predecessor by increasing the dimensions and proportions of the buildings he added. A great portion of the edifice, forming in itself a perfect temple, with adytum, and so forth, although *not* the oldest part of the whole ruin, was built, as recorded in hieroglyphics, by

Osirtasen the First, who was reigning when Joseph (the son of Jacob) arrived in Egpyt.

There are several illustrations of several parts of the temples and of the obelisk of Luxor, with the adjoining propylon of a temple, once connected with the temple of Karnak by a dromos of sphnixes, a distance of about two miles; portions of them still remain, but the deposit from the river has in most places covered up their remains. These illustrations, however, give but a faint idea of the real. This obelisk of red granite is one immense, beautifully polished stone. Its exact counterpart was removed by the French, and is now in the Place de la Concorde at Paris. Its removal cost a very large sum of money, and was only accomplished after repeated failures, and by a Scotch engineer. It will ever remain the wonder and astonishment of moderns how the ancient Egyptians managed to bring these two obelisks from the distant granite quarries, and set them up here without the machinery and many mechanical applications of the present day. They were erected in honour of Sesostris, and bear his name within the usual oval or "Cartouche," 1355 years before the Christian era. A Frenchman had been busy excavating one of the temples, and had just opened it, the sculptured wall has been plastered over, and on it the Twelve Apostles are painted in good style, showing that at some early period it had been used as a Christian Church; the Frenchman supposed the paintings to be Roman.

The next temple at Thebes deserving notice is Gooneh, dedicated to Amun, the Theban Jupiter, by Pharaoh Osiris, the father of Sesostris. By the way, this title is not written Pharaoh in hieroglyphics: the proper word is Phrah. It is remarkable that this is identical with the Burmese word for God or Budh, and is always used for or coupled with King. We next come to the palace temple of Sesostris, termed the Memnomium or Remeseum. It was seen and described by Strabo, who gives it the former name. This has been a very large building; and, with the exception of that portion which has been built as a palace or residence, is much on the same plan as Karnak. Here is the stupendous statue of the king, thrown down on its face; it having been seated on a throne in the usual attitude of Egyptian figures, with the hands resting on the knees. The shivered throne shows what force must have been used by the invaders who levelled this colossal monument with the dust; this solid mass of stone having been estimated by calculation to have exceeded in weight, when entire, 887 tons. One may form some idea from this of its gigantic size, and wonder how the Egyptians could transport from Aswan

and erect such a mass. Its overthrow, together with the destruction of many other monuments, is generally ascribed to the epoch of the Persian invasion.

The sculptured battle-scenes on the walls of this temple, although they have suffered much from the hands of the destroyers, are very curious. In one place a town is attacked by an enemy who look, from their dress, like Asiatics. In another, there is a camp with corps of Infantry or chariots. Here may be seen plunder-laden oxen and asses and horses that appear tottering under the weight of the booty; there a soldier beards a captive, while others are being beaten. The king appears in his chariot ten times as large as his men; in one place he is discharging arrows at the enemy; in another he receives the homage of the conquered people after the victory. Further on, the enemy are represented as having crossed a river, and are under the walls of their fortified city, with towers and a double fosse round it; they have chariots, and large bodies of infantry posted on the opposite bank, apparently covering the retreat of the main body, who are evidently being routed by the Egyptians, for many are giving way, and trying to recross the river. The stream, however, is carrying them down; and one made much larger than the rest, probably their king, has been drowned, and his people are holding him up by the heels to pour the water out of his body. All these sculptures have much vivacity, and must be regarded as something wonderful, considering that they were executed over 3000 years ago, and without iron tools—at least so far as can be known, for no iron instrument of any sort has been discovered in Egypt. The instrument they used, to judge from many that have been found, was made of copper, but hard and pliant, as steel. The method of making it so has been lost to us, and not all the machinery and boasted knowledge of Birmingham or Sheffield can make one atom of it.

I must not omit to notice a beautiful ruined temple at a short distance above Thebes, called Hermont, or Hermonthis, and built by Cleopatra in honour of her having given birth to Cæsarion, her son by Julius Cæsar. On the walls of the sanctuary there are some very curious sculptures, representing the accouchment in various forms; the child is being suckled by a cow-headed god, and is receiving the emblem of life and truth, and various presents, from other strange deities. This famous Queen having herself represented at such a time with her attendant nurses and handmaidens, must be considered an odd fancy, when we remember the nature of her connection with the Roman Conqueror.

We frequently visited the vocal Memnon, once the wonder of the ancients. It is recorded that when the rising sun touched its lips it gave forth a sound. So we rose early one morning, determined to test the tradition, and mounting our horses, galloped across the open plain, and reached the statue a few minutes before the sun rose. With a strange feeling of interest, we awaited under this colossus the gradual appearance of the glorious orb in the clear morning atmosphere on the same spot where during ages thousands have watched before; and a multitude of inscriptions in Greek and Latin testify to its miraculous powers, and to the credulity of numerous visitors, including emperors and mighty conquerors. We listened attentively, as the first sunbeam lit up the mutilated face of the monster, but he was provokingly silent. Even the cool breeze that usually accompanies the rising sun failed to cause any audible sound. There are two colossi sitting on thrones, the easternmost being *the* Memnon. They are sixty feet high and are seen from a distance across the plain. They have been carved out of a solid mass of stone; but the upper portion of the Memnon has been broken down, and afterwards repaired with blocks of a different stone. Strabo says he was told when he saw it, that the injury had been done by an earthquake; but it is considered now much more probable that it was done by Cambyses and the Persian invaders. The ancient Greeks and Romans gave the name of Memnon to this statue. But now that the Egyptian hieroglyphics are read, it appears that the Pharaoh Amunoph erected the statue to perpetuate his own name, doubtless—and one of his titles was Mi-amun, or the "Friend of Amun" (one of the Gods), from which probably the ancient historians gave it the name of Memnon.

We spent a day at another of Thebes' great temples, Medeenet Haboo, the palace temple of Rameses the Third, who reigned 1235 B. C. The ruins are very extensive, and the sculptures are most interesting; many of them have been beautifully preserved by some early Christians, who, after the fall of the ancient Egyptians used a portion of this temple as a place of worship; and, with a view of hiding the pagan sculptures, plastered them over with mud, and thereby unintentionally saved them from injury.

On entering this temple, the visitor passes through a fine granite doorway, which has evidently been forced open with great violence, the massive granite door-post being shattered. Passing through an open Court, a well proportioned Colonnade appears, its pillars beautified with the most elaborate carving. To this succeeds another magnificent hall, which again is succeeded

by numerous apartments, and the peristyle of the temple. The sculptures on the columns and walls prove this edifice to have been the residence of the King or Pharaoh of the time. Some of them in the private apartments are very singular, *à la* Pompeii. Here, inspired by that strange fancy, the deity of generation, the King is represented in his harem; there are couches, chairs, and tables, and on one of the latter a *chess-board*, with the men in position; this best of games, therefore, was played upwards of 3,000 years ago. The ladies of the Court, in light transparent dress, offer the King flowers and the bowl; at the same time, one fans him; and as he sits on a chair, he marks the favourite damsel by chucking her under the chin. To judge from her tender smile, she has no intension of resenting the liberty he takes in the mode most usual in these modern days. I may here remark that the game of chess is represented in more than one place in Egypt. Wilkinson calls it "draughts," probably because the men are not like those now in use, and are all nearly of the same height; but the chessmen used in some part of Asia at this day are exactly similar to those.

On the walls of the principal hall and court, the sculptures are so numerous, that they take days to examine. There are more battle-scenes; some of the enemy have unmistakbly Jewish features others would appear from their dress to be some European or Northern nation. Again, the King is represented returning in triumph, and his scribes are seen counting and recording in a book the bands of the slain enemy, large heaps of which are piled up before them. The king is represented smiting his captives with a sword before the hawk-headed God, "Amun Re." This I have frequently seen sculptured in the temples; and it would certainly lead one to suppose that the Egyptians did offer human sacrifices to their Gods; but the most learned *savans* say they did not. On the outside wall of this building, there is such a profusion of sculptured scenes, that it would be impossible to describe one-half of them. One scene, particularly interesting, represents a sea or river fight, in which numerous large galleys, with two rudders, are shown on either side full of men, armed with swords and spears, bows and shields; slingers occupy the shrouds of the masts, and the prows of the boats are spiked, apparently for transfixing and sinking the enemy's craft in the manner described in ancient history.

We spent several days among the ever-wonderful tombs of Thebes. These mummied millions, these spacious sepulchres hewn into the very centre of mountains, looking like a place of

interment for a whole world, would alone testify, were other antiquities wanting, to the vastness of this sometime Capital of the universe. So numerous and complex are these grottos and mummey-pits, that one scarcely knows where to commence description. The tombs are made in the desert hills surrounding the site of the ancient City, and are all excavated in the rock. Kings and priests, and all others with sufficient wealth appear to have excavated sepulchres for themselves and the members of their own family during life time, while the poorer classes were piled hundreds upon hundreds together in narrow pits, with long passages leading in various directions; when full, the mouth of the pit was built up. Here, also, there is strong evidence of the people having been divided by caste as in India at the present day; the dead in different tombs showing peculiarities of dress and of preparation as mummies.

The father of history, Herodotus, gives an account of the mode in which the Egyptians embalmed their dead, from which it appears to have been done by professional people, and not by the families of the deceased, as some have supposed. There were three different methods of embalming for the three classes of people. By the first and costliest method, the brain was removed through the nostrils, and the intestines taken out through an incision made in the side; they were then washed in spirits and replaced in the body, with pounded aromatics, and the whole cavity filled up with pounded spices, including pure myrrh and cassia. The body was then left for seventy days, covered with nitre; then wrapped in bandages of cotton, dipped in gum; and, lastly, returned to the deceased's family for interment in the sepulchre, which was usually done with great pomp. The deceased had to undergo a trial before an appointed Court before being consigned to the pit; and if it was proved that he had led a wicked life, the corpse was denied the rite of sepulture. For the second and third classes or castes a less expensive process served. A liniment of cedar, or something with like properties, still more easily obtained, was simply injected into the body, which was then kept in nitre for seventy days, as in the former case.

All sorts of animals appear to have been frequently mummied. I met with dogs, cats, and birds. The ibis and crocodile seem to have been preserved with the greatest care, being regarded as sacred animals. The cloth on the mummies is also of various texture, some as good and beautifully fine as we can make it in the present day.

The first tombs we visited were those of the queens, which appear to have been greatly injured by fire. We observed, how-

ever, that they were spacious excavations, and the walls are covered with painted hieroglyphics. Far more curious than these are the tombs of the kings excavated in the limestone hills, three or four miles from Thebes. One of the best of these was discovered by Belzoni, in A. D. 1815, and the paintings on the walls still retain the most vivid colouring. At the entrance two women are represented in the attitude of devotion, well executed; also two foxes, which are usually made to watch at the doors of the tombs. Passing these, we first descended by a steep staircase into perfect darkness; but we had provided ourselves with candles and torches, which threw a bright glare of light on the numerous painted figures around us. We then groped our way along a passage still deeper into the centre of the hill, the air becoming very offensive; and having passed another door and staircase, which would have led to a still greater depth, we came to a chamber, at the end of a long passage, and from this chamber passed into a large hall having pillars decorated, as well as the walls, with highly-finished and well-preserved sculptures and paintings, looking, in fact, like the work of yesterday! Through this hall we again passed on to a second, where many of the sculptures are unfinished. It was interesting to mark where the draughtsmen had outlined the figures that the sculptors were to have completed. To this succeeded two passages, separated by a chamber, communicating by a door with the grand hall of the sepulchre, supported by pillars. Here, in a vaulted saloon at the upper end, we were informed that Belzoni found the beautiful alabaster sarcophagus, which he took to England, and which is supposed to be the cenotaph of the deceased monarch. From behind this saloon still another long passage descends into the heart of the mountain for about 200 feet, where the rock has fallen in; it is supposed to have been a private entrance, perhaps known only to the priests, that they might enter and take away the wealth deposited after the main entrance was sealed. I do not know the total depth of this tomb from the mouth, but it must be something very great. On the pillars and walls the king is represented standing in the presence of various gods, who are receiving him after death; among them are genii and figures weeping: but the most interesting is a long procession with Kneph's boat, in which are introduced red, white, and black people. The red are evidently intended for Egyptians, as may be inferred from their dress. The white have light hair, blue eyes, and long bushy beards, with a short dress of probably some animal's skin, and are doubtless some northern nation. Others, also white, have

long flowing robes, with pointed beards. The blacks are evidently Africans. Many of the sculptures seem to relate to the life and actions of the deceased, while others represent the ritual mysteries of Egypt, and will not bear too close a description.

The next tomb we visited is what has been called the "Harpers," on account of the representation of men playing on that instrument. Its total length cut into the rock or hill, is said to be 405 feet. It dates from the time of Rameses the Third, B. C. 1,235, and is most interesting from the fact that various subjects painted on the walls throw much light on the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. In the first room men are engaged slaughtering an ox; joints of meat are being cooked, soup is being made in a pot hung with a tripod over a fire, men are employed making bread and pastry, and one carries it in a tray to the oven. In the second chamber there are various kinds of boats, with masts, sail, cabins, oars, and numerous crews, showing the considerable size of the boats. In another room men play harps and other instruments: here arms are introduced; helmets, spears, daggers, and coats of mail are amongst them. In another chamber there are chairs, couches, and sofas, of really elegant form and highly ornamented; some are covered with rich drapery, all showing much taste, and proving that these ancient Egyptians, were, for the period in which they lived, wonderfully advanced in the arts of civilization, as well as the comforts of domestic life.

It would, indeed, be a lengthy task to describe all these tombs or grottos, containing agricultural scenes, the various productions of the country, deities, offerings and emblems; in fact, on all the walls, columns, ceilings, and architraves, there is no place unoccupied by figures or hieroglyphics. Some of the tombs, I may here remark, have been open for centuries. They were visited by the Greeks and the Romans, whose inscriptions may be distinctly traced at the door-ways. It is not surprising, therefore, that in these tombs of the kings nothing remains of the mummies except a few bones and scraps of cloth.

Having determined to visit the tombs still filled with unihjured mummies, we started early in the morning on horseback, accompanied by asses loaded with all the requirements of a substantial breakfast. The cook, with his red *turboosh* and flowing garments, the guides, torch-bearers, and pipe-bearers, made up a long and gay cavalcade as we wended our way from the ever-verdant banks of the Nile to the white limestone rocks of the distant desert, where few travellers reach, and where, therefore,

the mummy pits are undisturbed. The first we entered belonged to the priests. After crawling along on our hands and knees, we shortly reached some spacious halls with a black, greasy, damp deposit on the walls; distorted limbs and shattered bodies lay strewed around; the foul air made our lights burn dimly; the stench—and, indeed, the whole scene—was so disgusting, that one of our party all but fainted, and we were obliged to help him out to the fresh air. These fat old greasy priests send out worse effluvia than thousands of the working classes. We entered some others less close and foul, where paintings portray the various employments of the deceased when living; but having by this time arrived at the conclusion that an empty stomach is hardly suited to such places, we proceeded to a sheltered spot, and found that a smoking omelet, cold pigeon pie, a cup of hot coffee, and the fragrant chibouk, had their due share of interest even here; and, after a short rest, we all declared we were up to anything. "Well" said our Arab Guide, "but if any one faints in the place I will show you, he will never get out again"—and looked mysterious. We had been urging him to show us a mummy pit that had not been rifled, which at last he agreed to do.

Accordingly, we set off still further over the hills, and soon reached a petty excavation in the sandstone rock, at the farther end of which there was a small hole, just large enough for a man's shoulders to be pushed through. Here we each lighted a candle, and, by the advice of the guide, took off our coats and waistcoats. The latter then worked himself feet foremost into the hole; and, though I looked down, he was not visible, but I could hear a faint rumbling noise, as if he was still proceeding in what he termed "Jackal" fashion. I tightened my belt, felt my hunting knife was all right, looked to my candle, then backed into the hole feet foremost, and down I slid at an angle of forty-five degrees, puffing a cigar for fear the candle should go out, and to rectify the not over salubrious atmosphere. I was brought up at the bottom by the heels of my shooting boots going crash through the ribs of an ancient Egyptian, and as a natural consequence, I was instantly enveloped in a fine pulverised dust, through which I could but dimly see the guide holding out his hand to assist me to rise, which I instantly grasped, but, yah! it crumbled to powder—it was the extended arm of a mummy leaning up against the wall. I now called out to my companions, who descended also. We were not a little horrified when we found ourselves walking on dead bodies, piled up so high, that one could not stand erect. Some after a hurried look round, returned to the light of day, not, how-

ever, without considerable difficulty. I and another of our party followed the guide on our hands and knees through a passage, within which mummies were piled up beneath and on both sides of us, till we reached a room of singular interest.

At least a hundred mummies lay around us, and they were apparently of the better class of people, for the cloth was fine, and the bodies very perfect—hard and dry. The Arabs had brutally divested some of them of their entire winding-sheet to sell to travellers for a few miserable piastres. On one side lay the strong muscular man, with shaven head and white projecting teeth; in another place appeared a slight figure, whose long tangled hair streamed over the small face and bosom that but too clearly disclosed the sex. I here sat down on a coffin, and waited the return of the guide, who was conducting the last of our party out of the place, he having had enough of it; while for my own part, I was determined to prosecute the adventure to the end. At last, the guide returned, having left me longer than I expected, through taking a wrong turning, and losing his way for some time. We then set out afresh, and wended our way through long passages and low vaulted rooms for hundreds of yards, turning and winding along far underground through narrow low places, with mummies heaped up on either side, so low that I was unable to grope along without my chest, and even face, coming in contact with the decayed Egyptians. It was a scene I never can forget, crawling along on hundreds—nay, thousands—of decaying bodies, from which a fine dust arises and chokes the nostrils and lungs. A very faint light is given by the candles for want of air; and as one creeps along, bang goes the knee through a coffin like a band-box, with a crash of bones, brittle flesh, and sinews. At length, I reached the end of these dismal passages, where there was a black-mouthed well or perpendicular pit, from the bottom of which there could be no returning. I looked round for something to throw down to try the depth by sound; and, seeing nothing but the remains of the dead, I stuck my candle in a niche of the limestone wall, and raising a mummy, hurled it down the pit. There was a short pause; then "thud" it fell with a distant hollow sound at a great depth. With great exertion we groped our way out, and returned to the light of day. No words can describe the pleasurable feeling of again breathing the pure fresh air.

After this, we visited three other tombs, with deep and sudden falls to climb down, and long winding passages with various arts and trades depicted on the walls. There we beheld men in

the act of building pyramids and carving colossi; there, others making baskets, brass lotahs, and earthenware pots, or various instruments of agriculture. In one a well-spread table is laid; some of the guests are seated, while the host receives one who has arrived at the door in his chariot. Dancing girls and players on various instruments are in attendance, performing just as they do now at Esuch or in India. Here the dancing girl, with hennah-stained nails and khole on her eyelashes, performs her pirouette, while the old fiddler lends his approving nod and quaint leer. A girl is also represented in the act of handing a tray to the guests, all of whom are of a fair or reddish complexion, both males and females sitting on chairs and couches, showing what a wonderful degree of civilization these Egyptians had attained upwards of three thousand years ago, while other curious sculptures mark an admixture of barbaric indecency, though sometimes also proving a good perception of the ridiculous.

## LORD DUFFERIN.

THE natives of India have it in their power at this moment to do in the face of the world an act of justice, which while it will be grateful to an eminent statesman and to the Europeans resident in this country, will not compromise their political desires in the smallest particular, and will hereafter be remembered, as all acts of justice are remembered, solely to their honour.

Lord Dufferin has signified his retirement from the Viceroyalty of India at the end of this year, and has stated that he leaves for private reasons only. His own countrymen are joining to give him a farewell fitting the love and esteem they bear him both as a man and as an administrator. But the natives of India appear to hold back. To note the probable causes of this reticence, and to shew why they should not interfere with a national farewell to Lord Dufferin is my present object. I hope I may be successful. It is a truly national matter. I take the opportunity of the February number of the National Magazine being printed late to introduce it here.

I read very recently in one of the Calcutta daily papers that Lord Dufferin's rule had, the Editor feared, been a disappointment to the people, and they felt no regret at the prospect of its early termination. The writer went on to say that "Lord Dufferin's failure to secure the good will and confidence of the people is a serious political phenomenon, upon our right reading of which very grave issues are depending. If Lord Dufferin, who is amiability, courtesy and sympathy itself, has failed thus signally to gain the confidence of the country—what hope we ask, is there for those who are to come after him?"

These words are true. They are not the words of a man seeking to stand well at Court, or with a class, or particular race. They are words that will raise a sympathetic echo in the breast of every European in India. They deserve long and anxious consideration by the native races, naturally anxious to be in accord whenever possible with their English fellow subjects. They especially deserve notice because the serious political phenomenon

mentioned may prove to be that India's Viceroys are ruling under a system unsuitable to India, which if pursued may admit of only one Viceroy in a century gaining the people's affections, and which may lead to a permanent alienation of the rulers from the ruled. It may be the measures, not the man that the natives dislike, and the man may not be properly responsible for the measures.

It may be assumed at once that the reasons why more regret is not being expressed by the natives at the termination of Lord Dufferin's rule are political solely. Personal dislike there cannot be. Lord Dufferin's character and practice are as respected by the natives as by Englishmen. But in politics he has no doubt disappointed certain expectations. It is necessary to see what the disappointments are, and what is their weight. The disappointments may have been inevitable, or at least not easily avoided.

Lord Dufferin has not been able during the three years he has been in office to continue the movement towards nationalism initiated by Lord Ripon. He has made no move towards elective assemblies. He has annexed Upper Burmah. He has gone to great expense for the protection of the N. W. frontier. His budgets have shewn deficits, and he has had to enhance taxation to close them. He has not abolished the hill exodus. He has not enrolled natives of the country as Volunteers.

Lord Dufferin, to proceed at once to important matters, has not followed in the steps of Lord Ripon. That is true. He has not legislated on the same lines. But on the other hand he has done no single thing nor shewn any wish or inclination to do any thing that would obstruct the working of his predecessor's measures. He began his rule by affirming a strict continuity of policy as essential to the well being of the Empire, and Lord Ripon's measures have had the genuine and sympathetic assistance of his Executive. To go to particulars it would not have been wise of Lord Dufferin of himself to push local self-government at a more rapid rate than so novel a system for India can naturally bear. It may confidently be asserted that Lord Ripon had he remained in India would not have attempted more in the time that Lord Dufferin has had at his disposal. He certainly could not have granted elective assemblies. The representatives of the people are not yet in accord on that point. Neither Mahommedans nor Christians like the suggestions of the National Congress as they stand. On the other hand, Lord Dufferin can be credited with sympathy for every good thing Lord Ripon did, without his needing to exhibit legislation to prove his sincerity. It is unfair to

withhold popular affection from him on the grounds that he has not advanced Indian nationalism. In the face of the extraordinary difficulties surrounding that momentous movement he has clearly not had the time. He has not opposed it.

As a matter of fact Lord Dufferin has had the anxieties of a proper defence of the frontiers to attend to. Whatever the future of Indian popular representation may be; and if it makes the people contented and prosperous, it will be a most valuable safeguard against external aggression, any lasting and satisfactory scheme will take many years to elaborate. And in the case of the N.-W. frontier the Government could not wait. The Punjab and Sind, and, behind those frontier provinces, the empire, were open to sudden attack. They had to be made ready to resist invasion at any moment, and the army was not equal to a conflict such as might take place almost without warning. The aggressor was close at hand. A better knowledge of the geography of the intervening tracts revealed many unexpectedly easy routes for his advance. The Penjdeh incident in which Lord Dufferin is said on authority to have displayed to perfection his cool and statesmanlike behaviour in the face of difficulty, can hardly have led him or anybody else to believe in the peaceful intentions of Russia. This matter of preparation for war and defence is one that India must afford in order to be a nation. There must be a powerful army and efficient frontier outposts and communications. India requires them, and Lord Dufferin has taken steps to provide them, much remaining to be done before they are perfected.

The Burmah campaign remains. It has been criticised with extraordinary severity by the native press. But I think under a misapprehension. The worst that can be said of the annexation of Upper Burmah to the Indian Empire is I venture to think that India could not afford it. Thebaw by the best evidence available was a bloody and treacherous tyrant, and if India were rich and powerful as it should be, his deposition and exile would have been welcomed by acclaim in every bazaar in the country. It is nevertheless a fact that India could not, as now appears, afford the destruction of Thebaw's rule and the annexation of his province: and it is open to the people to say that they bought the Burmans their liberty too dearly. But economies will adjust the account and nations usually reckon very lightly the cost of generous actions. India must be poor indeed if it has seriously to condemn Lord Dufferin to unpopularity for overthrowing the tyranny and brigandage of this Eastern counterpart of the Two Sicilies.

Neither of these causes any more than the others are I venture to believe strictly sufficient to account for the alleged dislike of the natives to Lord Dufferin's rule. On the contrary Lord Dufferin would appear rather to merit the affection and trust of the people in that he has loyally and sympathetically carried out and given point to Lord Ripon's great scheme. And in that while knowing how unpopular a military policy would be owing to its expense, he had the courage to secure the peace of the N. W. frontier and to destroy the petty tyrant of Mandalay.

As regards taxation and the larger employment of natives in the Government, the labours of the Committees on public expenditure and the public services have yet to bear fruit. It is possible that their results may be inadequate to the hopes formed of them, but Lord Dufferin will have earned the credit of ordering strict enquiries into both these important matters.

The disappointment of the native press on two points may reasonably be set aside. Regarding the enrolment of the natives of India as volunteers, Lord Dufferin's Government has made many and careful inquiries throughout the length and breadth of India, and I believe the answers have been on the whole favourable to the enrolment of natives as volunteers. It is a matter that will, as one can conceive, be certainly settled by Lord Landsdowne in accordance with the wishes of the nation. But the request coming so suddenly as it did must have taken the present Government somewhat by surprise. Then with reference to the hill exodus it is impossible to blame Lord Dufferin for following the practice of his predecessors. No single city of India has so far by its political influence and power, and facilities for political expression, placed itself on such an eminence of authority as to warrant its claim to be the capital of India. Till this occurs the Punjab as the *place d'armes* of the Empire, and Bengal as an important centre of native thought and education, may fairly divide the honour. And if the Government moves to the Punjab, Simla is as suitable as Lahore. The health of the Viceroy and his family, and almost in equal degree that of the provincial governors, is otherwise a sufficient reason for at least a partial summer resort to the hills by the different governments. They must take enough of their secretariat and staff with them to carry on the business of the administration, a matter that can be left to their discretion.

What then is the true cause of Lord Dufferin's unpopularity, if it so be that he is unpopular, and, as the Calcutta daily says, of any

Viceroy that must succeed him. I think the answer is not far to seek and that it does not carry the argument based upon it.

It is the poverty of India. *India is poor* are the words of fire written on the wall. And while India remains poor no Viceroy under the system of increasing education can expect to be popular. Lord Dufferin suffers because the Indian peoples are being educated to learn that the country is wretchedly poor, and they are told it is poor because it is not independent. It is no part of my present intention to inveigh against education, or to complain of the people wishing to be independent and to manage as much as may be their own affairs. Though in both these directions many believe the country to be going too fast. I am concerned only with the questions as they bear on Lord Dufferin's position with the people.

Lord Dufferin has not as yet taken any of the steps urged upon him by the native press and others for the amelioration of the financial condition of the people at large. It might be shewn that for parts of the Empire his government has done a great deal. The Bengal Tenancy Act is in question. But during the part of a year left him the present Viceroy is not likely to do more. It may be frankly admittted by the people that he could not do more if he wished. Such measures as legislative and commercial independence which are in the forefront of the country's demands, even granting their wisdom, and what is more their equal wisdom, have to be discussed in the Imperial House of Commons, which for years to come may be trusted to reject both.

The Legislative Council was told the other day by the Finance Minister that certain taxes though popular when compared with the salt duty, were not within the power of the Indian Government to impose. That means that England will not allow them: and as one of the first steps of a free Indian legislature might well be towards industrial protection, the native press can judge for itself if it will obtain such a legislature without a severe and prolonged struggle. A popular Viceroy of Canada such as was Lord Dufferin, is not likely to be out of real sympathy with a movement towards commercial independence, whatever side he may take on the vexed question of legislative independence. Lord Dufferin has not publicly divulged his views on either point. But at the end of his Viceroyalty is not the time to ask either measure of him.

India will become rich some day. The commercial system the natives want is surely coming to India as to Canada and to other parts of the Empire. Also some measure of popular represen-

tation, the latter depending for its form on the progress the world makes in the meanwhile towards deciding on the best form. The country must bide its time. In the meanwhile it will be a most unfortunate result of national impatience to bring the popularity of a gentleman and statesman like Lord Dufferin to a premature, if not to an impossible test. To expect him in the few months left to him to initiate measures that at the least must cause intense friction with England and which he cannot stay to carry out.

The Englishman that comes to India as a boy, who brings his *physique*, his independence of spirit and his education to the service of an adopted country, to leave it again excepting for brief periods of bodily and mental recreation, only when worn out and useless, if he ever leave it at all; who all this time devotes his talents and his energies to the service of its people, is an Indian. He is a naturalized subject of the Indian province of the British Empire. His wishes and his sentiments deserve to be consulted by his native fellow subjects. For the latter to decline to sympathize with him is for them to encourage the race antipathies they deprecate, and which the sooner they can be buried the better for the welfare of all. If as the Hindus think the English in India fell short of their highest duty in their farewell to Lord Ripon, let the Hindus return good for evil, and in according a genuinely national farewell to Lord Dufferin, proclaim that India is about to become a nation, and unites its scattered races and units in a unanimous, loving and respectful farewell to a worthy and gracious ruler. They will not regret it.

F. BEAUCLERK.

# POPULAR EDUCATION.

THE melancholy story of Sadhu Sahai, the Cuttack goldsmith has recently drawn attention to the helpless condition of the working classes in Bengal. He did not desire much, to remove with his wife from his native village, because the local landlord insisted on maintaining immoral relations with her. From doing this he was restrained by four guards, placed over his house by the landlord, to prevent his flight, and, after suffering repeated outrages, he killed the poor woman in a fit of despair. The tale has been accepted without incredulity by all who know the country, as perfectly consistent with experience. It is true that we have a trained magistracy, an organised police, an army of village watchmen; but it is felt instinctively that these may be no protection to an ignorant man, who does not know how or where to complain. The Sadhu Sahais of Bengal suffer in silence, not understanding the constitution of the country in which they live, or the means by which they can obtain redress. Amendments of our modern law, or of its administration, are of little use to them, as they live in an old-fashioned world of their own, which knows nothing of new ways. They need for their protection not so much new aids, as the light which enables men to see existing refuges, and banishes such deeds of darkness as that committed in Cuttack. It is the schoolmaster, not the Magistrate, who can give effectual assistance to such sufferers. Education is, indeed, no protection against crime generally, but its diffusion is a sure preventive of the unmasked, flaunting, impudent oppression which is the subject of the present complaint. Knowledge, they say, is power; and those who possess that power, even in a limited degree, decline to become the victims of petty tyrants, while the means of resistence are presented to their hands. If the *Guru* and the *Malovi* had done their work twenty years ago we would not now hear of hereditary serfs in one district, or of illegal exactions in another; in these respects an educated class, whether it be placed high in the social scale or low, takes remarkably good care of itself.

It is gladly acknowledged that much improvement has been effected in this matter in recent years, and that the education now given to the upper classes is a protection not only to those who receive it, but in some measure to the whole community. If an humble sufferer can not speak for himself he may often, though not always, be able to find an able champion in his own village. But there is another consideration, which tells with even greater force in favor of popular education, and it is daily gaining in strength. India is only now commencing to realize that, judged by the standard of civilization, she is a poor country. The average wages of a workman in India, away from the few centres of industry, may be taken at two annas, or, according to the present value of coins, two pence a day; and he is seldom sure of regular employment. Food is not cheaper here than in the colonies, only a little less costly than in England, and the extraordinary low rate of remuneration indicates, to a great extent, the degree of poverty in which the labouring classes exist. It is a hopeful sign that this indigence, which was formerly ignored, the standard of comfort obtained in European countries being altogether unknown, is now contemplated with impatience, and that everyone is enquiring as to its origin, and looking round for a remedy. The cause of this poverty can hardly be over population, as some of the most thinly peopled districts, particularly those of the Chota Nagpore Division, are the poorest, and furnish the largest supply of emigrants to the plantations of Assam and the Colonies. Nor can it be the effect of free trade, and of the exploitation of the country by European capitalists, as the Districts where, these agencies are working with the greatest activity, for instance those round Calcutta, are notoriously the richest. Ignorance, dense ignorance, seems the necessary condition of poverty in most countries, and certainly in Bengal. In the last annual report of the Director of Public Instruction the forty-seven Districts of this Province are arranged in order, according to the proportion of the population under instruction in each, and the list might have been drawn up to show the degree of prosperity prevalent among the working classes, so closely does the rank of every District with reference to primary education correspond with that which it bears in relation to popular well being. At the top of the column is placed Howrah, then Hoogly, Calcutta, Tipperah, Noakholly in that order; at the bottom Haijaribagh, Lohardagga, Darbhanga, Mozufferpore, and lastly the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Everyone will, it is presumed, agree that this represents very fairly the physical, as well as the educational, order in Bengal, that

such competence as may be found is to be sought in the metropolitan and eastern divisions, and that fertile Tirhoot, with the half peopled tracts of Chota Nagpore, are the worst illustration of the economic state of the country. If we extend our view beyond the provinces administered by Sir Steuart Bayley, we find greater ignorance, with greater poverty, in Oudh on the west; while looking eastward to Burmah, on the other hand, we notice an entire absence both of gross ignorance, and of her squalid companion.

Those who consider that the ignorance of the masses is not by itself a cause sufficient to account for their poverty may not have completely realised what illiteracy really signifies in Bengal. Even in England, according to the evidence given before the Duke of Newcastle's commission in 1858, the introduction of an elementary school in a village worked a change in the very appearance of the children, so that a stranger could at once pronounce from their mere look whether they had received instruction or no. But in England there are many other means of stirring the intellect of the labourers; free institutions, religion maintained by ministers of great ability, the bustle and stir of an active, mercantile, dominating people, must continually excite and arouse dormant energies even in those who are cut off from the usual sources of information. In India, on the other hand, the intellectual state of the classes which neither read nor write must be described as one of almost absolute stagnation. They know of nothing, beyond their daily work, their daily wants, their domestic life, and the village gossip. These run in grooves, and after a time scarcely suffice to keep the mind of the labourer as occupied as that of the wild animal, which has to guard itself by continual vigilance. In England, moreover, industry has been for generations conducted on a large scale, in factories, or farms of considerable size, where the hands of many are directed by the mind of one. Under such conditions, as long as the management is that of a man of some education, it matters less whether the subordinate agents are intelligent, they do as they are bid, and although all employers complain that the labor of the illiterate is inefficient, it may yet be so used as to produce results not altogether unsatisfactory. But India is a land of cultivators, working each for himself on his own patch of land, and of cottage industries, unguided and uncontrolled. If the labourers be ignorant there is no one to enlighten or to aid them, and their industry must therefore be unfruitful. This observation applies to all employments, and to none more completely than to that in which the majority are engaged. There can be no error, more egregious than that of assuming, as some public men in this

country are said to do, that agriculture is an easy art, in which an illiterate peasantry can establish and preserve traditional methods, capable of yielding the best outturn. Much nearer the truth was Virgil when he wrote

Pater ipse colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit.

It is not enough to plough, to sow, to weed, and to reap; if profit is to be gained all this must be done in the best way, with adjustments to a hundred obscure conditions of soil and climate. There is, indeed, a certain minimum return which can be obtained from land when every rule of successful cultivation is neglected; the amount of this minimum has been ascertained by experiment in Europe, and the result corresponds precisely with the actual outturn per acre in India, as calculated by the best authorities. In this way a painful livelihood can be wrung from the land by the uninstructed, following methods devised in former times by men as ignorant as themselves; but for such a profit as will yield the ryot a comfortable subsistence, and the landlord a fair rent, intelligence is necessary, such as can never be found among an illiterate population. In Bengal large fortunes have, indeed, been made by agriculture, in opium, tea, and indigo, because these products have been looked after by men possessing the necessary degree of education. But the great staples of the country, rice, wheat, jute, and so forth, are still raised only by the ignorant, and therefore yield to the farmers a bare maintenance, to the landlords the lowest rent obtained in any part of the world. Such meagre returns are all that Agriculture grants to those who seek her favours without skill and without guidance.

Some readers may suppose that in advocating such instruction as will render labor intelligent, and therefore fruitful, we refer to technical education, of which much has been heard of late as a means of increasing the prosperity of India. Technical education is excellent, when directed (as it seldom is) by practical men: but what is most immediately required here is elementary education. Reading and writing are the keys by which the student opens the great store house of human knowledge, and can in after life carry away from it what he requires. They are the means of communication for purposes of improvement, without which the masses, who are sometimes called the dumb millions, must remain deaf also to all instruction in the work by which they live. There is the same loss of efficiency, the same waste of power, in bringing up a generation ignorant of reading and writing as there would be in bringing it up without being taught to talk. Some kind of industry could,

doubtless, exist among a population which had never learned articulate utterance, and their lives could be supported by fishing, hunting, and perhaps by an attempt at agriculture. And so those who are altogether illiterate get on, after a fashion, in the ways of their fathers; but if there is to be any improvement we must first teach them the ordinary means of communication among civilised men. In doing so we not only give them the most useful knowledge, but we also awaken intellects which would otherwise remain through life dormant. The labourer who can read and write well is in every way the superior of his illiterate companion, more observant with the eye, more attentive with the ear, more clever with his hands. Reading and writing should, therefore, be taught to every child thoroughly, before it reaches the age of seven years, just as spoken language is taught at a still earlier period. These constitute the irreducible minimum of knowledge, without which all work must be blundering and unfruitful, all workmen poor and little regarded. They are the absolute necessaries of education, which a State resolved to benefit the masses should see that no child wants. If technical training can be added so much the better; but to some extent an educated body of men, engaged in a common pursuit, train each other. The indigo and tea planters of Bengal receive no technical training, and yet, compared with native cultivators, they are skilled men, highly remunerated. We would be delighted to see every ryot reading an agricultural manual, not so much through a belief that he would thereby learn much about rice, as because it would prove that he was able to read.

If it is asked whether elementary education alone will suffice to improve the condition of the working classes, the answer must be that, apart from such instruction, all other remedies are futile, while education can do much directly, and bears in its bosom the germs of whatever else is required. The protection of cultivators in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor follows as of course under a system like ours, where the laws are fair, and all that is wanting is the intelligence to seek their aid. The technical instruction of each worker in his own art follows ultimately, the foundation for it having been laid. Emigration from overpopulated districts would be much facilitated, it is only the ignorant who remain rooted in the soil where they may happen to fall. The great problem of the restraint of population within limits adapted to the resources of the country, though it is not solved, is rendered intelligible by education, and presented in its true proportions, as the ultimate condition of the happiness of the human

race. Without popular instruction all efforts to benefit the masses must be for ever vain and futile. When it is established we have gained, at least, a starting point, from which avenues of advancement open out in many directions.

That an effort will ultimately be made to introduce universal education in India may be inferred from the rapid success of the movement in Europe. The ways of the civilised nations of the west and these alone lead to industrial success, all other nations since the world began have been failures in this respect; and, sooner or later, an economical principle accepted in Europe is adopted in India. The first grant by Parliament for education in England was made in 1832, an insignificant concession of twenty thousand pounds in aid of buildings. There was an objection even to this measure, many thinking that education would make the lower orders idle, presumptuous, and inclined to rebel. Now there is in England a statutory provision for schools sufficient for the whole population between the ages of three and thirteen, attendance is obligatory on boys and girls alike, from five to thirteen, and the fees of the poor are paid at the public expense. According to the Act of 1870 "there shall be provided for every school district a sufficient amount of school accommodation in public elementary schools available for all the children resident in such district, for whose elementary education sufficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made." The Act of 1876 prescribes that "it shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive sufficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and if such parent fail to perform such duty, he shall be liable to such orders and penalties as are provided by this Act." No one is permitted to employ a child in labor until the prescribed course of education has been completed. These measures have been carried out with energy, and at present the school accommodation is even greater than what is required. In attendance the deficiency is what we would consider slight, the number of children on the registers being 4,412,148, only half a million less than it should be. The Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council are not, however, so easily satisfied, and in their report to the Queen for the year 1885 express much concern about this missing half million, promising, under the system introduced by a new code, to ensure in future universal compliance with the law, which is already obeyed by nine children out of ten.

The other European States have adopted the same principle, that of universal and efficient education, compulsory on the

individual, and largely assisted, or entirely supported, by Government. Germany led the way, and assuredly has reaped her reward, not only in the success of her growing industries, but also in the victories which have in recent times attended her arms. The field of Sedan, many maintain, was won in the village schools of Prussia, and it is, indeed, obvious that the superior efficiency of the educated in all work must extend to those engaged in the now complicated art of destruction. Such is certainly the opinion entertained by the vanquished of 1870, and the French immediately after their defeat began to prepare for the *revanche* by excelling their rivals at all cost in the matter of instruction. In this they have been entirely successful, their system of complete and free education being now a model of everything except economy. None of the other European States are much behind hand, and an opponent of universal education would not now be accepted as a patriotic statesman in any civilized country. Some grumbling then is all the cost, but it is felt that this is a matter in which success must be obtained, cheaply, if it may be, but at any rate completely. The whole world is now engaged in the industrial struggle for life, and those only can hold an advantageous place who are prepared to make the necessary sacrifices.

The enthusiasm with which the cause of the education of the upper classes has been taken up in India and particularly in Bengal, is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. It is no longer advocated merely as a means of personal advancement, but also with a patriotic fervor, kindled by the conviction that the power of the native community, and the respect paid to its members, increase with every educational advance. In no other political movement have the people displayed such genuine zeal, such power of combination, and management, or such effective generosity. The Muhummadans have lately entered the field of competition with as much eagerness as the Hindus, and engaged in the honourable rivalry with the greatest zeal. It is matter of regret that this feeling does not extend to the elementary education of the masses, a matter of at least as great national importance. There is, indeed, little of the active opposition to popular education once produced in Europe by the fear of revolution, but the attitude adopted towards the cause is generally that of stony indifference. Popular education, that is the instruction of actual cultivators and artisans, is regarded as a fad of Sir George Campbell's, and of theorists in England, which must be treated with some respect, on account of its high connections, but should be let carry off as little of our money as may be. That artisans and

ryots should be taught to read and write, just as if they were the sons of clerks of the Kyast class, seems to the ordinary public man in this country, say the leading member of a Municipality or District Board, a little ridiculous. He has no objection to such a proceeding, any more than he would have to the children receiving sweetmeats twice a week from the Queen's private purse; but he declines to pay for what he considers absurd luxuries. He also dislikes the discussion of the subject, as distracting the attention of Government from what he regards as the thing really wanted, a liberal education for the sons of the higher classes. That education may be technical, he has no objection to see his son an engineer building a bridge over the Barhampootra, or the Manager of a great factory; but it must be superior. He is not jealous of the lower orders, and is often very kind in assisting the son of some cultivator to an education which may enable him to get profitable service; his antipathy is confined to wasting public money on teaching those who are to remain common workmen. The state of public feeling is of special importance now, because the work of promoting elementary education has recently been transferred from Government officers to District Boards, and the public, therefore, have the matter in their own hands. If the Members of the Boards are in favor of popular education it will extend indefinitely, otherwise what little now exists will die out by degrees.

The public indifference on the subject is preserved by the assurance often proffered that a great deal has been done, that things are going on very well at present, and will come right in the end, if only they are let alone. The officiating Director of Public Instruction in his last annual report stated that one-fourth of the male population of school-going age was under tuition; and many consider that a great advance. But in reality the proportion is much less. The census of 1881 showed that 94 persons in a hundred were illiterate, or, if we limit the field of observation to males over five years of age, 90 in a hundred. The calculation of the Education Department is founded on the supposition that only 15 per cent. of the population is of school-going age, a proportion apparently selected as that for which provision is made in the English elementary schools, after deduction for those reading elsewhere and for those who do not attend. The proportion of children of school-going age in England, that is between three and thirteen, is now assumed to to be 23·73 per cent., in India the number of boys between five and fifteen is 26·93 per cent. It might be unfair to assume that the school-going age lasts for ten

years if the reference were to children of the lower classes only, though this is done in England when school accommodation is provided; but the figures for Bengal include also the professional classes. The male population of this Province, allowing for the normal increase since the last census, will now be 36 millions, of whom, according to the proportion given above, a little more than nine millions and a half are of school-going age. The number registered as under instruction is 1,278,834, or less than 14 in 100 of those who should be at school. And moreover it is notorious that a large part of those registered as pupils never learn to read, their attendance being merely nominal, to catch the grant. Even of the one-tenth of the male population entered in the census returns as able to read and write, many will merely have been competent to sign their names, a distinction which passes in the interior as a proof of having received an education. Now whether we take the ten in a hundred able to sign their names, according to the census returns, or the fourteen in a hundred who have some connexion with a school, according to the education registers, these are sufficiently accounted for by the literary castes in Bengal. The Brahmins, Kyasths, Rajputs and Baniyas, for instance, form one-seventh (14.32) per cent. of the Hindu population. In India there is a large class to whom at least elementary instruction is considered appropriate, the priests, the traders, the money-lenders, the village accountants, the collectors of rent, professional men of various grades. Many of these are very poor, many are so connected with agriculture as to be easily mistaken for cultivators, and are in fact entered as such in the educational returns. But they all hold themselves aloof from the actual task of production, whether as workmen or as employers of labor; their function is not to create wealth, but to distribute, protect, save, or enjoy it. This class has availed itself of all existing educational opportunities from the Calcutta University to the village patshalla, and is now fairly instructed. But the cultivator and artisan, the men who among the native community of India produce the whole wealth of the country with little or no assistance from above, remain enveloped in their traditional darkness. Here and there a ryot may be found able to read, but so isolated as to produce no effect on his neighbours. The assertion that the whole wealth of India is produced by men as illiterate as any savages hardly needs any qualification. There are some Europeans, and some natives working in the manner of Europeans, employed in agriculture as planters, in manufactures as foremen or managers, but these are obviously

exceptions, and in the main we leave the great work of production to the guidance of blind ignorance. The writer has considerable personal experience of the state of education in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, as it affects the condition of cultivators and artisans. He can assert as a matter within his own knowledge, apart from statistical evidence, that these classes, as classes, are in every sense of the term illiterate, and that the primary instruction given in our schools, conducted on the present scale, will never rescue them from their miserable intellectual state.

It may be said, with much force, that the present time is not opportune for putting forward considerations which tell in favor of increased expenditure, in as much as, in spite of an enhancement in the scale of taxation, great difficulty is felt in maintaining the financial equilibrium. This would be most true if any immediate prospect could be seen of better things, of the approach of an era when popular education could be promoted without any very great or disturbing effort. But the political horizon offers no such vista. As Russia, with steady steps, approaches our North-Western frontier, as France assumes a position on our east, as Italy becomes a power in the Red Sea, as the conquering nations of the West by degrees acquire domination throughout Asia and Africa, it becomes daily more evident that Indian military expenditure will ultimately be maintained upon something approaching to the European scale. There seems no probability of the arrival of a time when such a costly improvement as the introduction of elementary education among the working classes can be effected without considerable sacrifice, or with less exertion than would be required now. And it is certain that until we can brace our nerves for the required spring, the Indian masses must remain in the dismal swamp of poverty. Ignorance and want are inseparable companions; if we have not the courage to banish the first we must submit to the perpetual presence of its associate. No political change, no alteration in the channels of trade, no relief by the emigration of the surplus population, can render fruitful the industry of the uninstructed; a bare pittance, the means of sustaining existence, being all that nature offers as the reward of unskilled labor. On the other hand it may fairly be said that the working classes, when duly educated, will never permanently submit to destitution, their work will be sufficiently productive to earn them a decent livelihood, where their members are not excessive, and they will so regulate their numbers, and the distribution of their industry, by emigration and otherwise, as to prevent themselves from being starved by the effects of

overcrowding. When, then, it is asked whether we can afford to pay the cost of popular education, the reply must be, can we afford the loss caused by popular ignorance? It must be owned that the expenditure to be faced is large, although very much less than that incurred in European countries, where salaries of elementary teachers are so much higher. Indeed nothing in connexion with elementary instruction in Bengal is so remarkable as its extraordinary cheapness, a school costing on the average to Government only nine rupees a year. But the numbers to be provided for are so enormous that the expense of universal education would certainly be vast. When will we have the courage to face it? The first step towards such a consummation was taken in England by the combination of the friends of popular instruction in such associations as the British and Foreign School Society, and the National Society; if gentlemen of influence in this country would inaugrate a similar movement they would confer the greatest of all possible benefits on the people and on the state.

C. S.

## THEBAW, EX-KING OF BURMAH.

II.

Thebaw, whose name is taken from a town in the Shan States, was the eleventh in succession from Alompra. His mother, the Loungshay Queen, was a daughter of one of the Shan States. Thebaw was born in that notable period in Indian history, 1857. His father was Min-done-Min, late King of Burmah. Old Min-done-Min had such a large household to look after, so many sons and daughters, that it is not surprising to learn that many of his children were neglected. He must often have found it difficult even to remember their names. Min-done was a wise, or politic King, and a fairly able ruler, nevertheless, he had the developed tendency of all Eastern Monarchs, a love of pleasure, and the results attending a devotion to pleasure were shown in the little care he bestowed on his family arrangements, and the heedlessness he manifested to the up-bringing of his children.

Min-done had fifty-three recognized wives—the unrecognized were unlimited,—by whom he had forty-eight sons and sixty-two daughters, or a happy family of one hundred and ten children. What an amount of heart-burning, jealousy, and family squabbles did such an Eastern household represent. If the patriarch Jacob—who lived in exceptionably favourable days—experienced the bitter fruits, resulting from an household of only four wives and their progeny of thirteen children; if Jacob, though not a devotee of pleasure, but a primeval herdsman, found it impossible to train his children in righteousness and judgment, what must have been old Min-done's experience!

His palace at Mandalay was the scene for the display of petty family jealousies, leading to family intrigues, and in succession, to dark family crimes. It is true that the etiquette in the court of the golden-footed monarch was as strict as that observed in the Court of Ahasuerus. Yet despite the strictures of etiquette, the moral atmosphere of the palace was toned by the current of feeling present in this huge disorganized family. Human feel-

ing will either burst the bonds, throw off the veneer and the gilding, of state ceremonial, or will glide beneath it all, and so find an outlet. History teaches us, that no bonds are strong enough, no strictures straight enough, to curb the feelings of the human heart, when it is desirous of manifesting those feelings.

Each one of Min-done's wives felt it to be her duty to try and supplant her rivals, and to oust her rivals' children, in favour of her own. The King's ears were continually assailed by tales of infidelity, concerning some one or other of his wives. The children too became the victims of the rivals.

Min-done was an Eastern King *par excellence*; and he formed his likes and dislikes after the similitude of an Eastern monarch. It required only a favourite, or with still more certitude, the favourite of the harem for the time being, to whisper in the King's ear regarding the frailties and foibles of some one of his wives, or use the same disparaging method respecting even his own children, and the purpose was accomplished; and ever after the King found it difficult to tolerate the presence of the maligned ones. So it happened that many of the King's children lived almost in a state of banishment from the presence of their father. To Englishmen and English women such a state of affairs in a household appears dreadful. Surely such men and women can feel sympathy for Thebaw, for he was one of these unfortunate children; and his future wife, Soopazeh-Lat, was another. The child Thebaw lived by sufferance. His education in literature and manners, the manners pertaining to a prince, was completely neglected.

No one would have ever dreamt, while seeing the little boy playing about in his mother's apartments, that there was such a future in store for him, as the throne of Burmah; and still less would this onlooker have been able to forecast, that after a short reign, he would bring down the dynasty of Alompra with a crash, and he himself the last of the Burmese Kings. The little neglected boy had, however, great natural abilities, a certain quickness of intelligence, which waited development, as we gather from the subsequent mastery he acquired of abstruse Bhuddist lore.

When Thebaw was twelve years old, through the influence at the palace, of doctor Marks, the well-known Missionary educationist, he was placed at his new school as a pupil, but so short a time was he allowed to be—doubtless through the jealousy of some one of the queens—under the good doctor's care; less than twelve months, that it is farcical to say that he received even a preliminary English education. After being removed from doctor Mark's care, Thebaw was placed in one of the

Royal Monasteries, in time he became a Buddhic neophyte, and so diligent was he in his studies, that he took honours in Buddhist law and other subjects. At one time it was believed that he intended adopting a monastic life. His mother was seventh queen of Min-done, and there could be no question at the time, of his ever sitting as King in Burmah. In boyhood Thebaw was fond of athletic and active games, more especially cricket.

In after years, when Thebaw had grown to be a youth, he adopted a somewhat similar role to that which Arabi Pasha represented in Egypt; Thebaw belonged in those days, to the advanced and liberal, but the national party in Burmah. He looked with suspicion on foreigners. He would have had Burmah for the Burmese. His notions of a national party were very crude, and from an English point of view, extremely unsatisfactory.

There is no doubt that while a young prince, Thebaw, from some cause or other, had a strong feeling of aversion for Englishmen. He was gradually outgrowing this feeling, but at one time it was very strong. It was owing to this feeling, that he never attempted, when he had the opportunities of so doing, to acquire a knowledge of the English language. This feeling of Thebaw's, was a counterpart of the feeling displayed by the older Mussulmen of India. It is only Mussulmans of the present day who show an appreciation of English education. That Thebaw now cherishes a feeling of resentment against the English, it would be silly to deny. That Thebaw will carry this strong feeling of resentment with him to the grave seems certain. He feels himself as much caged as Napoleon did at St Helena. Though Thebaw possibly thinks he has more just cause for complaint. And so he has.

According to the polity of civilized nations, a cartel of war must be thrown down in a significant manner, and accepted in a like spirit. After the war has been waged and the victor declared, the vanquished loses, or more often but pledges, territory, to pay for the charges of war incurred by his foe. This polity of nations is based on equity and righteousness, and it is a polity that acknowledges that the God of the whole earth is the suzerain of Kings and the judge of nations; and hence it behoves them in dealing with one another to be just and even generous. To tread on a fallen foe, or to attack the unprepared is deemed a national dishonour. Thebaw, an independent King, did not even fight, he gave the invaders of his territory no trouble; it was simply a walk over for the British troops. All the trouble, waste of money, and the outpouring of the blood of many a gallant fellow, has

come afterwards after Thebaw's deposition. Thebaw has certainly received very full punishment. A hard measure indeed, has been dealt out to him.

Of King Min-done Min's many sons, the Nyoung yam Prince was the favourite, and it was this Prince, whom old Min-done desired for, and nominated as, his successor, but the old King's women kind were too strong, or rather too subtle for him, and palace intrigue changed the cards of succession and brought about a result which was contrary to the late King's wish.

The Queen of the South, or the chief Queen of old Min-done, intrigued with Tynedah Mengyee, who was even then a minister of importance at Mandalay, to put Thebaw in the place of the Nyoung yan Prince, on the King's demise. The Tynedah Mengyee was Captain of the King's guard, and could owing to this office carry out the project successfully, if the compact was only kept secret. The arrangement was kept as close as the grave. The prince who was most interested in the matter had not the slighest suspicions of the plot; nor had any of royal princes.

The reason the Queen of the South manifested so earnest and absorbing an interest in Thebaw's career, was that old, old one, and to which is attributable nearly all of man's sorrow, and which, it is regrettable that truth compels one to say so, has been the cause of so many deeds of darkness and violence, from the period of Adam's fall up to the moment of writing; a woman was at the bottom of the queen's interest, or to be quite accurate, two women were the cause which tempted the chief queen to contemplate evil doing.

Thebaw, at the time, was just that sort of youth to create mischief among the ladies; being comely in appearance. Tall and well-built, of fair complexion, and frank, manly countenance, the notable points of which are a good forehead, clear steady eyes, and a firm but steady mouth. Though from pressure of circumstances Thebaw had at one time intended to adopt a monastic life, yet nature had carved him out for a lady's man. If the truth must be told he would have made a bad monk, for he was in his element when in feminine society, causing a stir and flutter among his fair countrywomen, and captivating the hearts of many a one.

The Queen of the South had two fair daughters, Selin Soopayah, the eldest, and Soopayah Lat. The Princess Soopayah Lat fell madly in love with Thebaw, though at the time, he did not return her affection, but was much enamoured of her sister. It may be remarkable in passing, that both these Princesses had

strong opinions about the necessity of even dual wives, and they certainly never dreamt of contemplating their husband's home as being a Seraglio, such a Seraglio as their father had, and in which they were brought up. These novel ideas for Burman girls, who were Buddhists by religion; this ability to rightly guage the evils of polygamy, were received by them from the good Lady Superior of the Roman Catholic Convent and School at Mandalay. The Princess Soopayh-Lat was an especial favourite of hers and returned her affection; for this good lady, who was always a welcome visitor at old Min-done's palace at Mandalay, took special notice of the neglected child—whose presence in the palace the King barely tolerated—and never visited the place without a toy or some bon-bons in the pocket of her dress as a present for the little girl, seating her on her lap and trying by her notice to make up for the dearth of love the child experienced.

Well then the queen-mother settled the difficulty her daughters were in this wise, she proposed that both should become the wives of Thebaw; Soopayah-Lat, was so much in love that she dropt her objection to dual wives, and as expected her mother's proposal; Selin-Soopayah objected to the arrangement. Their mother having arranged the matter thus had naturally henceforth an interest in Thebaw, and being an ambitious woman, she planned to place him on the throne, thinking both to rule him and the kingdom through her daughters, but the instrument she used to accomplish her purpose, frustrated in a great measure her high hopes. The Tynedah Mengyee, after carrying out the Plot successfully, became too strong for her powers of control, or even for those of the young Prince, whom she had caused to wade through a sea of blood to the throne. Even Thebaw's astute and strong-minded wife, Soopayah-Lat, was unable to manage the Tynedah Mengyee.

When the Tynedah Mengyee became chief minister of the State, he joined hands with men of like desires and purposes as himself, and they formed a ring round the unfortunate Thebaw, the influence of which he was unable to overcome. Thebaw cannot be held to be blameless, and it is not the desire of the writer to hold him up as a saint, all he pleads is, that when judging him care should be taken not to judge him after a European standard. The English constitutional standard will be especially unsuitable. One must always bear in mind that Thebaw was matured in the traditions of an Eastern Court, and that Court was the barbarically absolute Court of Burmah. The traditions

of his House had taught him that it was no crime to remove rivals out of his path. It is therefore unreasonable to expect he could have appreciated any other standard of rectitude. Thebaw has sinned, and sinned greatly. The question before civilized men, is not one of immaculateness, but of judgment, of the measure of punishment that has been meted out to him. Has Thebaw received a just recompense of his deeds? Did he in the days of his pride and of his strength sow in cruelty and blood and is he reaping but the bitter fruits now? If it is so man may pity him, but man cannot ameliorate his condition.

I believe it will be found that when the history of that bloody time at Mandalay, comes to be investigated impartially, that the historian will record that Thebaw sinned rather by weakly assent, when he should have opposed firmly, than by direct commands. Thebaw has not a cruel nature. He is not a callous monster. He was fond of eastern display, of magnificence, of pleasure, and of wine. But his drinking habits have been much exaggerated, like every other matter that has been imputed to him. The Government of India has Thebaw now as State Prisoner, and they have every opportunity of reading his character rightly; of course excepting the haughty reserve becoming a captive King. The Government can tell whether the man is a confirmed drunkard and a callous-hearted barbarian. I believe the general opinion regarding Thebaw has undergone a radical change.

To go back to the causes that brought Thebaw to the throne of Burmah. When Min-done-Min died, the Tynedah Mengyee as Captain of the King's guard had entire control of the palace. To enable him to carry out the plot organized by himself and the chief queen, he concealed the King's death, till their plans were ripe for execution; they managed to conceal the fact of the death for some days, so that none even of the Princes, the late King's Sons, had the least suspicion that such an occurrence had taken place, though there were nineteen of them at the time at Mandalay: all of whom had better pretensions to the throne than it was said Thebaw had. Well, the object the Tynedah Mengyee had in concealing the King's death was soon manifested. He sent out forged letters to these Princes, letters that purported to be written by the dead King, and requiring their presence at the Palace. The suspicion of some of these Princes, fortunately for themselves, was aroused in some way, or at the eleventh hour some information of the facts may have leaked out of the palace and had been conveyed to them, however it was, these princes were suspicious

enough to disregard the mandate, and for security to fly to the English Residency, where they sought and obtained the protection of the English Resident. The rest of the Princes went unsuspiciously to the palace, and were seized and imprisoned, and the impedimenta being thus removed Thebaw was proclaimed King.

The Burmese have a very elastic marriage code, nevertheless a Burman cannot marry his own half-sister, yet though this is the law for the people, it is not the law for the king, for royal etiquette demands that the King should marry one of his half-sisters. Another peculiar kingly rule is that which compels the eldest daughter of the king to assume the name and position of Ta-leen-deing, which means that the princess is not free to marry till the king's death. Selin-Soopayah had occupied this unenviable position, but now that the king was dead she was free to marry, and fortunately not only was she a young woman yet, but her future husband, Thebaw, was deeply enamoured of her. Selin-Soopayah had, however, her own conviction about the matrimonial state, and refused to consent to become Thebaw's wife unless she occupied that position alone. She especially objected to occupy it in conjunction with her sister.

The Soopayah-Lat bore great love to Thebaw, and at this time, of the two sisters she had more influence with her mother, the chief Queen, and who was now, for a little while, the real head of the government and the controller of the royal household. Soopayah-Lat would not yield up her desire to become Thebaw's wife nor would Selin-Supayah withdraw from her firmly expressed purpose never to marry Thebaw except on her own stated conditions. Thebaw was a true Burman, and though he loved Selin-Soopayah madly, yet could not see the reasonableness of being called upon to give up the immemorial privilege of the Burmese Kings, to have as many wives as they chose, especially as there was a pretty young woman who confessed her love for him and was willing to take the place of the second wife. Thebaw could not see the justice of being called upon to make such a sacrifice. Selin-Soopayah would not be moved, by persuasion, from her firm resolution, and in the end effected her escape from the palace and entered a convent. Thebaw was so angered at her flight and at the step she had taken, that he inflicted sanguinary punishment on two maids of honour who had connived at her escape, by ordering their hands to be cut off.

## FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.

It has often been remarked that the Hindus, by Hindus I include all races born in India irrespective of caste and creed, cannot aspire to be a great nation, unless their females are properly educated and allowed the freedom to mix in Society like their Parsi or English sisters. Any one who calmly considers the condition of our females, must admit that it is impossible for the Hindus to retrieve the fallen fortunes of their country, unless their females are properly educated. Male education is rapidly spreading in all parts of the empire and schools are being opened almost every day. The number of males who are annually coming out of these institutions, has become so large that it presents a serious problem to our rulers to solve how they should be employed. A large number of unemployed men in the country is a distinct source of danger to the Government, and it is the bounden duty of every stable and steadily advancing administration to supply employment to the unemployed. While a profuse diffusion of education has created a plethora of educated men in the middle ranks of life, its advance amongst our females, is only appreciable when it is not quiescent. An educated woman in India is like a rare bird of charming plumage and tune, which can only be seen in a desert country in a specially favoured oasis.

The education of females must precede that of males, for it is from woman that man receives education, and it is the decree of Providence that the sterner passions should grow out of the softer emotions of the women. The portrait of the man in perfection is a happy blending of lights and shades which cannot be reflected in actual life unless the woman is perfected. The greatness of a nation is in a direct ratio to the greatness of the woman, and where the latter stands on a high ground, the nation is elevated. In America where the females have attended a high position in society, very great has been the advancement of the nation. There the woman depends on herself and hence the whole nation is self-reliant. In France the women are much addicted to pleasure

and these pleasure-seeking propensities are consuming the vitals of this otherwise mighty nation—of all the European nations; the Turks are the most backward, because their women are slaves. Living in the midst of liberty and light, enjoying rare opportunities of becoming a truly great nation, yielding to none in physical and martial prowess, the Turks are gradually receding instead of marching onward in the career of national advancement. And this lamentable state of affairs is mainly due to the present deplorable condition of their females. The above remarks apply to the whole Mahomedan nation, whether they inhabit the steppes in the Central Asia, the Mountains of Cabul, the shores of Persia, or the plains of Hindustan. The Mahomedan nation cannot rise above its present level unless its women are freed from slavery.

The condition of females is a safe index to the condition of the nation. In Bengal the nation faithfully reflects the condition of the females. Amongst the educated community, we see the same want of union, the same fear and nervousness on occasions of importance, the same eternal hankering after ornamental titles, petty jealousies, and quarrelsomeness, and the same desire for pleasure, poetry and the indulgence of the imagination. Royal proclamations, political demonstrations, and congresses, cannot make the nation prosaic and practical, united and free. The "better half" loaded with heavy weights, drags down the other half in its up-hill career, and the result is that a steady national advancement is impossible. The lessons of union and liberty in congresses, can leave no permanent impressions on the minds of those who practise disunion and slavery at home and amongst their dearest pledges. Amongst the martial races in India, the Sikhs, the Rajputs and the Mahrattas, the nation faithfully reflects the martial spirit and courage for which their females had been remarkable from the days of old. The House of Commons exists in England, because similar political associations may be seen amongst English women who appreciate, discuss and sympathise with the various subjects which the great commoner agitates in the House. An Englishman is a statesman at home and abroad and learns to sustain his fight more at home amongst the females than in the battle field. The present struggle for Irish independence, would have long been over and suppressed by Government had not the Irish woman encouraged the national efforts. She accompanies the patriot in his manly endeavour to regain the lost liberty of his nation and she participates with him, in his dangers and trials and consoles and enlivens him even in the darkness of the dungeon. What fails us in the hour of danger is the ever-recurring thought of our family and

children; a rigid and stern performance of our duties which we owe to our fatherland may deprive us of the only means of supporting them; but if these very persons for whom we are anxious, stand by our side and with their sympathy encourage us in our ordinary work of self-sacrifice, our strength to do our duties becomes immeasurably greater.

In regard to education the Indian females may be divided into four classes.

1st Class—Those who are free and educated.

2nd Class—Those who are free but uneducated.

3rd Class—Those who are not free, but educated.

4th Class—Those who are not free and uneducated.

Females of the first Class may be found amongst the Parsis, the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots, but their number is so insignificant when compared with the entire female population of these races, that their existence serves the purposes of models only. I have not in hand the statistics of female education for the whole of India, and it is difficult to compare the progress made in this respect amongst the various races in India. In the central provinces, comprising the territories of the Nizam, the Scindia, the Holkar, the Gaekwar and other petty Rajput princes, female education has made very little progress and it is difficult to meet with any educated woman. Only the other day, in the vast provinces owned by the Nizam, a girl for the first time appeared in a public Examination and succeeded in passing the upper primary Examination! The Nizam's territories may be considered the very centre of the Zenana Jail to which the Indian females have been consigned. In these territories females mentioned under the 4th class only may be seen. Among the Rajputs, females though free are not allowed to mix freely with the males, and in imitation of the Mussalman Zenana system, restrictions have been imposed and their freedom much curtailed. In Hyderabad and other Mohamedan territories, females of the last class are predominant, they being neither free nor educated.

Females of the 1st class may be seen in the southern Presidency, where the females are free and a portion of them, however small, are educated—of late female education, has made progress in Bengal, while in Behar and Orissa, it is very backward. In these provinces, the Zenana system prevails and it offers the greatest hindrance to education. A girl's scholastic career, if any, ceases at a very early age, say 11 or 12, when she is married, for it is outrageous to society to allow a married girl to attend a public institution. Any knowledge she may gather while

in school at a tender age, or which she may obtain in after life, can scarcely deserve the name of education. Her physical powers remain undeveloped and she is generally incapable of doing any thing which requires sustained bodily exertion. No effort can be made to give her a physical training, as she is put within the four walls of her house as soon as she is married. And the consequence is that she can never expect to get that physical education which riding, walking, running and swimming can alone give her. This is one of the principal causes which have made the inhabitants of these Provinces, weak and effeminate. Though intellectually superior to other nations, they lag behind in the march of races. Strength of mind is indissolubly connected with strength of body; courage, intrepidity and power of endurance can only be possessed by persons who are physically strong, and the strength can only be secured by a nation whose women are strong. Among a nation like the Bengalees, the physical education of their women cannot be overestimated. This education is as much required for boys as for girls, and when we leave out from our gymnasiums our girls, our attempt to give a physical training to our nation becomes truly half-hearted. If we are really aspiring to be a great nation, the first requisite is to make ourselves physically strong, but this cannot be effected until we have made our females strong. The leaders of thought and action should therefore desire the best practical means, whereby our women may receive a physical education tending to make them strong mothers giving birth to strong children.

K. P. SIRCAR.

(To be continued.)

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THE
# NATIONAL MAGAZINE
NEW SERIES.

No. 3.—MARCH 1888.

## *THE QUEEN OF MODERN CITIES.*

I.

THERE is but one Paris in the world,—and that is Paris! It would be difficult in any other part of the world to find such a crowd of public monuments and magnificent public buildings and fine specimens of architecture. It would be difficult to match her splendid Boulevards with spacious footpaths and fine rows of trees, and brilliantly lighted cafés on either side thronged with people until midnight! The Bois de Boulogne is a perfect forest turned into a Park! The limpid Seine with her numerous bridges is a perfect picture, seen from any eminence. And as the visitor standing on such eminence surveys the whole town of Paris under his feet,—surveys on the South of the Seine the double tower of Notre Dame, the domes of the Pantheon and the Sorbonne, the gilded spire of La Chapelle and the gilded dome of the Hotel des Invalides—as he runs his eye towards the west over the Arc de Triomphe and the twelve beautiful avenues stretching in different directions from the Arc,—as he admires the Champs Elysé, the Place de la Concorde, the gardens of the Tuileries, and the magnificent palace of Louvre all in one line along the north bank of the Seine, and as he sees a forest of beautiful houses and fine streets stretching far away from that river to the north, as far as the heights of Montmatre and La Villette,—he can scarcely believe that so lovely a picture is not the vision of a dream,—that a view so noble and so perfect can be a busy crowded city, the centre of busy traffic, and swarming with two millions of busy hard working men and women!

But the distinguishing and unique beauty of Paris consists not so much in her numerous palaces and noble Churches and fine public buildings and streets, as in the harmony and proportion in architecture which strikes the observer in every street that he turns into. There are grander hotels in the world than the Grand Hotel of Paris,—but it is only in Paris that the grand hotel is matched and fronted in every direction by houses which in style and architecture correspond with the hotel. The new Opera of Paris though one of the most magnificent buildings in Europe has its rivals in other cities,—but it is only in Paris that such a building is set off by lines of building on every side, six or seven storeys high, worthy of the Opera. The place de la Concorde is perhaps the finest square in Europe,—but its beauty consists not only in its fine statues and fountains and the Egyptian obelisk in the centre but on the perfect symmetry in buildings and architecture in every direction. The gardens of the Champs Elysé on the west correspond with the gardens of the Tuileries to the east, and the beautiful Church of Madeleine to the north corresponds with the Chambre des Deputés across the Seine to the south! And this is what strikes the visitor everywhere in Paris. In every street and Bouleyard there is a uniformity and harmony in architecture which adds considerably to the beauty and magnificence of the houses and buildings.

I reached Paris on the night of the 25th September and a fortnight was scarcely sufficient to enable me to go through this labyrinth of lovely sights and fine buildings which makes Paris the Queen of Modern cities in the world.

How shall I begin an account of this wonderful city? Where shall I find a starting point in this labyrinth? Probably an account of Paris should begin naturally with that portion of it which was historically the first commencement of this great city and which is still considered its centre and called the "cité."

The Seine flows East and West and modern Paris stretches to the North and South of this river. But in the far remote past Paris did not extend to either bank of the river but was confined to the two islands in the Seine which are now known as the cité or Old Paris. It was in these two islands that the Parisii, a wandering tribe of barbarians, settled themselves some centuries before the time of Julius Cæsar and of the Roman conquest. When the Romans conquered Gaul they made these two islands their head quarters for two or three centuries together, but in the fourth century Constantius Chlorus founded on the south bank of the river a palace the remains of which still exist at the Hotel

de Cluny of which I will speak hereafter. The wood hovels of the Parisii had by this time been replaced in the islands by stone houses and these houses gradually extended on both banks of the river.

Long after the Romans had left Gaul, the two islands still remained the centre of Paris, and indeed the town scarcely extended far beyond these islands. The Merovingian kings and the Carlovingian kings resided in these islands, and when Rollo the Ganger and other Norman chiefs sailed up the Seine and invaded Paris, the timid citizens vainly attempted to defend themselves within the walls of these fortified islands. The hardy Normans repeatedly sacked the islands although unable to keep possession of them. At last Hugh Capet the founder of the third dynasty in France restored order in the kingdom, and built a new palace in one of the islands, and his successors continued to live in it for centuries after. It was not till the twelvth century that Louis the Big left these historical islands and built the first palace on the north side of the Seine, on the site of the modern Louvre, and the great Phillip Augustus, the companion of Richard Cœur de Lion of England in the third crusade, erected a circle of fortifications round it. An account of Paris therefore should naturally begin with an account of these two historical islands in the Seine.

And these islands have a very different appearance now from what they had at the time of the wandering Parisii or even at the time of the Romans. Conspicuous among the many edifices that are crowded upon these islands stands the noble cathedral of Notre Dame the finest Church in Paris if not in France. It was built between 1163 and 1182 A.D., and is 417 ft. long and 158 broad and its fine square towers in the front and its beautiful spire can be seen from miles and miles beyond the limits of Paris. The whole of the exterior of this splendid edifice is beautifully carved, while the general effect of the interior is solemn and imposing. Seventy-five lofty and graceful columns raise the vaulting to a height of 110 ft. while the long cloisters running all round make the view imposing indeed. The organ in the Cathedral is one of the finest in the world and has 5000 pipes, and I do not think I have ever heard anything finer or more imposing than the service in the Notre Dame on one of the Sundays I passed in Paris.

Almost fronting the Notre Dame is the noble pile of buildings called the Palais de Justice which is a court house, a Police office and a Prison, and also encloses within its walls the ancient cathedral of La Chapelle. The greater part of this Court house

has been built since 1871, when the older structure was almost entirely destroyed by the communist incendiaries. This extensive range of buildings with its round towers stretches along the Seine for a considerable distance and has a noble appearance from the north bank of the river, but its principal facade is on the east side on the Boulevard de Palais. I walked through several of the courts and the large waiting room,—Salle des Pas Perdus,—one of the largest waiting rooms in existence, being 226 feet by 84 feet. The Galerie des Merciers contains the statues of the four French kings who have distinguished themselves as legislators, *viz.*, Phillip Augustus and St. Louis, Charlemagne and Napoleon Bonaparte. The Conciergerie contains almost all that is left of the historic buildings here,—*viz.*, the Tour de Cesar, the Tour de l'Horloge and the Tour d'Argent, in the latter of which Robespierre and the beautiful and unfortunate Marie Antoinette were imprisoned before their execution.

La Sainte Chapelle is one of the most beautiful little churches in existence and was erected in 1245-48 by St. Louis of France as a palace chapel and also as a shrine for sacred relics, (twice removed to the Notre Dame) *viz.*, a portion of the so called true cross and of the crown of thorns purchased according to tradition from the king of Jerusalem for 300,000 franks. Irrespective of its supposed sanctity this church is on account of its beauty justly regarded as one of the most valuable treasures of France, and during the war of 1870 the church was carefully packed in wood with a layer of earth between the wood and the structure! The Palais de Justice all round the church was burnt down, but the church was thus saved from destruction, and when disentombed was found quite uninjured!

The edifice consists of two chapels, one lower and the other above it. The upper chapel is 118 ft. in length and 66 ft. high, and nearly the whole of the wall surface is filled up with fifteen magnificent large windows of stained glass. The slender grace of the stone columns and the beauty of the stained glass most of it six hundred years old makes this chapel one of the most beautiful of its kind in existence.

These are the most prominent buildings in the islands of the Seine, and we will now cross over to the north bank, where as I have already stated Louis the Big built the first palace as late as the 12th century of the Christian era. The great Phillip Augustus, who won back the north of France from Richard I and King John of England built a fortress on this very spot in 1204 A.D. Over three hundred years later, the munificent

Francis I, the contemporary of Charles V. of Spain and of Henry VIII of England, commenced here the renowned palace of the Louvre which was added to by successive Kings and which has been the centre of European politics for over three hundred years. The magnificent pile of buildings commenced by Francis I in 1541 was finally completed by Napoleon III within the memory of living men. The entire area covered by this palace is nearly fifty acres,—and the palace on the whole is among the most sumptuous buildings in existence.

France is a republic since 1871, and kings and emperors reside in this palace no longer. But the Louvre fulfils a higher and a nobler destiny, and contains the richest and most magnificent collection of art treasures in the world. The picture galleries are on the upper floor, and I walked for hours and hours through the ornamented galleries, the walls of which were hung with the finest productions of the greatest painters that the world has produced. There is a profusion of pictures by Rubens, while Van Dyke and the other Flemish and Dutch masters are not unrepresented. Further on are the productions of Murillo and the Spanish masters and then come Leonardi di Vinci and Titien and Raphael and the other immortal painters of Italy. The world renowned painting of Leonardi,—the last supper of Christ—is here. But the Salon Carré is the most important room in the Louvre. Raphael's celebrated Holy Family and the Bella Jardiniere and St. Michael overcoming the enemy distinguish these walls. Murillo's Immaculate Conception which every lover of painting has admired in copy or photograph, was purchased for the Louvre for £24,000, and is here. Paul Veronese is represented in large Canvas,—his Marriage at Cana is the largest picture in the Louvre. Corregio's Jupiter and Antiope, Titien's Entombment and La Maitresse and several productions of Leonardi Da Vinci adorn the walls of the Salon Carré.

Then comes the fine Gallery of Apollo beautifully ornamented and decorated, and then a succession of other rooms where the French school is represented. The English school is scarcely represented,—probably because the English have scarcely a school. Hogarth is a strong caricaturist, Landseer has painted dogs and horses, Turner has painted scenes. Sir Joshua Reynolds is the only master painter in the true sense of the world,—but he is much inferior to the continental masters.

I will never end if I begin a detailed account of the art treasures of the Louvre,—and I will therefore conclude by saying that the sculpture of different nations is represented in the lower

floor as painting is in the upper. One can spend days and days usefully amid the monuments of an ancient world,—monuments from Egypt with their hieroglyphics 2,500 years before Christ, monuments from Assyria and Babylon with their cuneiform inscriptions 1500 years before Christ, and the marble monuments of Greece and Rome never since equalled in their lovely grace or in their nobility of strength and demeanour. The original Venus of Milo (whose facsimile one sees in every drawing-room) is here—and is among the noblest productions in marble which modern world has inherited from ancient Greece. India alone among the ancient countries of the world is not represented in the art museums of Europe,—because India, distinguished by her ancient poetry and philosophy, never cultivated sculpture until in comparatively recent times.

I have already stated that the Louvre took some centuries in completion and gradually extended along the north bank of the Seine from the east to the west. To the west again of this historic palace stood at one time the scarcely less celebrated palace of the Tuilleries, but which alas! exists no more. Catherine de Medicis constructed the palace in the sixteenth century and for three hundred years the palace had an eventful history. The great Henry IV and Louis XIII resided in the Tuilleries from time to time, and the "Grande Monarque" Louis XIV also resided there during the commencement of his reign but he left it for Versailles afterwards, and the Tuilleries were abandoned for about a century.

It was in the year of the French Revolution in 1789 that the populace of Paris went *en masse* to Versailles,—the market women of the Halles forming a large portion of the crowd,—and brought the unfortunate Louis XVI back to the Tuilleries. On the 10th August 1792 the populace armed in thousands, attacked the Tuilleries, massacred the faithful Swiss guards, took the palace, wrecked the apartments and destroyed its valuable contents or carried them to the Hotel de Ville. The poor king who had taken refuge in the riding school was after two days carried to the temple where he remained till his execution.

The Tuilleries were again attacked and taken by the mob in the revolution of 1830 and of 1848. Napoleon III on his accession restored and adorned the Tuilleries and "many men not beyond middle age have frequently seen him leave the Tuilleries with the Empress and the Prince Imperial, in state, escorted by soldiers and surrounded by thousands of enthusiastic spectators." But the storm of 1870 swept away

the imperial dynasty of France, and what the war spared was destroyed by the vandalism of the Communists who rose in Paris after the Germans had left it. The Palace of the Tuileries which had witnessed successive revolutions was finally destroyed by fire by the Communists of Paris on the 24th May 1871 and for ten years after that date all that remained of this magnificent palace was a pile of blackened and mouldering ruins! In my last visit to Paris in 1871 I saw these sad ruins along with the ruins of many of the finest and fairest edifices of this lovely city. For ten years after that date "the clock dial of the Pavilion de l'Horloge remained attached to the facade,—the hands marking 12-30,—or half an hour after noon of the 24th May 1871, that being the hour when the work of destruction planned by the commune was fulfilled." At last the Municipality decided on the removal of this memento of ancient royal pride and of modern popular vandalism. The ruins were sold by auction and were carted away,—and not a trace now exists of the palace of the Tuileries where the kings and ambassadors and the great ones of Europe were at one time proud to find a place by the side of the Royalty of France.

The Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel constructed by order of Napoleon Bonaparte to commemorate his victories of 1805 and 1806 formed at one time the gateway to the palace of the Tuileries. The palace has now disappeared,—the gateway alone remains. Designed upon the model of the arch of Severus at Rome it is 48 ft. high and 64 ft. wide. It was only a pedestal whereon was placed the world—renowned Quadriga or team of four horses carried away from the St. Mark of Venice by Napoleon as a trophy of his victories! On the fall of the Empire the Quadriga was restored to Venice and replaced by another group. Marble reliefs on the different sides represent the different victories of the Great Napolean, and an inscription in French dedicates the arch to the French army victorious at Austerlitz in 1805, on the anniversary of the crowning of Napoleon.

The Palace of Tuileries stood to the west of the palace of Louvre, and to the west again of the Tuileries stood and still stands the celebrated Jardin of Tuileries. The beautiful gardens with fountains and statues in it extend east and west and in a straight line with the palaces spoken of above. Extend the same straight line further westwards, and you come to the Place de la Concorde, then to the gardens called the Champs Elysees extending far westward as far as the towering and magnificent Arc de Triomphe. The arrangement is so perfect and the line is so straight and unbroken, that standing on the Louvre you see

straight before you the gardens of the Tuilleries, the obelisk of the Place de la Concorde, the lovely gardens of the Champs Elysees and far off the magnificent Arc de Triomphe closing the view.

The Place de la Concorde is one of the largest and finest Squares in Europe, being 390 yards long and 235 wide. The Seine flows by the south of this square, and beyond the Seine is visible the Chambre des Deputes with its fine corinthian pillars. The Rue Royale stretches to the north, terminating in the Church of Madeleine corresponding in its noble architecture with, the Chambre des Deputes. The gardens of Tuilleries bound it on the east and those of the Champs Elysees on the west. In the centre of this noble square is the Luxor obelisk, an Egyptian monument of 1500 B.C., and presented to Louis Philippe by Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt. It is 76 ft. high, and is erected on a block of granite 13 ft. high. North and south of this Obelisk are two noble fountains, representing the rivers and the sea respectively, while all round the square are eight fine statues representing Bordeaux and Nantes, Rouen and Brest, Marseilles and Lyon, and Lille and Strasbourg respectively. Since the loss of Strasbourg in 1871 the statue representing that town has been draped in mourning, and the following significant inscription is written under it:—

"Qui Vive? France!"

such is the Place de la Concorde now, but it has a long and mournful history to tell. In 1763 the place was first levelled and the statue of Louis XV was raised in its centre by an enthusiastic and loyal people;—nineteen years afterwards that statue was melted and coined into pennies (1792) and the title of the square was changed into Place de la Revolution! In the next year Louis XVI was guillotined on the very spot where his father's statue had been erected twenty years before! For two years the fearful instrument did its bloody work on this spot, and 2,800 persons,—some of them the bravest and noblest that France has ever produced,—were decapitated on this gloomy spot. In 1799 the place was again called Place de la Concorde,—in 1814 the name was changed to Place de Louis XIV,—in 1826 the name was again changed to Place de Louis XV,—and finally in 1830 it again assumed its present name, Place de la Concorde. I have only to add that this square has been a silent witness not only of the crimes and cruelty of Frenchmen but also of their humiliation and shame. Prussian and Russian troops occupied this place in 1814 and the allied Powers again occupied it in 1815. And after the disastrous war of 1871 the German troops bivouacked on the same historic ground.

From the Place de la Concorde stretched far westward the magnificent road of the Champs Elysées with the celebrated gardens of the same name on either side of it. Morning, noon or night, this is a delightful and crowded resort. Equestrians are seen in it by scores in the morning, on their way to the Bois de Boulogne. In the afternoon the broad Avenue is thronged by an array of carriages such as not even the Rotten Row in London can equal! On the south side of this Avenue is the Palais de l'Industre where various industrial products are exhibited all through the year, and where besides, the annual *Salon* or exhibition of modern paintings is held from 1st May to the 15th June. On the north side of the Avenue is the Palais de l'Elysees celebrated in French history. Built in 1718 it became in the reign of Louis XV the property of the celebrated Madame de Pompadour. Napoleon Bonaparte, dwelt in it for some time, and after his fall the Emperor of Russia and the Duke of Wellington occupied it during their occupation of Paris. Subsequently Louis Napoleon dwelt in it as President of the Republic in 1848, and it was here that he planned the famous *coup d'etat* of the 1st December 1851 which made him Emperor on the following day. Four years later the Queen of England dined here with the Emperor. The Emperor has since paid the penalty of his *coup d'etat* and France is a republic again, and this palace is now the official residence of the President of the Republic for the time being.

The Champs Elyseés stretch westwards as far as the Arc de Triomphe de l'etoile which is the most superb triumphal arch in the world, and commemorates the triumphs and victories of the greatest military genius that the world has yet produced. The design of the arch was prepared by order of Napoleon Bonaparte to commemorate his matchless victories,—but the work was not taken in hand till the time of Louis Philippe who constructed it in 1836 at a cost of £400,000. The arch is 67 ft. high and 46 wide,—but the total structure is 160 ft. high and 146 wide. The facades of this arch are decorated with vigorous groups of collosal statues, and the victories and triumphs of Napolean are engraved on the walls.

It derives its name "Etoile" or star from being the centre whence radiate twelve of the finest avenues of Paris in twelve different directions! one or two of these deserve special mention. The Avenue des Champs Elysees which comes from the East is continued westwards under the name of the Avenue de la Grande Armé, because Napoleon's grand army passed by this Avenue. A

grander army however,—that of the Germans in 1871 entered Paris by this Avenue! Another road called the Avenue de Bois de Boulogne extends South-West from the Arc and is almost a park in its beauty and its width. It was laid out by order of Napoleon III and was called Avenue de l'Imperatrice until the fall of the empire. The procession of equipages which enter the Bois by this fine Avenue is one of the sights of Paris.

Both the Avenue de la Grande Armé and the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne lead from the Arc to the fortifications of Paris which like a circle surrounds the town in every direction and which kept back the great German army from Paris until hunger forced the citizens to surrender. Beyond this circular rampart, and to the west lies the celebrated Bois de Boulogne which was originally a forest and a game preserve and is now one of the loveliest and best wooded parks in the world. It covers 2250 acres of ground and is covered with timber of various kinds. It is intersected by broad roads and rides under drooping trees and is adorned by sheets of ornamental water. Two lakes were excavated here during the empire, and an artificial cascade having a fall of over 40 feet is the delight of Parisians as well as of strangers. A part of the Bois is enclosed and made into a Zoological garden, and called the Jardin d' Acclimatation. It has a fine collection of animals and birds.

We have now travelled along the entire line from the Louvre westwards to the Arc de Triomphe, and beyond the Arc to the outer fortification of Paris and the Bois de Boulogne outside it. There are some places however of great interest to the north and east of the Louvre,—and of these we will speak in our next.

R. C. DUTT, C.S.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

## VERNACULAR LANGUAGES AND THE FIRST ARTS EXAMINATION.

THERE has been raging a controversy about making the vernacular languages (Bengali, Uriya, Assamese, Hindi and Urdu) as second languages for the First Arts Examination, so that they may be optional with Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Latin.

The Candidates at the Entrance Examination who take up a vernacular language as a second language find it very hard if not impossible to go up for the First Arts Examination, which makes knowledge of a classical language compulsory. Hence the origin of the cry for change.

In the Cambridge and Oxford Universities, a knowledge of Greek and Latin for the 'little-go' is compulsory. In the First Arts or First B.A. Examination of the London University a knowledge of both Greek and Latin in addition to that of English is compulsory. As the Calcutta University is believed to have been established on the model of the London University, we may insist upon the Candidates having a knowledge of English, one classical language and a vernacular. Instead of following this straightforward course, the University authorities have given preference to vernacular or classical languages, according to fancies.

It will be a great mistake to revert to the old system of neglecting the Indian classics. It will be an equally grievous mistake to persist in the present style of ignoring the vernacular languages (in F.A. and B.A. Examinations) altogether. Sanskrit is the mother language of Bengali, Hindi, Uriah, Gujrati and Mahratti. Ignorance of Sanskrit makes the wisdom of the glorious past of India a sealed book. Religion, philosophy, law, medicine, and astronomy of the ancient Hindus are all recorded in Sanskrit.

Without a proper knowledge of Sanskrit, no person in modern days has been found attaining any success in Bengali literature. The late Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt, Akhoy Kumar Dutt, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjie, Romesh

Chandra Dutt, Hem Chandra Bhattacharjee, Sivanath Sastri, Dijendro Nath Tagore, Raj Kisto Roy, Sasadhar Tarkochuramoni, Kali Prasanna Ghose,—one and all are sound sanskritists, and are the best writers in the Bengali language. They will admit the obligation they are under to their knowledge of Sanskrit. It will be a grievious mistake on the double grounds of the Sanskrit being the root language of the Indian vernaculars, and of all writing of the ancient rishis being in Sanskrit not to make a knowledge of Sanskrit compulsory in the First Arts Examination, and partially in the B. A. Examination as is the case now.

At the same time a knowledge of the candidate's vernacular language should be tested in the F. A. and B. A. examination, just in the same way as the candidates at the First B.A. and second B.A. Examinations of the London University are required to be examined in the English language and literature.

It is quite possible to extend the system of the Entrance Examination to the First Arts Examination. Instead of having both the papers in Sanskrit in the First Arts Examination, let us have one paper in Sanskrit or Persian, and another paper for translation into the Candidate's Vernacular language. In the B. A. Examination, we have three papers in Sanskrit; we may in future have one of these papers exclusively devoted to the candidate's translating English passages into their own vernacular.

This is a compromise; and as a compromise will not fully satisfy those who covet university honours without the knowledge which all universities must exact; neither will this compromise satisfy others who in the fashion of the Oxford and Cambridge Universities and of the Sanskrit Tols, despise the vernacular language of the country. Although Latin is not the root-language of English, you have the London University insisting upon a knowledge of Latin both in the Matriculation and First Arts Examination. Sanskrit has certainly a greater claim upon the Indian graduates than Latin has upon English graduates. Nevertheless the Calcutta University permits students to pass the Entrance Examination without the knowledge of Sanskrit; and no one is compelled to take it up for the B.A. Examination. That there should be strong objections to a rudimentary knowledge of Sanskrit in the First Arts Examination seems to prove in my mind the hollowness of the laudation which the objectors bestow upon the wisdom and learning of the ancient rishis of India, and their want of appreciation of the near connection of Sanskrit with the Indian vernacular languages.

S. D.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

## SANSKRIT VS. SCIENCE IN OUR UNIVERSITY.

Since the publication of a short paper on this subject in the June issue of *Concord*, the subject of the propriety of making Sanskrit a compulsory subject of study in our University has been fully discussed. The article itself was attacked by "The *Tribune*," a newspaper published in Lahore. The writer in the newspaper held that Sanskrit should be made a compulsory subject of study. Then, some of the students of certain colleges in Calcutta submitted a memorial to the Registrar of the Calcutta University, praying that the Bengali language be made optional with Sanskrit as the Second language for examination in the First Arts course; or in other words, Sanskrit may not be made a compulsory subject of study for the students going up for the First Arts Examination. This memorial had the approval of two leading newspapers in Calcutta, *viz.*, *The Indian Mirror* and the *Statesman*. But the University authorities did not consider it advisable to comply with the students' request. Sanskrit therefore continues to remain a compulsory subject of study in our Colleges. While the students' memorial was being discussed in the newspaper's, Dr. Jogendra Chandra Bhuttacharya favored the public with his views on the subject of Sanskrit education in an article headed "A plea for Sanskrit," in the October number of this journal. The title sufficiently expresses the views of the writer. Lastly a "communicated" article appeared in the *Indian Nation* of the 12th December last, in which the writer advocated the abolition of the Sanskrit College.

While these discussions were going on in the public prints, the writer had the pleasure of receiving views of some of his friends whose education and intelligence justly add a weight to their opinion. With all these different views before him, the writer once more ventures to discuss the subject. It may be well to state here, that he has not found it necessary to alter his opinion. He still believes that Sanskrit ought not to be a compulsory

subject of study, and that Science ought to take the place of Sanskrit in our University. We are not against the study of Sanskrit, nor do we undervalue its worth. But, as we firmly believe that the study of science will help to a much greater extent the development of civilization in our country than the study of Sanskrit, and as it is not possible for our young students to study English, Sanskrit and Science during the period of their college career, we would make science, in preference to sanskrit, a compulsory subject of study. In the following pages, we will try to meet the arguments of those who hold a contrary view. First, we must begin with the writer in the *Tribune* newspaper. We confess that most of his arguments appear to us more sentimental than real. All that he has really been able to put forward in favor of compulsory Sanskrit study is, that, that language unlocks the door to "ancient Indian Philosophy and Logic which might yet throw some new light on the constitution and working of the human mind." He does not think that "a thorough study of Indian Medicine by men versed in European medicine would be all fruitless." As regards the belles-letters, he would have us believe that the *Ramayana* and the *Mahavarata* contain "life-like pictures of mountains, seas, rivers, cities and forests; the grand vivid descriptions of battles and of warfare . . . . . ." life-like pictures indeed! Ravana with ten heads and the heroic deeds of the monkey-god Hanumana! He speaks warmly on the efficacy of the study of Sanskrit in educating the mind. "There is no language or literature" he says "which like Sanskrit educates the mind." A language like this can only pass among a people like ourselves who have nothing but conceit to keep up our head. This is not all. Another reason for making Sanskrit a compulsory branch of study is that a knowledge of that language helps the development of our Bengali language and literature—we shall have occasion to refer to this point later on. It would be too long to quote all his arguments, but the above would give a fair idea of his reasons for making Sanskrit a compulsory branch of study. Arguments like these, to say the least, are extremely puerile. Gather the gems, if you like, which lie hid in Sanskrit philosophy and logic, but why compel others to do the same who would think them to be mere pebbles? Why compel the whole nation to study Sanskrit because the study of its medicine might lead to great results, or that its poems contain life-like pictures of mountains and seas. Let us ask in all fairness whether is it right that the whole body of our students, all without exception, should be compelled to study Sanskrit, to dream about the transcendental

speculations of Hindu philosophy or turn sophists over the knotty but useless questions of our ancient logic, so that none should learn to manufacture soap or know how to work a steam boiler or lay telegraphic lines? No, none wishes to abolish the study of Sanskrit altogether, but it is not fair that those who give preference to Science over Sanskrit should not have facilities to prosecute their favourite subject of study. It is too much to expect that a student can learn Sanskrit and Science at the same time in addition to English language and literature. Is there any reason whatever why one should not learn Botany or Geology if he prefers these studies to reading about "life-like" picture of the ten headed monster of Ceylon? The writer in the *Tribune* newspaper observes—"fancy MaxMüller or Weber asking an Indian educated man something about the Ramayana, and the Indian opening his pocket edition of Griffith's translation of it, instead of the original." But fancy an Indian gentleman when asked by an European about the manufactures of his country has to confess that he belongs to a people that cannot lay down one furlong of rail road, that cannot manufacture one yard of broad cloth, nay, has to depend on other nations even for a steel pen and a pin! The writer concludes his review by remarking that "culture," he no doubt means such as is obtained by the study of light literature and philosophy, "we place infinitely above mere so-called Scientific knowledge." It is almost hopeless to demonstrate the utility of "Scientific knowledge" to a people when the leaders of their thought are so very indifferent to it. Any one who has travelled in European countries must know what science has done in those countries for the comfort and happiness of the people. In our country, the want of "Scientific knowledge" of sanitation is decimating our villages, want of "Scientific knowledge" regarding agriculture is visited with dire famines, and want of "Scientific knowledge" regarding manufactures is reducing the whole nation to beggary! Yet those who have taken upon themselves to instruct their countrymen are so dead against scientific study!

We shall next notice the students' memorial. As stated before, a few students petitioned the educational authorities to make the *Bengali* language, a subject of examination in the First Arts Course. One very good argument they urged was that many would, after passing the First Arts Examination, go in for the study of medicine, where a knowledge of Sanskrit was not wanted. The University Authorities refused, as surely they had the power to do, the prayer of the students. But did they thereby give any very intelligent reply to the young men? Did they show that the

study of Sanskrit for six years, which must be prosecuted before passing the First Arts Examination, would be of any avail to the students who take medicine or engineering or law as their profession in life? Would it not have been a much more intelligent settlement of the question if an alternative course of science had been prescribed for such students as do not care to learn Sanskrit? The authorities seem to have acted on the dogmatic principles of old Brahmans. You cannot think for yourselves, you must follow what we prescribe. You may like to study science, but we shall make you study Sanskrit.

We now come to the article published by Dr. Jogendra Chandra Bhuttacharya; and we are bound to remark that most of the arguments of this learned gentleman are curious. For instance, he says at one place, referring to the students' memorial we have spoken of above, that if the indulgence which the students asked for were granted the office of pandits in English schools would be made sinecures; that by the cultivation of Sanskrit alone we could learn to have self-respect. The only arguments advanced by this gentleman worth replying to are (1), that the study of Sanskrit helps the development of our vernacular; this argument was also used by the writer in the *Tribune* newspaper, and (2) that Sanskrit may form a common language for all India. As regards the first we grant that it is so. But does it follow therefore that *all* our young men should be set by the ear to study Sanskrit, that they may develop our vernacular? Is there no other occupation in life but to develop our language, that all without exception should be set to that task? As regards the second argument about Sanskrit being a common language all over India, a man must be very sanguine indeed who could dream so; who could think that Sanskrit would take the place of Hindi and be understood in the palace and in the field, by the great and low, the rich and the poor. Hindi already bids fair to be the *Lingua franca* of India, and of all languages the difficult Sanskrit has the least chance to displace Hindi. Can it even be imagined that a peasant on the banks of the Ravi will direct in Sanskrit the way to Lahore, to a tourist from Bengal, or that a gentleman from Poona will bargain with a shop keeper in Mithila in Sanskrit! Happy dreamer, if such be thy dream!

The next paper that we would review is of a very different character from the foregoing. It was published in the "*Indian Nation*" of the 12th December last, as a "communicated" article, under the heading "The Calcutta Sanskrit College." The writer advocates the abolition of that College. Holding, as we do, that

Sanskrit ought to be an optional subject of study in our colleges, and that it should not hold a very prominent place in our University curriculum, we cannot but wish that there ought to be at least one institution in Bengal where Sanskrit language and literature in all its branches should be taught. There is the Madrassa for the benefit of the Arabic and the Persian languages, and we see no reason why a similar institution should not be maintained for the benefit of the Sanskrit. The writer says that the Sanskrit College cannot now pretend to be a special institution. It ought at all events to be a special institution. However much we may differ with the writer, we are, nevertheless, much obliged to him for publishing at this moment extracts from a letter which Raja Ram Mohun Roy wrote to the then Governor-General of India, giving his opinion as to the value of education which the study of Sanskrit could impart. We are tempted to quote the opinion of that great man for the benefit of those who hold that the whole nation should be compelled to study Sanskrit because of the inestimable lore it contains, and the "culture" it imparts to the mind such as no other education could give.

"We find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit School under Hindu Pandits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and meta-physical distinctions of little or no practical use to the Professors or to society. The pupils will then acquire what was known two thousand years ago with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since then produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India!

* * * *

"As the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India was intended by the Government in England for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed it will completely defeat the object proposed, since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives, in acquiring the niceties of Vyakaran or Sanskrit Grammar, for instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following: *Khádá* signifying to eat, *Khádati*, he, she or it eats, query whether *Khádati* taken as a whole conveys the meaning he, she, or it eats, or are separate parts of the meaning con-

veyed by distinctions of the words, as if in the English language it were asked how much meaning is there in the *eat* and how much in the *s* and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by these two portions of it distinctly or by them taken jointly.

"Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following—which are the themes suggested by the *Vedanta*—in what manner is the soul absorbed in the deity? What relation does it bear to the Divine essence? Nor will the youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedanta doctrines, that all visible things have no real existence; that as father, brother, &c., &c., have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world, the better.

"Again no essential benefit can be derived by the student of Mimánsá from knowing what is it that makes the killer of a goat sinless, by pronouncing certain passages of the Vedanta, and what is the real nature and operative influence of the passages of the Vedas, &c.

"The student of Naya Shástra cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learnt from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the universe are divided, what speculative relation, the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul; the eye to the ear.

"In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterized, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian Philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of Schoolmen which was best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sankrit system of education would be best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature."

This was the opinion of the wise men of our country two generations ago; but we in our day would make Sanskrit a compulsory subject of study, to the detriment of more important education,—we mean education in science.

As regards the opinion which the writer of these pages has been favored with by his private friends, it may be stated that, among them, as among public writers, the majority are in favor of making Sanskrit a compulsory branch of study. It may, how-

ever, be added, that it was not those who were ignorant of the Sanskrit language who wished its abolition as a compulsory subject. A highly educated gentleman, one who has taken his degree of M. A., of the Calcutta University in Sanskrit, and a few others who had taken Sanskrit in their B. A. Examination, agreed with the writer in thinking that Sanskrit ought to give place to Science in our College studies. Be that as it may, the very fact of the minority being on the side of making Sanskrit an optional subject does not prove that they are wrong. It is worth while remembering that every reformation began with a minority. The question therefore should be settled on its own merits.

It is hardly necessary to discuss the arguments with which the several friends were kind enough to favor the writer in support of their opinion; as they are much on the same lines as those here discussed. There is something of an air of patriotism in upholding the cause of our ancient language, something so gratifying in believing that it contains a highly valuable literature, something so charming and sweet in the language itself; and on the other hand, something so ungracious to believe that the wisdom and the literature of our forefathers have wholly or in great part been overshadowed by the science and literature of foreigners, that many are tempted to over-estimate the worth of, and stand as champions to the cause of Sanskrit education. But it must not be forgotten that in compelling our young men to waste their time for such sentimental reasons in useless studies, and to prevent them from acquiring true knowledge which has made nations great and civilized, we are doing a positive harm to the cause of our advancement and civilization. There is, however, one argument communicated by a friend of exceptional education and intelligence, in favor of making Sanskrit a compulsory branch of study in India, which we would mention. It may be thus stated:—

Considering that Sanskrit language and literature had so long been practically an exclusive property of one sect, the Brahmans, and how that sect used it to impose a most appalling superstition, and a most servile tyranny on the mass of the people, it would be a positive gain to the country and to the cause of humanity itself if the lore and wisdom of our ancestors were no longer an exclusive property of one sect, but made a common inheritance of all, so that all may read them and examine them and interpret them by their own light and reason, instead of an interpretation being dictated to them by a selfish class interested in keeping up an intellectual monopoly. Every one may then see

what our ancient religion was, what the teachings of our philosophy and dictates of our sages were, and thus the huge fabric of superstition may be broken down, never again to be built.

We are ready to admit that a monopoly of education which the Brahmans enjoyed was a cause of disaster to the country at large. To such an extent the ancient literature of our country has been used, and is still being used in maintaining a grovelling superstition and in blocking up the way to progress, to such an extent the authority of our shastras has been set up against the adoption of any reform, and the so called "glorious past," invoked for continuing mischievous, nay, vicious practices, that one would almost be justified in wishing that we had been, like the Fiji islanders, without a literature and without a past. But we do not see that in order to break through the shackles of this superstition we all need learn Sanskrit. First, because the superior influences of Western Science and literature are well able to drive away any superstition which priestly craft may invent or antiquity may sanction. In fact the opposition which has been set up against the time-honored superstitions of our country had already begun before Sanskrit became a compulsory subject of study in our Colleges, and is due to Western education alone. Secondly, if Sanskrit be made a compulsory branch of study, would it lead to a general study of the Shastras and to the critical examination of the ancient writings of our country? Some will no doubt do it, *i.e.*, those who have a taste and inclination to study the subject, and they will study it even if Sanskrit be not compulsorily taught in our schools. But it is pretty certain that a compulsory study of that language will not lead to a wide spread study and examination of our literature. The reason is not far to seek. Sanskrit is not like a modern language which if once learnt enables one to read any book in that language. One may have a very decent knowledge of Sanskrit, quite as much as is learnt at present up to the B.A. standard, and yet may be unable to understand readily any book that may be opened out to him. It will certainly take time and energy to understand a book, in Sanskrit, not previously read. This is a serious obstacle in the way of studying Sanskrit literature. We shall illustrate the truth of these remarks by an instance. What a transcendental religion and deep philosophy almost beyond the comprehension of man were the Vedas supposed to contain, till a popular translation appeared which showed what the books are? Sanskrit has been for over twenty years a compulsory subject of study in our colleges, and yet the Vedas remained unstudied by the general public and would have

remained so, and the myth about them permitted to continue but for a popular translation. If the mass of the people of Bengal now know more about these books than they did before, it is because a Bengali translation appeared, and not because the compulsory study of Sanskrit enabled the people to read and understand them. Similarly if it be thought desirable that the religion and philosophy, the more substantial portion of our ancient literature should be popularly known, it must be by means of translation, and not by compulsory education in Sanskrit. The popularizing of our classics, the unfolding of the gate to the store house of our literature must therefore be left to translations, and to specialists, those who would study our ancient lore even if Sanskrit were not a compulsory subject of study, and not to the mass of students pressed to learn a language only to forget it as soon as they are out of their colleges.

As the question of making Sanskrit an optional and Science a compulsory branch of study for our rising generations is of high importance, in as much as on it depends the future civilization of our country and the comfort and happiness of our people, we have thought it our duty to lay the subject once more before our countrymen and our educational authorities. It is left to them to decide how the question should be settled.

J. C. DUTT.

## LOW-CASTE HINDUS IN THE MAIMENSINGH DISTRICT.

ACCORDING to the last Census, there are 47 Hindu castes in the District of Maimensingh. Between the high-class Aryan Brahmin and the aboriginal Garo of the Tibeto-Burman stock, there are a good many castes—probably of mixed descent—some of which are classed as pure, others are non-pure low-castes and the rest, semi-hinduized aborigines. Under our very eyes, the low-castes are every day creeping upwards to the higher standards of ceremonial observance of the pure Hindus and the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes are becoming slowly merged in the ordinary Hindu population. The phenomenon of non-aggressive proselytism by which Hinduism is slowly but surely absorbing the less civilized tribes of the Garo Hills, is very distinctly observed, though on a small scale, in the district of Maimensingh.

There seem to be three distinct stages through which the aboriginal tribes of the hills and jungle, pass before they are absorbed into the religious and social federation of the Hindus—before, in fact, they rise to the dignity of distinct Hindu castes.

The first stage consists in the gradual change in their modes of life in order to suit the improved condition of society of the composite population among which they settle down and in the adoption of some of the respectable manners and customs of the high-bred Hindus. They pass into the second stage when they are able to secure a Brahmin priest to officiate at their domestic ceremonies of birth, marriage and death, still retaining, however some of the primitive customs—such as remarriage of widows and the like. The process of transition is complete when they not only entertain a Brahmin priest to minister to them but also conform to all or nearly all the social rules, and the laws of custom as well as of conduct, of the pure Hindus.

According to the above classification, the low-castes may be divided into three distinct groups :—the first group consisting of

the Garo, Dalu, Hájang, Koch, Hadi, and Rajbansi; the second group including the Bhuimáli, Chamar and Chandal; and the third group, comprising the Dhobi, Jhalos, Kaibarto, Sáhá Subornobanik and Teor.

It is not to be understood that the classification is an exhaustive one or that the castes in the last two groups were at one time aborigines. They might have been so in the dim and the distant past but there is nothing to show at the present moment, that they were aboriginal tribes largely modified by Hindu admixture excepting that there is still a strong non-aryan leaven traceable among them. As regards the tribes in the first group, there can arise no such doubt in the matter. Their very cut of the face—and some of their present beliefs and customs clearly show that they were at no distant date the aboriginal tribes of the hills and forests, who have gradually melted down to settled life, copying Hindu rites and becoming fused with the general Hindu Community.

Let us, first, take the Garos. They, are admittedly an aboriginal race. They are now divided into two well-defined sections, *viz*:—the *abori*, *i.e.*, living in the hills, and the *lámdani*, *i.e*, living in the plains. The former form a well-marked group in the wild tracts of hill and jungle, while the latter present the curious spectacle of being gradually pounded in the mortar of Hinduism. Their system of tillage represents a stage half way between the *Jhum* cultivation of the hill Garos and the settled agriculture of the Hindus. They do not, on the one hand, burn a patch in the jungle, take a few crops off it and then move on to "fresh fields and pastures new;" nor on the other hand, do they go on cultivating the same fields from generation to generation. They are gradually learning the use of the plough.

Their religion partakes more of the demonolatry of the hill Garos than of the fetichism and polytheism of the low caste Hindus. But they have been seen, in company with the semi-Hinduized tribes, to worship and offer propitiatory gifts to, a stone marked with a daub of red paint under a big banyan tree.

They speak two languages Garo and Bengali—are called *Dabhási*. They give both Garo and Hindu names to their children. Their male adults wear the ordinary Bengali *dhuti*, while their women and old men as a rule, wear their primitive Garo cloth. They no longer live in *changs* or huts raised on piles. In fact, these Garos of the plains are approaching the first state of evolution and there seems to be little doubt—that a generation or two hence, they will loudly knock at the gate of Hinduism for admittance into its hallowed precincts.

The *Dalus* have fairly entered the first stage. They formed, it is said, a clan of Hill garos and migrated about a century ago to the plains. Formerly, they had a dialect of their own—which they have all but forgotten (*Vide* Hunter's Statistical account of Assam, Vol II., p. 147). They have, both males and females, altogether laid aside their primitive dress and adopted the Bengali dress and disown all relationship with the hill men. Vestiges of their primitive customs, however, are still found among them. For instance, their rule of succession clearly shows that they were at one time closely akin to the Garos. The succession among the Garos, as is well known, is in the female line. The line of succession among the Dalus is, wife, daughter, wife's sister, wife's sister's daughter and so on. But at present the inheritance is gradually gravitating towards the male line. They do not marry the widows of their maternal uncles, as the Garos do, although widow marriage and divorce are still practised by them. In fact, several customs of the Garos connected with marriage and the rights of property are still practised by the Dalus, but there is observable a rapid sliding into Hindu customs and a continuous attempt at social assimilation with the Hindu castes.

We have included the Hajangs, Koch, Hadi and Rajbansis in the first group, but in reality these tribes are on the debateable land between the first and second groups. The Hajongs have now been split up into two sections; one section still retaining some of their old non-Hindu customs and having no priests to minister to them; while the other section has obtained the services of brahmin *purohits* to preside at their domestic ceremonies and assuming the airs of clean Sudras, has given up drinking *pachwai* beer and has renounced all taste for pork and fowl. They now give themselves out as thorough Vaistnabs. The fact that a brahmin now officiates at the domestic ceremonies of these pure Hajangs is a sure sign that they have drifted on into Brahmanism. The Hadis and Koch have been similarly split up into two sections. Their primitive customs regarding marriage and rights of property have been considerably modified in the course of ages—but widow-marriage still prevails among all these tribes. The Rajbansis are altogether a superior race. They have got their Brahmin priests and their habits are scrupulously clean. They exhibit in a most striking form, the compromising spirit and assimilative nature of Hinduism, when brought in contact with races of lower civilization. The face of all the tribes in the first group is of the Tibeto-Burman (Mongolian) type, and this would go to show that these snub-nosed tribes have had an affinity with the aboriginal hill races; but their adop-

tion of several Hindu customs and their entertainment of Brahmin priests at their domestic ceremonies imply, not only their admission into the Brahminical creed but also their evolution into regular Hindu castes or sub-castes.

We now come to the second group. Although it cannot be with any certainty predicated of the castes included in this group that they have a near affinity with the hill tribes, a non-aryan element, more or less diluted, is still traceable among them, while some of their habits and customs and their worship of stocks and stones show that they, though in the earliest and lowest phase of Hinduism, may be still called Hindus—their partiality for pork and their worship of demons are a sure sign of a non-aryan leaven, which has not, as yet, worked itself out. Widow-marriage is still in vogue among these castes but it is interesting to observe how this custom is gradually disappearing among certain sections of these castes. For instance, the caste of the Chandals in the Maimensing District, has separated into three classes, that never eat and seldom intermarry, with one another. They are sub-divided into fishermen, oilmen and agriculturists, according to their occupations. Widow-marriage, which is one of the characteristics of Non-Aryan tribes, and which was formerly universally practised, has within a few years been abandoned by the agriculturist section of the Chandals. Although he has adopted many Hindu ideas, the agriculturist Chandal still retains his partiality for pork and spirit. Similarly the Bhumalis have been sub-divided into two groups—in one of which, the custom of widow-marriage does not now obtain.

We now come to the third group of castes. Among them, all the *Brahminical* rules regarding caste and all the Hindu customs in connection with marriage and rights of property are strictly followed. The only difference between them and the higher Hindu castes consists in this, that while the latter are ministered by High class Brahmins, degraded Brahmins or Barnobrahmins as they are called, officiate at the religious and social ceremonies of the former. Now who are these *Barnobrahmins* ? Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.S., in an article in the *Calcutta Review*, propounded the theory that they were perhaps the aboriginal priests who used to minister to the religious wants of the tribes and who had now assumed the name of Brahmins, because the tribes had entered within the pale of Hinduism. His theory, in a word, is the evolution of aboriginal priests into Hinduized Brahmins and not the assimilation of degraded Brahmins with the Hinduized aborigines. His theory however is not borne out by the facts observed in the

Maimensing District. There, the Barnobrahmins were invariably pure Brahmins, having fallen from their high estate by some *liaison* with low-caste women or by marrying into inferior grades and so forth. Sometimes, a large fee is sufficient to tempt a pure Brahmin of the lower grade to act as *purohits* to those semi-Hinduized tribes, and the high social position given them by the caste for which they officiate is often a great inducement. To them, come great profit as well as repute by the addition to the crowd to whom their religious ministry has become indispensable. These Barnobrahmins are the most active missionaries of popular Hinduism, and to them, we owe, in a great measure, the gradual brahmanizing of the aboriginal non-aryan and casteless tribes throughout Bengal.

There seems to be a sharp line of demarcation between the castes of the third group, and the pure castes of Nobosáks who are just above them in point of social status. To use a geological phrase, there seems to be a "fault" between these strata of castes. No instance has been observed, of a caste of the third group struggling to be promoted to the caste of pure Hindus and to be ministered by high class Brahmins. These castes seem to be quite contented with their Barnobrahmins—who satisfy all their needs, social and religious, and who exact smaller fees than the pure high-class Brahmin priests.

We have thus briefly shown how the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes are creeping towards Hinduism and the low-castes adopting the caste rules and the higher standard of ceremonial observance of the pure Hindus. As to whether this process is of advantage to them or not, we shall content ourselves with quoting the opinion of an impartial authority, Dr. W. W. Hunter. "To the aboriginal races, with their witch-finders and murrain-spreaders and perpetual fear of sorcerers and devils, the advantage is more evident. A Brahmin has only to set up his leafhut in the glens and to mark a stone or trunk of a tree with a daub of red paint and the poor malignant spirits of the forest flee before the powerful Hindu gods. The legend of the Arch-angel smiting down the demon with his sword is every year, enacted in some forest recess of India. An authoritative system of worship is a great comfort to these backward races, hemmed in by the uncontrolled forces of tropical nature, as it teaches them how to propitiate the mysterious powers and tends to liberate their minds from the terrors of the unseen. I have no sympathy with those who would minimize the results of Christian missionary enterprise in India. But the Indian Census, in spite of obscurities of classification,

proves that Hinduism is a religion which has not as yet exhausted its mandate. For the hundreds which it loses to Christianity or to Islam or to the new theistic sects, thousands of the lower races crowd into its fold. To those races, Hindooism means a change from the fear of demons to the worship of Gods."

N. K. BOSE.

## A DIALOGUE.

"Wherefore love her? If she loves not,
Will to-morrow change her heart?
If with all thy prayers she moves not,
It were better you should part?"
Yes; but love grows sometimes slowly,
In a heart that's true and holy;
Blossoms on unkindly soil,
To reward the worker's soil,
And I too wait, through sun and shower,
For Love's sweet immortal flower.

"Wherefore wait—if she disdain thee
As too mean to win her care?
Fortune, honour—*these* may gain thee
Lovers here and everywhere?"
Yes; but Love alone have I,
Love that waits and will not die;
Love that never strives in vain,
And may yet o'ercome disdain.
Who knows? perhaps, as years decline
Hers may stoop to welcome mine.

"Why presume? What can'st thou offer
That will serve thee to atone?
Thou—a mark for every scoffer,
Base to all eyes—most thine own?"
*Only Love*, and my endeavour
To be worthy of her ever.
She may rouse to generous deeds
The soul that for her presence pleads,
And teach me how, by God's strong grace,
To win for her a worthy place:

"But her love—her heart's whole love,
Unchanging, without end,
That now so proudly soars above,—
What hope that it will bend?"
This;—that my loyal faith will reach,
Better than vow, or prayer, or speech,
A heart that sorrows have controlled,
And earth's vain fancies cannot hold;
Perchance the need of love and rest,
Some day, may bring her to my breast.

BEL.

## *THEBAW, EX-KING OF BURMAH.*

### III.

Shortly after the flight of Selin-Soopayah, the marriage of Thebaw with the Princess Soopayah-Lat was celebrated with much magnificence, and she became his Chief queen or Queen of the South; and also Thebaw's only queen for many years. Soopayah-Lat is a very fine looking young lady, with features that express mildness of disposition and goodness of heart. It is certain that any physiognomist, looking on the Burmese Queen, would credit the asseveration of sister Teresa, the good Lady Superior already mentioned, who has stated most emphatically, that Soopayah-Lat had nothing whatever to do with the massacres that have given Mandalay an unenviable notoriety. In fact, the queen knew nothing of them till after their commission.

Soopayah-Lat is unusually fair for a Burmese, and of queenly deportment, with pleasantly courteous manners. In the days of her ascendancy and happiness, Soopay-Lat used to be remarkable for light-heartedness, laughing at the slightest provocation as heartily as any school-girl, and often, by so doing, upsetting the rigid etiquette and gravity of demeanour observable at the Burmese Court; for the queen's joyousness proved contagious, and when she gave vent to peal after peal of hearty girlish laughter, the infection could not be resisted, and the maids of honour, princesses, and other ladies who might be present in Court joined in the merriment, until there was a general giggle. Soopay-Lat was extremely kind in her treatment of the royal princesses who resided at Court with her. Her kindliness of heart and queenly disposition displayed itself in her showering gifts on her people; especially on the citizens of Mandalay. Queen Soopay-Lat's maids used to be kept busy weaving tumiens and putsoes, of brightly coloured and rich silks, and of unique and fantastic designs, which were all subsequently bestowed as gifts on the people; in fact, these gifts were bestowed so largely, that there was quite a manufactory for them, in the royal household.

Though so merry at times, Soopayah-Lat, when circumstances required it, could play the queen right royally. And she never

acted in a more queenly way than on the downfall of her husband. During that period of gloom and dismay at the palace at Mandalay, she rose above the circumstances, casting aside the nervousness natural to woman under such an ordeal, she stood spiritedly and faithfully by her husband's side. She has shown herself since that time, to be an affectionate and faithful wife, and a woman of a truly royal spirit. Soopayah-Lat would undergo, more than ordinary difficulty and peril, if thereby she could hope to restore her husband to his former position, and recall the glories of her House.

Thebaw's queen—Soopayah-Lat—[the second wife Thebaw has taken being quite overshadowed by the graces and abilities of his first wife,]—is despite her refined and almost girlish features, a woman of no ordinary mental powers; the strength of character she possesses is most remarkable for a woman. From the time she became the wife of Thebaw, she has exercised a remarkable ascendancy over him. Her power over him has been so great, that either she must have urged him to commit, and commended the committal of the massacres at Mandalay, which were all perpetrated subsequent to her union with Thebaw, or she was innocent of all such design and knowledge, and Thebaw has sinned by passiveness rather than by active consent, for it seems unaccountable that he should have kept his wife ignorant of the intended cold-blooded and horrible crimes.

Sister Teresa's impartial and doubtless true testimony is that the queen was completely innocent, this good man has testified clearly and distinctly that Soopayah-Lat knew nothing of these terrible deeds till after they were perpetrated. The testimony Sister Teresa has borne of Soopayah-Lat's character is certainly very favorable, but the testimony is given in such simple language that it bears stamped, as it were, on its face the force of truth; the words used do not permit of their being ascribed to the good sister's imagination. This good lady has certainly spoken in warm terms of the last of the Burmese queens, when she recounted the grateful feelings the queen always manifested towards her; she said Soopayah-Lat showed an affectionate remembrance of the acts of kindness, and the notice of herself, shown when she was a neglected little girl.

During Soopay-Lat's rule, Sister Teresa was always warmly and affectionately welcomed at the palace at Mandalay; and her advice was listened to with marked attention, and doubtless exercised an wholesome influence on the queen. He would, indeed, be a most desperate maligner who would ever dream of stating,

that Sister Teresa could have counselled her friend, to launch into, and continue a career of horrible cruelty and bloodshed, a career which laughed, so to say, scornfully at the rights of the people to be anything else but a mere machine, to furnish revenue for the King, and the units of whom served, as opportunity offered, as objects, for the King to display the cruelties that a bad heart could inflict. The conclusion, all impartial and reasonable men will come to will surely be, that from the moral ascendancy the queen, Soopayah-Lat, exercised over Thebaw, she was either the instigator and active participator in all the crimes imputed to him, or otherwise, if she was innocent both in knowledge and deed of these offences, her husband, Thebaw, could not be guilty of them in the sense he has been held accountable, but only guilty in so far as he permitted them to be carried out in his name, at the proposal or bidding of a powerful minister, and a cordon of no less powerful co-ministers. In other words, he sinned by weakly assent, when he should have uttered a powerful and decided dissent. I would not be understood to say that Thebaw committed no arbitrary act, or deed of wrong, of his own accord, far from it. Such a statement would only show a want of knowledge of the way of Eastern absolute monarchs, and the systems in operation at their Courts.

Some may ask why the Tynedah-Mengzee deemed it expedient to imbue his hands with the blood of the members of the royal family. The palpable answer is, to save his own neck, and that which is impalpable is the hard cruel nature of the man, to whom human suffering and human blood was of little account. This cunning Burman reasoned thus; he had gone too far to recede when as an accomplice to a plot to place Thebaw on the throne, he had beguiled so many of the princes and imprisoned them, besides he had not caged the whole of them. The principal Prince, the man who had most right to the throne was at large and under British protection. Well, suppose any of these captive princes succeeded in escaping and coming into a position of power, his life would most surely be forfeited, hence it was better that they should be destroyed. Dead men are powerless for vengeance. The murders were committed, also, with a view of striking terror to the hearts of the Nyoung-Yon Prince, and of the other princes who had escaped from Burmese into British territory, and to show them what they might expect should they fall into the hands of the paramount power at Mandalay. The Queen of the South was an active co-adjutor of the chief minister's, in securing the destruction of the princes, and thus removing as many of the

agents as possible, of the future supposed downfall of her son-in-law and her daughter.

Doubtless it was so pointed out to Thebaw, that the only way he could hope to reign in safety, would be by destroying the princes who were then in his power, and removing persons from his path who might in the future be inimical to his interests, besides such action would paralyze with terror, those of the princes who had escaped, and would probably prevent them from purposing to invade Upper-Burmah, and thus the country would be kept quiet and free from anarchy, which always results from waging a civil war. Doubtless such representations were the means used to obtain his assent to the carrying out of the terrible crimes.

Thebaw had barely been seated on the throne for a few months, when a series of horrible massacres begun at Mandalay. Seventy of the princes and princesses of the royal blood, with many of their children were murdered. It has been stated, that one of the princesses was pregnant and that she was disemboweled in the presence of her husband. The old prince, who was the Governor of Rangoon in 1552, when it was captured by the English, was a man who had a good record of service done for the State, but the remembrances of such services did not save him from a cruel death. They filled the old man's mouth with gunpowder and blew his head off. The perusal only of the revolting atrocities perpetrated at this period in Mandalay, makes the blood run cold in one's veins, and one only too gladly drops a veil over the scenes of cruelty presented to the mind, and desires most earnestly to forget the horrible story.

The strangest part, connected with these awful incidents is, that many of Thebaw's subjects approved of these massacres, on the ground that their perpetration ensured peace and order and prevented civil war in the country, and hence Thebaw did not incur general unpopularity on account of these wholesale murders. The traditions of the nation so used the people to this sort of thing in the royal family, that doubtless the absence of blood shedding, on a new King's accession, would be cause for much surprise. What, however, was one cause of Thebaw's unpopularity, which degraded him in the eyes of his people, and which they could not forgive him, was his having only one wife, and in permitting her to have such an ascendancy over him. All Kings of Burmah, hitherto, began their reign with four chief queens—the Queens of the South, East, West, and North, but here was this effiminate and degenerate prince content only with one queen. And his subjects resented such an innovation.

## *THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS.*
## *THE PYRAMIDS.*

After spending ten most interesting days, we left Thebes, and arrived at Dendarah, where there is a very fine ruin of a temple, in which we spent a day. This is the temple at which the sepoys are said to have worshipped, when the Indian army was brought into Egypt, and the frequent representation of the cow as a deity would fully account for the fact. On the ceiling of the *pronaos* there is also a very remarkable zodiac, and astronomical subjects, with two very long and extraordinary wide female figures on either side.

This temple was dedicated to the goddess Athor, and is of much later date than many of the other monuments, having been built in the time of the Romans. On its back wall are figures three or four times as large as life, purporting to be portriats of the celebrated Cleopatra and her son Cæsarion. I cannot say that either the features or figures correspond with the renown of her beauty, though both are pleasing. Probably Egyptian architecture and sculpture were both on the decline when this temple was built, it being assigned to the age of the Ptolemies, while some of the sculptures were not finished till the reign of Tiberius. There are a number of long Chambers built in the thickness of the walls, that have only lately been discovered, and to judge from the perfect and uninjured condition of the sculptures, were not known to the Persian invaders of Egypt.

We passed the "White Monastery," which is interesting on account of its being one of the early Christian settlements. Some of the monks swam off to our boats, in accordance with their long-established custom, and we gave them a few small presents. It is curious that these Copts or Egyptian Christians acknowledge Saint George for their patron saint. Pocœke supposes this monastery to have been erected in the time of the Empress Helena. The Copts are still a numerous and very interesting race in Egypt, and claim to be descendants of the early converts of Saint Mark.

We wandered for a day through the tombs or grottos of Beni Hassain, excavated in the rock on the side of a hill, and reckoned among the most ancient in Egypt. The paintings on

the walls are of much the same description as in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, excepting that manly sports are here represented, hunting the wild animals of Africa, wrestling, and so forth, even women being engaged in feats of strength and agility. Some of the columns supporting the roofs of these grottos struck me as being very chaste and beautiful, resembling what is known as the Doric style.

The antiquities of Memphis and pyramids of Sakarah next engaged our attention; but only mounds of broken brick and pottery, and a few large fragments of stone, and dilapidated statues dug out of the earth, remain to mark the site of what was once the capital of Egypt, a city that, according to Diodorus, had a circuit of 150 stades, or upwards of 17 miles. Here stood the famous temple of Pthah, the Egyptian Vulcan, now covered by the sand from the desert and alluvial deposit from the river. A very large and beautiful colussus, which must at some period have been thrown from its pedestal, is said to mark the probable site of the temple. A quiet, benignant repose is well expressed in the features of this statue, and round its neck is suspended a sort of small breast-plate, not unlike the Wrim and Thumurim of the Jews; many other broken figures may be seen lying about, which were once covered with earth some ten or twelve feet deep, and have only of late been dug out.

It was in this city that Moses was brought up and educated in all the knowledge of the Egyptians by Pharaoh's daughter, and it was here where the famous bull "Apis" was kept. Some short distance off in the desert, beyond the pyramids of Sakarah, which are in a ruined state, the tombs of these sacred bulls have been discovered very lately, and are among the most interesting monuments of Egypt. They were found and excavated by a Frenchman who has busily despoiled them of their most valuable antiquities. The excavation, I may remark, is of vast extent. I greatly admired twenty-four very large and beautifully polished black and red granite sarcophagi found here; they are by far the finest in Egypt, or, as I fancy, in the world.

We had wandered from this some distance into the desert, examining some ancient ruins supposed to be those of the "Serapeon," mentioned by Herodotus, when upwards of twenty Arabs surrounded us and demanded our money. They were armed with iron-bound clubs, and the sheik or head man had a gun, while we (one companion and myself) had our walking sticks, and I had my belt on, with pistol and hunting-knife under my dress. Our servants advised and entreated us to give up our money as the only means of safety; and as we did not hearken to them they

soon made off, leaving us within the ring formed by the Arabs. We first tried reasoning with the rascals, saying we would have no objection to give them a present, as we had come into what they termed their territory, but that they in return must conduct us in safety back to our boat. They declined to do this, and would have stripped us of everything we had. The Sheik brought matters to a crisis by pointing his gun at my companion, and repeating his demand for our money or our lives; on which my fellow-traveller very pluckily laid hold of the muzzle and tried to wrench the gun out of the Arab's hands. I had considerable difficulty in warding off two blows made with clubs at his head, one of which would probably have been fatal.

Finding the affair likely to be serious, I drew my pistol from my belt, but did not wish to take their lives if I could help it, for however justifiable in self-defence, it would have obliged us to flee the country. I called out to my companion to let go the gun and allow me to manage the armed Sheik, thinking that they would leave us alone when they saw our determination to resist; my friend complied, but the brigand by whom he was attacked instantly put the muzzle of his gun to my breast, saying "Ana dâreûbâk" (I'll shoot you)." I had but time to dash it aside with one hand, while with my pistol I struck him a heavy blow across the forehead, which brought him to the ground, as if shot, his face covered with blood. As my assailant's hands fell powerless at the same instant, I seized his gun, and using it as a club, we easily sent the rest flying across the desert, two of them carrying our mark along with them. I then smashed the stock of the gun over a stone, and threw it away, and we proceeded without further molestation. When all was quiet, we went on inspecting some curious mummy-pits of the Ibis, or sacred crane of the Egyptians, some perfect specimens of which we found preserved in earthen jars, and returned to our boats in the evening.

Such adventures are not common now in Egypt, and only occur probably to those who go beyond the beaten track. The Arabs of the desert are a strange, wild race, wretchedly poor and their lawless life is often a necessity. The bulk of the present inhabitants of Egypt, the fellahs, or agricultural class, are quiet and peaceable, but their condition is very miserable; their lives seem to be spent in vain efforts to avoid a grinding taxation, and, if possible, to escape what is to them a still greater tyranny, the conscription, or more properly speaking, kidnapping, for the army of the Padsha, for whom or for whose welfare they can have no patriotic regard. The prophetic doom that they should be

"trodden under foot and abased," a nation that should "ever be under the rule of foreigners," has most fully come to pass: Cleopatra was their last sovereign of Egyptian birth.

To preserve them from service in their ruler's army, parents will put out a son's right eye, and the young men themselves will not hesitate to cut off the first joint of their right fore-finger. The number met thus mutilated surprises every stranger. Egypt would be the easiest country in the world to conquer. The people possess no liberty to fight for; they have no patriotism, how should they! They cannot call their own bodies, far less the land they till, their own. It is too often a weary fight with them to keep body and soul together. In Upper Egypt I witnessed two heart-rending scenes of woe; a husband carried off by force from his weeping, helpless family; snatched up and dragged away by blood-thirsty, reckless Arnout soldiery, when working for a bare subsistence in his field, from which his hard task-master drew the profits; and a young man, still but a boy, torn from his mother's arms, who lay wailing on the river bank, and would not be comforted, long after the Arnout's merkeb had floated away with her son for ever. These stolen conscripts never come back again they told me. A large proportion soon pine and die in the barrack imprisonment they first suffer; and if they survive this ordeal, is still no return; desertion is punished with death, and there is no discharge or pension even for the old.

Early in the morning of the following day, after about an hour and a half's ride from the river bank, opposite the great pyramids, we arrived at the sphinx. This most fantastic animal, which has been ever looked upon as one of the greatest wonders of Egypt, is quite close to the largest Pyramid, and is supposed to have represented "Royalty," the union of intellect and physical force; though some ancient writers considered it the Father of Terror. Its most striking attribute is its immensity. There is still a degree of placid beauty about its features, an abstracted expression, such as may often be remarked on the very large Buddhist idols; but time and ill-usage have made sad havoc with the monstrous face. After removing all romance from it, it is simply a large sandstone rock or cliff, that has stood isolated in the plain, carved down into the figure of a monstrous animal, with a female human face; the work must have been one of considerable time, and the conception, doubtless, a grand one, and well adapted for the purpose of inspiring terror into the weak minds of worshippers. Here we saw a Frenchman working under the orders of the local government. He had forced an entrance into the

sphinx, not being able to find a door way, which has been dug for in the surrounding sand by many *savans*. To impart an idea of the size of the sphinx, I may remark that the circumference of its head has been found to measure 102 feet.

Having satisfied our curiosity with the view of this marvel of the world, we next proceeded to the great Pyramids of Goozah. Once seeing them is not sufficient to enable the eye to take in their vast dimensions. We first walked round the largest, and, after indulging in the usual reveries and exchange of ideas on such occasions, proceeded in a more practical spirit to a good breakfast that our servant had brought with them; and, after the pleasant fumes of our chibouks had induced a fitting state of mind, we commenced slowly and at our ease to climb the vast pile. The difficulty is not so great from the steepness as from the great size of the stones composing each layer.

This vast mountain of hewn stone was supposed by Herodotus to have been built by a Pharaoh called Cheops. Sir G. Wilkinson and other *savans* read his name "Suphis," and allege that he ascended the throne of Egypt 2133 years B. C. or nearly 4,000 years ago, about twenty years after the foundation of the Assyrian empire by Nimrod, the mighty hunter. It does not appear, however, that they have any sufficient proof of either the time or person by whom these enormous wonders of the world were erected. Josephus, and the most ancient writers whose records we now have, evidently did not know, or they could not have failed to give a clear account of such a work. Let one picture to himself 366,000 men constantly employed for twenty years in building the great Pyramid! The present base has been found, by careful measurement, to occupy twelve acres of ground, and its perpendicular height to be 460 feet 9 inches, a good many feet off the top having been at some former period thrown down; it is in fact, the size of what is usually called a good high hill. The solid contents of this Pyramid have been calculated at 85,000,000 cubic feet.

From the top of this pyramid the view of the surrounding country is very extensive. In its interior are chambers, entered through a long dark passage, which we traversed with lanterns. The Sarcophagi found inside show that it was used as a tombstone, and render it highly probable that the great structure was built with the sole idea of perpetuating the name of the builder. So much knowledge of architecture and levelling, which has been accomplished with beautiful correctness, is a striking fact for that early period; and here, again, the question of what means were used to raise these enormous stones bewilders the mind. Inside,

we found the pyramid very hot and close. I tried the effect of firing off a pistol; it made a most deafening noise, and was heard outside with a peculiar sound. The long passage leading into the interior has all the properties of a whispering gallery. There is not much to describe about these vaulted chambers, in the heart of such an immense mass of stone; the only wonder is that they were not made larger, and more of them. It has been calculated that there might have been upwards of 3,000 rooms of the same size as the one within the great pyramid as it now stands. The walls of the chambers and passages are, for the most part, cased with granite beautifully polished. One can scarcely walk along the passage with shoes on, it is so smooth.

We also entered the second pyramid, usually termed Belzoni's, because he found out the opening into it. The details do not materially differ from the other, only everything is on a proportionately smaller scale. On one side there are the remains of some very large temples. Some of the stones piled one upon another are really *enormous*, and still beautifully polished; they have only lately been dug out of the sand, or rather the sand dug away from around them. Near this there are also tombs, which we examined, and, after a long day's amusement, returned to our comfortable boat, now soon to be changed for a residence on shore.

The following day we went on a second visit to the island of Rhoda, a pretty spot covered with gardens and country seats of the Careens. Tradition has fixed on it as the place where Moses was found by Thermuthis, the daughter of the then reigning Pharaoh, according to Josephus. We plucked and ate some fine oranges, growing here in the wildest luxuriance; no one hindered us, they were so plentiful. The next day we returned to Cairo, and left our boat for an hotel, after a two months' very pleasant and most interesting tour on the Nile.

The first three weeks after our return, I resided in Grand Cairo, where the climate at this season of the year is very pleasant, and, generally speaking, the society agreeable, both at the hotel and in the town, while these old eastern bazaars have endless interest for one fond of watching human nature and its peculiar characteristics in different parts of the globe. Besides, we made some delightful excursions to various places of beauty and antiquity in the vicinity, one of the first, of course, being a visit to Heliopolis, at one period the capital of Egypt. A fine, but much worn obelisk, and a few large carved stones, amidst hills of *debris* now mark the spot where it once flourished, and is all that has withstood time and the invasion of Cambyses. Here stood the great

temple of the Sun and the "On" of Scripture. Here grew the "balm of Gilead," which Josephus tells us was grown by Cleopatra, who first introduced the plants from Judæa; it was considered the most precious of all drugs, and was one of the principal gifts of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon. Many wonderful occurrences have happened and been forgotten; much has been learnt and lost in this Heliopolis. Here arts and sciences and logic, probably now unknown, were studied 4,000 years ago; here Moses and Plato, and afterwards Herodotus, lived for years under the tuition of these most learned Egyptian priests; and here, also, it is recorded, a heathen astronomer saw and marked the awful darkness that veiled our Lord's death on Mount Calvary.

I wandered about this deserted spot during a fine cool afternoon; the country looking green and rich, and the numerous fruit gardens most inviting. In one of them a very large and old sycamore-tree is pointed out as marking the spot where Joseph and the Virgin rested on their way to Egypt. Many Christian pilgrims believe in this, and make a point of visiting it, and drinking of the water of a well close by, said to be peculiarly sweet and good, ever since the Holy Family partook of it. I found it cool and refreshing, and did not feel at all in the humour to question the simple tradition. One day we rode to a place called the petrified forest; the name "forest" would certainly mislead the uninitiated, for there is nothing but an open desert, strewed with masses of petrified wood, resembling pieces of palm and something like bamboo, though it is a grass not now known growing in Egypt. Such a quantity of wood, now turned into stone all over this part of the desert, proves one very interesting fact, namely, that what is now dry sand and sterile desert, once bore green trees and flowering shrubs.

A very pretty ride or walk to the gardens of Shoobra, through an avenue of large sycamore and accacia trees deserves notice. Within the garden is a palace, built by Mahomed Ali, the late powerful and bloody ruler of Egypt; here is a portrait, said to be very much like him. The palace seems generally in bad taste, a mixture of the European and Asiatic; there is a large fountain, with broad open bath or pond, in which the numerous harem collected from the warm countries of the south and the fair beauties of Circassia were wont to bathe and romp, with toy boats and galleys, for the amusement of the grey-bearded chief, who was accustomed to recline on the dewân, with his long chibouk in hand, and watch the gay crew, till one merry maid, more fearless than the rest, would upset one of the tiny

boats, when the wild scramble, shrill shouts, dripping silks and streaming locks would make the old Pasha laugh till the tears ran down his cheeks, and his pipe-bowl split on the marble floor. The lately deceased ruler, Abas Pasha, did not usually reside here; but if all reports are true, his amusements were still less edifying than those on which I have glanced. In the centre of the garden there is a really handsome Kiosk, with fountain, and marble and alabaster pavement; coloured lamps and glass in great profusion, a small aviary, and a few animals in the shape of a lion, a giraffe, and two or three gazels, complete the spectacle. One of the gardeners gave us, for *buxees* of course, some of the finest oranges I ever ate: he plucked as many off the trees as we could conveniently take away of the delicious, high-flavoured, blood orange of Malta, and the not less highly-scented Mandarin of China.

The Egyptians, both men and women, are generally very plain. Their dress is neither convenient nor picturesque, at least to the eye accustomed to oriental costumes. The people of Nubia have generally a better expression than the people of Lower Egypt, though their skin is darker; their eyes are larger and more expressive, their dress usually white, and very simple. Boys are in their natural buff, and girls wear only an apron, made of leather in strips, till they are twelve or thirteen years of age.

Alexandria, founded by the great conqueror of that name, has now little worthy of description; in everything there is a mixture of the oriental and the worst European taste. It is, however, a town of vast importance from its situation; Napoleon said it would yet be the capital of the world. It is the stepping stone between Europe and India. Here stood the Pharos, one of the seven wonders of the world; here also was maintained the famous library of the Ptolemies, consisting of the wonderful number (for those early days, when the printing press was unknown,) of 700,000 volumes, a copy of every known work in the world, of which the Caliph Omar was the last and most barbarous destroyer; and here flourished the first museum, the seat of learning, whence so many philosophers issued to benefit mankind. Here the Saropeon, with its colossal statue and its famed philosophy, the gymnasium, panium, and the hippodrome, all flourished; but all have passed away, and only the remains of ancient Alexandria are the two mutilated obelisks, erroneously termed Cleopatra's needles, (since removed,) and the equally mistaken Pompey's pillar. The shaft of the latter is certainly very elegant, and forms the best monument of the ancient capital of the world.

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# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

**NEW SERIES.**

No. 4.—APRIL 1888.

## *SAMUEL JOHNSON.**

WHEN I was asked to give a lecture at this debating club it occurred to me that I might address you on the subject of Samuel Johnson for he has always been a great hero of mine, and it is such a pleasure to have an opportunity of speaking about him, and of showing in however an imperfect manner my reverence for his life and character. I shall indeed be fortunate if I can give you in hearing me one tithe of the pleasure which I have felt in thinking about Johnson, and in reading his life and writings once more. Johnson's life by Boswell is perhaps the most widely known biography in the world, and it has been said by Macaulay that "Homer is not more decidedly the first of heroic poets, Shakespeare not more decidedly the first of dramatists, Demosthenes not more decidedly the first of orators, than Boswell is the first of biographers. He has no second. He has distanced all his competitors so decidedly that it is not worth while to place them. Eclipse is first, and the rest nowhere." And here I would like to put in a good word for John Wilson Croker, the editor of Boswell's life. Macaulay's critical skill, and marvellous memory, sharpened by personal dislike, enabled him to find many errors in Croker's remarks, but for all that the edition is a delightful one, and a mine of information about the literary history of England in the 18th century. Croker added some two thousand five hundred notes to Boswell, and as Mr. Conington remarks in his edition of Vergil, "a body of several thousand propositions on a great variety of subjects can hardly

* Originally delivered as a lecture at a Young Men's debating club

fail to have a large percentage of error." In Boswell's life we see Samuel Johnson, not indeed a solitary figure, but rather basking in the full tide of existence such as that of his own beloved Fleet street or Charing Cross, towering among his fellows, but yet sufficiently approached by them to be able to drink delight of battle with his peers. We see him folding his legs and having his talk out, as it was possible to do in the good old days when conversation was not swamped by hurry and excitement. Johnson sitting surrounded by his Club, or enjoying the sweets of female companionship at Streatham reminds us of the symposia of Socrates, and the salons of Paris, and may call up to our minds the lines of Gray, where he says :—

> Girt with many a baron bold
> Sublime their starry fronts appear,
> And gorgeous dames, and statesmen old
> In bearded majesty appear

It is too much the fashion to speak contemptuously of the eighteenth century, and to regard it as a period of stagnation only redeemed towards its close by the gusts and whirlpools of the French revolution. In reality the eighteenth century was, as John Stuart Mill describes it to have been, a great age, an age of strong and brave men. In the galaxy of distinguished men who made London and England illustrious in the latter half of the eighteenth century Johnson is the central figure, thanks to his own imposing personality, and the skill and fidelity of his biographer. He seems to knit together all the literary men of that age, and also to link them at one end to the 17th century, and at the other end to the 19th century. We find him carrying on the tradition and preserving the good deposit of John Milton by the stateliness of his diction, and the loftiness of his character, and on the other hand we find him befriending and advising Miss Burney and Hannah More, who in her turn influenced Miss Austen and Macaulay. It is a striking and pathetic combination which shows us Johnson, the bigoted Tory and high Churchman interesting himself in Milton's grand-daughter, and procuring that the Masque of Comus should be performed for her benefit. It reminds us that in the noble republic of letters there is room for all, that it is emphatically a country in which there are many mansions, and that, however much literary men may quarrel there is still always a bond of union between men who seek to influence by brain, and not by muscle. I have spoken of Hannah More as a link between Johnson and Macaulay. Hannah More was a bluestocking and an authoress whose writings have long since been forgotten. She wrote a novel called "Coelebs in Search of a Wife,"

but I fancy very few people ever ascertained by reading the book whether he ever found her. At all events Coelebs and his Lucilla, if that was her name, have long slept the sleep that knows no wakening. But Hannah More's goodness and purity will not soon be forgotten, or that in her young days she sat at the feet of Samuel Johnson, and that in her old age she smiled upon Macaulay, and wrote of him as the boy Tom who was talkative as ever. Hannah More was distressed at the idea of Johnson's roughnesses being revealed to the world, and begged Boswell to soften them down in his biography. But he very properly refused, saying that he would not cut off his claws or make a tiger a cat to please anybody. I was reminded the other day of the friendship between Hannah More and Macaulay's father by the inscription on a tomb in one of our old graveyards in this city. It is the same one as that which contains the grave of Thackeray's father. There I saw an inscription to the memory of a child, the infant daughter of Charles Edward and Hannah More Trevelyan. This Hannah More Trevelyan is Lady Trevelyan and Macaulay's sister. Johnson's personal appearance is probably familiar to us all from the engravings of his picture by his friend Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Johnson's statue in St. Paul's Cathedral is one of the most striking pieces of sculpture in that building. He stands there in rugged and colossal strength, the literary Goliath that he was in his lifetime. In his hand he carries a scroll with the Greek inscription with which he terminated the last number of the Rambler.

Autòn ex makarôn antaxios eie amoibe, or, as he himself rendered it,

> Celestial powers that piety regard
> From you my labours wait their last reward.

This expressed Johnson's prevailing sentiment. He had a low idea of the happiness of human life, and of the pursuits of mankind. Religion was the guiding principle of his life, and he looked for his happiness to another world, and desired to be remembered of God, rather than of men. To Bengali students Johnson is known, or at least used to be known, as the author of an English dictionary, and as the writer of two poems, "London," and the "Vanity of Human Wishes" which long formed part of the examination-course. Yet it would be easy to find more distinguished names in literature than Dr. Johnson's. Indeed I am afraid that he is but little read now, and though I am sorry for this, I cannot be surprised at it. Much of his work is now of faded interest,

his dictionary has long been superseded, for a dictionary is specially liable to the misfortune commemorated by the poet.

> "We write in sand, our language grows,
> And like the tide, our work o'erflows,"

Even a hardened admirer of the past like myself can find little pleasure in many of Johnson's writings, and probably nothing of Johnson's is now really alive except perhaps his Vanity of human wishes, and some papers in his Rambler. But the memory of the man Johnson will, I hope, live for ever. It is the man, and not his writings which the world should not willingly let die. We have many more brilliant writers, but where shall we find among literary men so noble a character as that of Johnson? Where indeed shall we find among any class of men one who in rugged strength, in steadfastness of principle, and in tenderness of heart was so fitted

> To give the world assurance of a man.

He was an Englishman and had the full share of an Englishman's faults, his insularity, and his prejudices, but he was saved from being an Englishman of the ordinary, conventional type by three things. The first was that he was a man of the people, and had to make his own way in the world. Secondly, he had high talents, even if he had not genius. Third, he had a woman's tenderness of heart. And perhaps I may add that this was not driven out of him, or driven inwards and suppressed by the brutalities of life at a public school.

We have heard enough and perhaps more than enough of his uncouthnesses, and his asperities, his rudeness, his mistakes, and his prejudices, and perhaps we do not sufficiently keep in mind that he was in all essentials a good man, and that in the happy phrase of Oliver Goldsmith, he had nothing of the bear about him except his skin. That man cannot justly be called limited or intolerant who, though a Tory and an Englishman, delighted in the company of an Irishman and bottomless Whig, like Edmund Burke, whose Church-of-Englandism did not prevent him from admiring Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, and the works of Isaac Watts, who was eager that the Celtic languages, especially the Irish, should be studied, who denounced the odious commercial jealousy of the English merchants as shown in their treatment of Irish manufactures, and who sympathised with the feelings of the Irish about the misgovernment of their country. Nor can that man be taunted with narrow views of life and goodness, who prayed with and kissed the closing eyes

of his mother's old servant Kitty Chambers, and whose loving kindness so triumphed over an Englishman's solicitude for his respectability that like another St. Christopher he used his giant strength in saving one who was lost, and carried home on his shoulders a poor diseased prostitute whom he found lying on the London streets, and tended her till her recovery. "He loved the poor," says Mrs. Piozzi, "as I never yet saw any one else do, with an earnest desire to make them happy. What signifies, said some one to him, giving half-pence to common beggars? They only lay it out in gin, or tobacco. And why, replied Johnson, should they be denied such sweetness of their existence? It is surely very savage to refuse them every possible avenue to pleasure, reckoned too coarse for our own acceptance. Life is a pill which none of us can bear to swallow without gilding, yet for the poor we delight in stripping it still barer and are not ashamed to show even visible displeasure, if ever the bitter taste is taken out from their mouths." Mrs. Piozzi, or as I prefer to call her, Mrs. Thrale, adds that in pursurance of these principles he nursed whole nests of people in his house, where the lame, the blind, the sick, and the sorrowful found a sure retreat from all the evils whence his little income could secure them. In speaking to you about Samuel Johnson I cannot hope to say anything new or valuable on a theme which has engaged the pens of Macaulay, and Carlyle, and which has recently been admirably treated of by Mr. Leslie Stephen but as Carlyle says, the company of great men is always profitable, it is always good to discourse about them. I trust therefore that you will bear with me if I take you over ground which you have seen already, and under better guides.

Samuel Johnson was born at Lichfield in 1709. His father was Michael Johnson, a bookseller, whose head-quarters were at Lichfield but who used to itinerate among the towns of the Midland counties. Among the places that he thus supplied with literature was Birmingham, for that great town was then so small and uncivilized that it could not support a bookseller! The demand for books there was so limited that Michael Johnson's bookstall set up there on market days was sufficient for its requirements. This singular fact has not escaped the eagle eye of Macaulay and is mentioned by him in the introductory chapter of his History of England. Connected with this trade of bookselling we have in Boswell's Life a beautiful story illustrative of Johnson's filial piety and of the strength of his feelings of remorse when he had left undone what he ought to have done. One day Johnson's father asked him to go with him to the town

Uttoxeter and assist him in selling books at the bookstall there. Johnson was then a sort of lumbering school-boy, what might be called a hobbledehoy. He was in his teens and after acquiring some local fame by his clever versifications he was loitering away his time at home without applying himself to any profession. When his poor father asked him to do him the service of going to Uttoxeter his pride and bashfulness got the better of him and he refused. But the memory of his disobedience clung to him like the shirt of Nessus, and fifty years afterwards when he was staying again at Lichfield he disappeared one morning early and did not return till the evening. The explanation was that he had been to Uttoxeter and had stood there in the rain bare-headed for an hour as a penance. He afterwards told the story to a young clergyman. He could not, he said, in general accuse himself of having been an undutiful son, "once indeed, I was disobedient; I refused to attend my father to Uttoxeter market. Pride was the source of that refusal, and the remembrance of it was painful. A few years ago I desired to atone for this fault. I went to Uttoxeter in very bad weather, and stood for a considerable time bare-headed in the rain, on the spot where my father's stall used to stand. In contrition I stood, and I hope the penance was expiatory."

Mr. Leslie Stephen in commenting on the story finely says, "If the anecdote illustrates the touch of superstition in Johnson's mind, it reveals too that sacred depth of tenderness which ennobled his character. No repentance can ever wipe out the past or make it be as though it had not been; but the remorse of a fine character may be transmuted into a permanent source of noble views of life and the world."

Johnson was afflicted with scrofula from infancy, and was all but blind of one eye. His parents were ardent Jacobites—or at least his father was, and they thought that if they could get their boy touched by Queen Anne, who was the daughter of James II, and so a Stuart, though her brother the Pretender was the heir, he might be healed of his disease. So when he was three years old his mother journeyed up with him to London and there had him touched by Queen Anne for the king's evil as it was called. This was in 1712 and it appears that on one day in that year Queen Anne touched 200 persons. She was about the last sovereign who did so though the office of healing was printed in the Oxford prayer books down to the time of George I.

Macaulay has an interesting account of the matter and tells us that Charles II touched about 100,000 persons. The

touch did nothing for Johnson, though it impressed itself on his memory and he had, he said, a confused, but somehow a sort of solemn recollection of a lady in diamonds, and a long black hood.

I think it is worth while to dwell a little on this curious instance of superstition, for it may help to remind us of the recentness of European civilisation and so encourage the inhabitants of countries not so civilised as Europe now is to hope that the interval may soon be bridged over. There was touching for the king's evil in England so late as 1712 and later, and we learn from M. Renan that the superstition lasted in Brittany down to the French Revolution, for some of the old nobles of that province were supposed to possess the miraculous power. Sati was long a disgrace to India and was only put down in the time of men still living, but two centuries ago there was some thing worse than Sati in England—there was the burning of women for treason, or rather for what was called treason. Let the ashes of Elizabeth Gaunt witness to this! Burning for witchcraft lasted still longer, a witch having been burnt in Scotland so late as 1722.

When he was 19 Johnson went to Oxford. His good father accompanied him there and spoke, poor man, to the dons, of his son's gifts as a poet and a Latin scholar. How Michael Johnson contrived to get his son to Oxford, it is difficult to say, for he was then in deep waters and not long afterwards became bankrupt. He might have done well enough if he had kept to his shop, but unhappily he made a speculation in parchment which ruined him.

It does not appear that Johnson learnt much at Oxford, and his poverty exposed him to many annoyances and was keenly felt by him. It was characteristic however of Johnson that his poverty did not quench his spirit and make him a sycophant or a toady. He was too strong for such a fate. On the contrary he put on an air of reckless independence and was described by his friend Dr. Adams as a gay and fashionable fellow. This was what the world saw but when Johnson was told in after years of Adams' description, he said, "Ah sir, I was mad and violent, it was bitterness which they mistook for frolic. I was miserably poor, and I thought to fight my way by my literature and my wit; so I disregarded all power and authority."

It is to this time that the incident of the shoes belongs. Johnson used to go to a neighbouring college to have the advantage of hearing his friend Taylor's account of some lectures which he valued, but the students of Christ Church sneered at his

worn out shoes with the toes protruding through them and so he went no more. Some kind-hearted person put a new pair of shoes at his door, but his independence, in this case perhaps a little savage, would not brook such aid and he indignantly flung the shoes into the street. It is evident that a man like this was not fitted to go through the world long or to win favour in the eyes of the dispensers of patronage.

Some years after leaving Oxford a kind friend (Mr. Gilbert Walmsley) tried to obtain for him a livelihood as teacher of an obscure school in Warwickshire. The letter conveying the answer of the trustees of the school declining to engage him has been preserved in the records of Pembroke College and is worth reading. The writer says that the feoffees, *i.e.*, the proprietors or trustees of the school, had made inquiry of the character of Mr. Johnson and had ascertained that he was an excellent scholar, and was deserving much better than to be schoolmaster of Soliihull. But then, the letter goes on to say, he has the character of being a very haughty ill-natured gentleman, and yet he has such a way of distorting his face (which though he can't help) the gentlemen think it may affect some young lads; for these two reasons he is not approved, the late master Mr. Crompton huffing the feoffees being still in their memory.

Another attempt to get an ushership failed from a similar reason, the proprietor fearing that the school boys might imitate or ridicule Johnson's grotesque contortions. So he had to leave the provinces and journey to London which, hard and cruel though she often is, yet has for centuries been the nursery of wits. He went there in 1737 when he was 28 years old and in company with Garrick who afterwards became so famous as an actor. The same kind friend who had tried to get a schoolmastership for him now gave him an introductory letter in which he described him as a very good scholar and one who, he had 'great hopes, would turn out a fine tragedy writer.

I suppose it was the MS. of Irene which made Mr. Walmsley hazard the prediction. He did not turn out a true prophet. Irene was afterwards produced on the stage by the kindness of Garrick and ran for several nights, but it was a failure and Johnson manfully accepted the verdict of the public.

Mr. Stephen says that Irene can be read by men in whom a sense of duty has been abnormally developed. Well, I have read it, though not I admit without some skipping. The best thing about it perhaps is the Prologue. Its closing lines are in a manly strain.

Unmoved though witlings sneer and rivals rail,
Studious to please, yet not ashamed to fail,
He scorns the meek address, the suppliant-strain
With merit needless, and without it vain,
In Reason, Nature, Truth, he dares to trust,
Ye Fops, be silent; and ye Wits be just.

The line "Studious to please, yet not ashamed to fail," should, I think, be the motto of every one who addresses the public.

These lines show us Johnson's abhorrence of cant and remind us of the opening essay in the Rambler when in speaking of the difficulties of an author in making a first address he says:

"Who can wonder that, allured on one side, and frightened on the other, some should endeavour to gain favour by bribing the judges with an appearance of respect which they do not feel, to exert compassion by confessing weaknesses of which they are not convinced; and others to attract regard by a show of openness and magnanimity, by a daring profession of their own deserts, and a public challenge of honours and rewards."

For years Johnson had to contend with great poverty. His "London" only brought him in 10 guineas and his "Vanity of Human Wishes" only fifteen.

On one occasion he was arrested for £5 18*s*. and was indebted for his release to Samuel Richardson the novelist. This was in 1756 when Johnson was 47 years of age and had published his Dictionary.

Rasselas which was such a favourite with our ancestors was written in one week and in order to raise money to defray the expenses of Johnson's mother's funeral. There is a singular resemblance between it and the "Candide" of Voltaire which was published at about the same time. Indeed we find that in several respects there was a close parallelism between Johnson and Voltaire, far apart though they thought themselves. Both of them wrote a philosophical romance on the subject of human happiness, both wrote a tragedy on a subject taken from Mahomedan history, both were struck with the career of Charles XII and wrote, the one a history of that king, and the other, a poetical description of his fortunes. Both had a hatred of oppression and cruelty and while Voltaire exerted himself and with success to deliver the Calases, Johnson tried, but in vain, to prevent the judicial murder of Admiral Byng. Johnson also endeavoured to save the life of Dr. Dodd, who was hanged for forgery in 1777, and he attacked in the Rambler the severity of the criminal laws. It is pleasant to remember that Blackstone—poor, old Blackstone who has been so

belaboured by Bentham and Austin, was active in the same good cause, and denounced in his Commentaries the increase in the number of capital crimes.

Before writing Rasselas, Johnson carried on for two years a bi-weekly paper, or rather leaflet, called the Rambler. I confess that this work is a great favorite of mine. I like its sententiousness, reminding one of Tacitus and Montesquieu, and I admire its many happy turns of expression.

The point for which Johnson is especially to be commended, and on which we should all try to imitate him, is his power of communicating his ideas. No doubt he was some times too grandiloquent, and his style is one easy to ridicule, but when he is at his best, there are few better styles than his. One has to go back to Tacitus to find his equal for telling sentences and then Tacitus has an advantage in his vehicle, for Latin is especially fitted for terse and weighty expressions.

When we inquire into the means by which Johnson acquired such mastery of words, we find that here as in every other matter it was hard work—the labor improbus of Vergil—which led him to success. I think that it is a wise maxim to lay down that there is nothing good that is easy. Chalepa ta kala, was the old Greek expression. Whenever a man or a boy says to himself that he will take things easily he fails. Happy is he if he finds it out and reforms his plan, and most unfortunate if the flatteries of his associates or of his own thoughts hide from him the fact that he has failed.

Boswell tells us that Sir Joshua Reynolds once asked Johnson how he had attained his extraordinary accuracy and flow of language, and that Johnson answered that he had long laid it down as a fixed rule to do his best on every occasion, and in every company to impart whatever he knew in the most forcible language he could put it in; and that by constant practice, and never suffering any careless expressions to escape him, or attempting to deliver his thoughts without arranging them in the clearest manner, it became habitual to him. It is well observed by Malone in a note on this passage that this rule of Dr. Johnson is sanctioned by the authority of those great writers of antiquity—Cicero and Quintilian.

This I think must be the real meaning of the advice given to one of the Trojan heroes by his father, Aien aristeuein—always do your best. Otherwise the advice is vain and cruel. It is vain and cruel, I say, to tell a boy that he should always strive to be first. It is as bad as it would be to tell him to try to be six feet

high, or to tell a girl to make herself as beautiful as Sita or Aphrodite. After all possible exertions there will always be a vast difference between the *bests* of different people, and men and boys must often experience the mortification of finding that their best is but bad and that they are equalled, or surpassed even by those who have not done their best. But so long as we do our utmost we escape self-reproach—that greatest of enemies to joy.

That Johnson had early devoted his attention to the subject of the proper expression of his thoughts we find from the fact that even in his earliest work, *viz.*, his translation of the Voyage to Abyssinia of Father Lobo, there are indications that his style has already formed. And when he drew up in 1736 a paper of instructions for teachers, after minute details as to what books were to be read, &c., he concluded by saying, "The greatest and most necessary task still remains, to attain a habit of expression, without which knowledge is of little use. This can only be acquired by a daily imitation of the best and correctest authors."

Dr. Johnson's remarks about always doing one's best to express one's thoughts are of use everywhere, and not less so in Bengal than in other countries. It is true that Bengalis have what Sir Louis Jackson once called "oriental facundity," and that every one in Bengal, from the ryot to the rajah, can roll out sonorous periods, but I am not sure that really good speaking is commoner in Bengal than in England. Indeed the contrary appears to be the case. Speaking is in Bengal somewhat in the position of learning in Scotland, according to Dr. Johnson's account of that—"It is like bread in a besieged town, every man gets a little, but no man gets a full meal," or, as Mrs. Thrale more strongly puts his phrase, "Every man gets a mouthful, but no man a bellyful." A small portion of the famous discourse of Buffon on the art of writing may here be quoted, "In all ages there have been men who have known how to dominate their fellows by the power of their words. But it is only in enlightened ages that men have written and spoken well. True eloquence requires the training of genius and the cultivation of the understanding. It is very different from that natural facility of speech which is only a talent, a quality granted to all whose passions are strong, whose organs are flexible, and whose imagination is prompt."

Johnson, having once acquired the faculty of expression was able to make it act at his call, and had not to sit cudgelling his brains for words like less practised craftsmen. Most of his work was done rapidly and often he did not even revise the proof

sheets. He followed the method which has lately been recommended by Mr. Goschen, that is, he carried on his thoughts without the help of pen or paper. In this respect he resembled Auguste Comte who after he had worked out his ideas in his head wrote them down rapidly and seldom revised what he had written. I do not know however that this is a practice which is to be recommended. It is too perilous. There is nothing after all like the "delay and the use of the file" recommended by Horace, and it has been suggested by Dr. Donaldson that the obscurities of some ancient writers, *e.g.*, Thucydides have been caused by their not having the same facilities as modern authors for correcting their first drafts. What was written had to remain because it was expensive and troublesome to erase and substitute new words. Even Johnson with all his readiness admitted that he could have improved his papers by rewriting them.

Johnson was by nature a very indolent man, and in spite of all his good resolutions he never altogether got the better of his sluggishness. Yet, as we have seen, he kept up the Rambler, unaided, for two years, thus showing, as Boswell remarks, the truth of his own maxim that a man may write at any time if he will set himself doggedly to it. In 1762 Johnson received a pension of £300 a year. There was some inconsistency in his receiving it, some labefaction of principle, to use one of his own phrases, for he had defined "pension" in his Dictionary "an allowance made to any one without an equivalent; in England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country." "Pensioner" he defined as "a slave of state hired by a stipend to obey his master."

Johnson however made such good use of his pension in relieving the poor and needy that I cannot find it in my heart to blame him for receiving it. It seems really to have been given by George III and his minister as a reward for literary merit and as a Scotchman I feel proud that Lords Bute and Loughborough had a hand in the gift.

No notice of Johnson would be complete which did not quote some of his pithy sayings, and fortunately these are so numerous that we can perhaps give some which are not altogether hackneyed. Johnson's favourite advice was to clear your mind of cant, and it was one that he followed himself on all occasions. Sometimes perhaps he went too far and decried as cant what in reality were the words of truth and nobleness. But I think that many will admit the truth of the following remark about the ancient Romans.

"I know not, he said, why any one but a school-boy in his declamation should whine over the commonwealth of Rome, which grew great only by the misery of the rest of mankind. The Romans, like others, as soon as they grew rich, grew corrupt; and in their corruption sold the lives and freedoms of themselves and of one another."

In another place he described them as a people, who while they were poor, robbed mankind; and as soon as they became rich, robbed one another."

He had not much admiration for some things which are fashionable now-a-days, and I shall only venture to indicate his comparison of female orators to dogs who can stand on their hind legs.

One of his hard sayings, but which is susceptible of explanation is that patriotism is the last resource of a scoundrel.

Another and more celebrated one is his praising his friend Bathurst for being a good hater. But before we condemn this we should hear the whole phrase. "Dear Bathurst, he said, was a man to my very heart's content, he hated a fool, and he hated a rogue, and he hated a whig. He was a very good hater." Speaking of the society of the young he said, "I love the acquaintance of young people, because, in the first place, I don't like to think myself growing old. In the next place young acquaintances must last longest, if they do last, and then Sir, young men have more virtue than old men, they have more generous sentiments in every respect." This may remind us of the remark of the elder Mill that he had never known a happy old man, except those who were able to live over again in the pleasures of the young.

Speaking of Spain and Salamanca, he said, "I love the university of Salamanca; for when the Spaniards were in doubt as to the lawfulness of their conquering America, the University of Salamanca gave it as their opinion that it was not lawful." He spoke this, says Boswell, with great emotion, and with that generous warmth which dictated the lines in his "London" against Spanish encroachments.

He prided himself on his being able to take interest in all subjects and to talk with all sorts and conditions of men, and was greatly pleased with a compliment paid to him by Mrs. Thrale's mother, Mrs. Salusbury. Some gentleman was complaining to her of the dearth of conversation in the provinces and said that people there only talked of *runts* (cattle). Sir, said the old lady, if Dr. Johnson lived in the country, he would learn to talk of runts. Very good too is his remark about Bishop Warburton and his

trenchant style of writing. "When I read Warburton first, and observed his force and his contempt of mankind, I thought he had driven the world before him; but I soon found that was not the case, for Warburton, by extending his abuse, rendered it ineffectual." Does it not seem as if these words had been spoken in our own day, so accurately do they describe the effect of studying Carlyle?

Johnson was always making good resolutions. In his twenty-first year he recorded in Latin that he had bidden farewell to sloth; and would no longer listen to her syren-strains. But on his fifty-fifth birthday we find him writing thus, "I have now spent fifty-five years in resolving, having from the earliest time almost that I can remember, been forming schemes of a better life. I have done nothing. The need of doing therefore is pressing, since the time of doing is short." And then he adds a prayer to God for help. He did not attain his goal, but neither did St. Paul, and it would be a great mistake to say that all his good resolutions were wasted. They kept him from much evil, and enabled him to keep the whiteness of his soul, as few others have done.

Had he lived in our day, he would have been comforted by Tennyson's noble lines—

> Who keeps a spirit wholly true
> To that ideal which he bears?
> What record? not the sinless years
> That breathed beneath the Syrian blue;
>
> So fret not, like an idle girl,
> That life is dash'd with flecks of sin.
> Abide; thy wealth is gather'd in,
> When Time hath sunder'd shell from pearl."

Johnson's connection with India, slight as it was, is of special interest to us here. He was intimate with Joseph Fowkes who was accused of conspiracy along with Maharajah Nandakumar and was convicted together with him. Johnson calls Fowkes his dear friend, and gave in conversation an interesting sketch of his career. He was also intimate with Sir Robert Chambers, and it would have been fortunate for Anglo-Indian history if Chambers had learnt from his friend the dignity of strength of mind. On Francis, in his character of the author of Junius, Johnson made the happy epigram "Let not injudicious admiration mistake the venom of the shaft for the vigour of the bow." Another Anglo-Indian friend of Johnson was Sir William Jones and it reminds us of the remoteness of India in old times to find Sir William Jones speaking as follows of Johnson at the Asiatic Society on 24th February

1715 more than two months after Johnson's death: "One of the most sagacious men in this age, who continues, I hope, to improve and adorn it—Samuel Johnson—remarked in my hearing that if Newton had flourished in Ancient Greece, he would have been worshipped as a divinity."

I must however now conclude with a short account of Johnson's last days. He had a great fear of death. He was most courageous about pain, and it was not the agony of dissolution that he feared. It was the terror of something after death, of going to that bourne whence no traveller returns, which unnerved him. This was part of the gloomy fears, and hypochondriac imaginings which embittered so much of his existence, and made him say that he had been half-mad, or at least not sane all his life. He had many strange habits, such as talking to himself, touching posts as he went along, saving up pieces of orange peel, &c. When he was quite a young man he wrote an account of his bodily and mental sufferings to a physician of his native town. He wrote in Latin, and Dr. Swinfen was so struck with the ability of the composition that he committed the fault, almost unpardonable in a doctor, of showing the paper to some other persons. Johnson was justly irritated at the indiscretion and breach of confidence, but he took a noble revenge, for when Dr. Swinfen died, and in spite of his great practice, left his family in poverty, Johnson received his widowed daughter Mrs. Desmoulins, who had added to the family calamities by making an imprudent marriage, and gave her shelter and support. It is pleasant to be able to record that the clouds passed away at the last, and that Johnson died tranquil, and without fear of the future. He died on the 13th December 1784, having a few days before made his will in which he affectionately remembered his friends, and was especially generous to his man-servant the Negro Francis Barber. In the opening words of the will there occur these words: "I bequeath to God a soul polluted by many sins, but I hope purified by Jesus Christ." Nobody, says Boswell, was more attentive to him than Mr. Langton to whom he tenderly said, *te teneam moriens deficiente manu*, may I when dying hold you with my hand. It is pleasant to think of Bennet Langton being beside him at his death-bed, for Langton was one of the best of men, and a friend and, as it were a son whom he had begotten in his old age. It was the Rambler that brought them together, for Langton had been so struck with that paper that he came up to London and procured an introduction to the author. Langton was exceedingly surprised when he first saw Johnson. He was himself a shy,

punctilious gentleman of old family, very tall and thin, and very bashful. He expected to meet a decent, well-dressed, and in short, a remarkably decorous philosopher. Instead of that, after waiting till midday, down came Johnson from his bedchamber, having only just risen, a huge, uncouth figure, with a little dark wig which scarcely covered his head, and his clothes hanging loose about him, but, adds Boswell, Johnson's conversation was so rich, so animated, and so forcible, and his religious and political notions so congenial with those in which Langton had been educated, that he conceived for him that veneration and attachment which he ever preserved. Johnson too, says Boswell, was not the less ready to love Mr. Langton for his being of a very ancient family. One day when Johnson was dying, Langton found Edmund Burke and four or five more friends sitting with Johnson. I am afraid, Sir, said Burke, such a number of us may be oppressive to you. No Sir, said Johnson in reply, it is not so, and I must be in a wretched state indeed when your company would not be a delight to me. Mr. Burke in a tremulous voice replied, my dear sir, you have always been too good to me. They never met again. It is pleasant to think that the friendship between Johnson and Langton was strong enough to survive occasional disagreements. Langton had on one occasion, it appears, been displeased with Johnson for making fun about his will. On this occasion, says Boswell, Johnson's hilarity became so boisterous that as he was walking along the Strand, he had to lay hold of a post to steady himself, and there gave forth peels of laughter which seemed as if they might have been heard from Temple Bar to Fleet ditch. Langton was of course not present, but he probably heard of this for he got annoyed, and left for the country without bidding his old friend good bye, but they came together again, as we have seen. Johnson asked his doctor, (Brocksleby,) if he thought he could recover and added, give me a direct answer. The doctor seeing that he could bear the truth, told him that he could not recover without a miracle. Then said Johnson, I will take no more physic, not even my opiates; for I have prayed to God that I may render up my soul to God unclouded. In this resolution he persevered, and at the same time used only the weakest sustenance. When he was pressed to take stronger food, he agreed, saying I will take anything but inebriating sustenance.

His last words were words of blessing. On Monday the 13th of December, the day on which he died, a Miss Morris, daughter of a particular friend of his, called, and said to Francis Barber the negro servant, that she begged to be permitted to see the

Doctor, that she might earnestly request him to give her his blessing. Francis went into the room, followed by the young lady, and delivered the message. The Doctor turned himself in the bed, and said, "God bless you, My Dear." These were the last words he spoke.

"So passed the strong, heroic soul away." I will conclude with the words in which Lord Macaulay ends his biography of Johnson. "No human being, who has been more than seventy years in his grave, is so well known to us. And it is but just to say that our intimate acquaintance with what he would himself have called the anfractuosities of his intellect and of his temper serves only to strengthen our conviction that he was both a great and a good man."

H. BEVERIDGE.

## STATE FINANCE IN INDIA.

### I.

FINANCE being the management of ways and means, State finance is the management of State ways and means. It is a most important function of all modern government, of which it is the test.

In Governments that are constitutional, to use the political slang of the day, or elective and representative to be more precise, State finance is the careful selection of a portion of the people's means to be laid out in the general interest under safe-guards. During long periods State finance becomes in this aspect administration itself, and requires that its Controller be if not the highest, at least among the highest of the State's ministers. In England even of late years the Prime Minister has generally been the first financier of his time, and public men ambitious of leading honours, always seek proficiency in finance. And it is easy to see why this should be the case. For when finance is looked at in this light it changes from a matter of figures to a matter of humanity. The minister has to manage men and women, to get his means by ways the most suitable to their circumstances, and to the probable circumstances of their posterity. It is the same in despotic States.

There also a finance minister has not only to control expenditure so as to avoid waste, but has to seek his income in such a way that it will form as light a burthen as possible on the resources of the people, and on their development, that it will grow of itself, and even promote its own growth. He can also promote growth of income by expenditure, whether by investment in profit making industries or conveniences, railways, harbours, post offices, telegraphs, roads, irrigation and the like; or as final outlay in public education, military and naval defence, civil administration, or justice and internal order. State finance in short in a highly centralised government whether representative or not, is intermingled with almost every operation and transaction of human life. From this extreme point of interference it falls on the one hand by the restriction of governmental energy to a position of affairs wherein the people themselves of their own desire and insistence either by local self-government or private enterprize perform many of the above mentioned

functions: and on the other hand by a total disregarding of the popular will, to such an arrangement as was nearly everywhere prevalent in Europe in the middle ages, when state finance consisted solely in the levy of funds for the monarch's privy purse, for the upholding of his court, and for the maintenance of an army for his protection, or for the prosecution of his ambitions.

Finance being in India the essence of Government itself, because India is essentially a poor, and what is more an entirely undeveloped country, a country liable moreover to external attack and to sudden and grave internal disorders, I will instance the mutiny as a type of one class of disorder and the famines as types of another, it may follow that only one state official is really in a position to deal with Indian state finance, and that is the highest, the Viceroy himself. The Viceroy represents the good intentions and wishes of the British nation to India. He alone truly represents India in the counsels of the British nation. The Secretary of State and his Council though largely experienced, through the latter, as to India's past, know of the present only through him. The Secretary of State is moreover removable for reasons unconnected with India, and the policy which keeps a political party in power, may not be a policy in conformity with Indian requirements. With England within a few hours' telegraph, and a few weeks' post of India, it is the Viceroy and not the Secretary of State, that truly represents India in the counsels of the British public. It is with him that taxation would constitutionally lie, no official of lower rank doing more than advise.

The questions pending between England and India hinge almost exclusively on finance, and unless therefore the Secretary of State were a specially appointed financier, here is no disrespect to the India office involved in the suggestion that the Viceroy's power be made equal to his responsibility. If the Viceroy speaks authoritatively the voice of India, it is surely unnecessary to echo that voice in London. Some minister to represent the views of the Indian Government in Parliament there must be, a mouthpiece, but that done, it appears to be a waste of power to go further and place this minister over the Viceroy. The matter is of primary importance in finance for as matters now are, Indian financial requirements may be subordinated to the exigencies of English party government: a complaint to that effect has been loudly made more than once already. And as long as the supreme control of Indian affairs is vested in a minister dependent on a perhaps accidental parliamentary majority of two or three, it is inevitable that such complaints should be made, and perhaps justly.

In the difficult times now coming as the education of India progresses, it will be indispensable whatever views a Viceroy may hold, that those views shall be placed intelligibly, fully and publicly before the British Parliament, so that if rejected, it may be clearly known where the responsibility of rejection lies. At present such adjudication of responsibility is impossible, and India's best founded petitions may be pigeon-holed without its being possible to know where the opposition lies. India may be able to guess, but that is all, and her feelings be embittered in consequence. India no doubt admits that her financial legislation requires the sanction of the British Parliament, for this sanction is a safeguard to her liberties, she being as yet unfit for a constitution of her own, and a Government being liable to mistakes in finance: but she does not care to be sacrificed, blind-folded on the altar of English party government. The finance of India is the Empire's weak point, and everything to do with it should, one may venture to say, be as clear and above board as possible. Free discussion in India of every reasonable suggestion may be allowed, and the Viceroy's mind once made up to a certain course, only an overwhelming majority in Parliament ought to forbid his following it. If he were forbidden, it would be known that the prohibition was the good sense and not the commercial advantage of England that had spoken.

The suggestion to provincialize India, and I presume its finance also, with which Mr. John Bright, M.P., is credited, would only make the present state of affairs worse. Instead of two heads there would be seven or eight. On the contrary it will probably not be long before the time honoured provincial governorships of Bombay and Madras and their Army Staffs are abolished, and all India brought under one chief.

The suggestion here glanced at to provincialize Indian finance, would if carried out not improbably upset the whole fabric of British Government in India. To decentralize certain branches of income and expenditure as is now done under the provincial budget system, is to encourage local self-government and to relieve the central government of some of its duties in detail in a popular and efficient way. The Provinces are made co-partners in a small way, and as they benefit by the growth of income, and by economy in their expenditure, they are stimulated to prudence and foresight. But to provincialize finance as Mr. Bright was understood to mean it, means to throw each province on its own resources: to cease the assistance now given to a poor district by its richer brethren through the Imperial Budget: to have a different rate of interest

in every province of the empire: to have some of these provinces bankrupt and many discontented: and even then a Federal Council for external defence, for the regulation of the affairs of the native princes and for customs would be necessary. The scheme is I think impracticable if only that as a whole it would destroy Indian credit, and would raise up stronger than ever within the Empire race and class antipathies. And the permanence of British Government in India rests on its preserving to India a sound financial credit and on the nationalization of the country.

To carry on efficiently the scheme of the Government of India commenced by the India Act of 1858, it is necessary to have an Imperial system of finance conterminous with the Empire, and at its head should, one must think, be a statesman and financier as Viceroy, able to act as he pleases upon the advice of his Councils without any consideration other than for the welfare of India. The composition of the Legislative Councils becomes now an important factor of administration, in the sense of a sound and equitable government of state taxation and expenditure. It is this matter of the composition of the Councils that forms the leading demand of the National Congress. The Congress thinks that if the Councils are made first larger, and then more elective and representative, the popular element so introduced will give the Viceroy better advice in financial as well as in more abstract matters of good government. And while the advice will, the Congress thinks, be sounder, it will also carry more constitutional weight, and be less liable to veto, than that at present tendered by the nominated and *ex-officio* Councils.

What the reply of Government to the request of the Congress in this respect may be has not yet transpired. But the chief objection raised to the proposal is that representation would not stand at present on a wide enough basis to benefit the people; for that to give financial advice especially the adviser must know the condition and the wants of the masses; and that this is precisely what the large majority of the members of the Congress do not know. No doubt, it is admitted, there are conspicuous examples among the leaders of the Congress movement of men who have studied the affairs of the masses of the people: but a perusal of the proceedings and the speeches does not impress a reader with the conviction. that the Congress as a whole does more than guess at the state of the peasantry, or knows more, if as much, about it than the officials of the Government. The apparently intentional withdrawing of all facts regarding the state of the peasantry from the purview of the last Congress, and the meagre discussion allowed upon industrial employment, were most unfortunate co-incidences, and give colour

to the belief that the classes promoting the Congress though composed of many elements geographically widely distributed, are not those among whom the Government can expect to find exact information regarding the masses of the people. Whether the Congress is right, or its detractors judge it fairly in this matter, can be easily settled by the Government. At all events whether or no the members of the Congress are able to produce facts to prove the alleged extreme severity amounting to ruin of the people's poverty, India is very poor. And that being the case if a popular and elective element can be introduced into the Councils, *such element bringing with it knowledge of the people's wants*, its advice in financial matters will be of the greatest value to the Government. Otherwise, if not facts but only new opinions and ambitions are to be introduced, the Councils had better stay as they are.

It is inconceivable that a body like the Congress should not hasten to push every fact it can obtain into prominence that supports its main contention that India is on the verge of ruin. The Congress has unexampled resources and advantages for the collection and publication of such facts as would solely for financial reasons make a reform of the Councils a matter of instant necessity. And yet it does nothing but make speeches. The members of the Congress avowedly seek after power, yet they inconsistently withhold all proof of their right to ask for it which is their capacity to use it properly: a proof that once substantiated would make their claims immediately incontrovertible.

This oversight, for surely it must be an oversight in the programme of the Congress, can be made good, and I hope will be made good before the next meeting. Such mere statements cannot again be allowed to pass without cross-examination, when a claim for power is based on them. If India is only poor, time and prudence may enrich her, but if as the Congress speakers assert, she is not only poor, but is growing poorer, and is rapidly approaching ruin, then financial administration cannot be left to go on in the ordinary way, but must have instant and separate attention.

The public income of India like that of all countries in varying degrees is derived from two sources. I do not reckon loans.

(1) From payments by the people.

(2) From payments by peoples of other countries.

And in the case of India there is very little in the second category. Expenditure consists of what is useful, of what is profitable, and of what is neither useful nor profitable. The extent of useful expenditure in India as elsewhere is limited by what the country's means can afford. The extent of useless expenditure is limited to what the

Treasury cannot help. I think that the total of the expenditure of the Indian Government needs little comment. As a total it is small. It is only 50,000,000 of tens of rupees for net accounts and 5,500,000 tens of rupees for exchange. Of the former sum Interest on debt (not Railway loans) absorbs 2,750,000 tens of rupees. For reference I reproduce a table given by Mr. Westland the Finance Minister in his speech to Council of the 27th January of this year. It is of the highest value. In placing this table of the financial position of the Empire before the Council, Mr. Westland said that the limit of safe taxation was reached, borrowing power was practically exhausted, but that much useful work remained to be done. The figures of the Budget estimate for 1888-1889, since published, contain no provision either for a Famine or a Frontier War. Mr. Westland said that in compiling this estimate he felt under the same obligations as regards economy of expenditure as if he were working up to a deficit. He deplored the falling off of the railway receipts owing to the decrease in the export of wheat; the falling off in the opium revenue owing to competition in China; the heavy fall in sterling exchange; but he said there was not a penny in the budget that was not either necessary or unavoidable. The Budget estimates for 1888-1889, already referred to, closes with an anticipated deficit of 698,000 tens of rupees. The bad result is primarily owing to expenditure on preparations for the defence of the N. W. frontier, and on the pacification of Burmah, both in an Empire like India ordinary outlay without a trace of the abnormal about it.

In analyzing the expenditure of the British Indian Government according to the classification adopted above, and accepting Mr. Westland's statements that all proper safeguards against waste have been employed, the only expenditure that was in 1887-88 *useless* was the loss by exchange, a sum of 5,500,000 tens of rupees. And it may be said at once that if that sum in rupees could be saved to the Indian Treasury, borrowing power would exist firstly for the estimated cost of the relief of periodic famine, and secondly for a reasonable capital sum to be spent in the Frontier war for which the Government is sedulously preparing. That is, 2,500,000 and 3,000,000 tens of rupees respectively. So great is the annual loss to the Indian Exchequer, in rupees, since the arrangements were made that govern modern Indian administration. Silver rupees are the basis of Indian taxation and expenditure, excepting for that portion of the latter which is remitted to England for the payment of interest on sterling loans raised in London, of the expenses of the India Office, and of purchases of manufactured goods required by the Indian Executive for use in India. These are paid for in gold,

The exchange problem can therefore be stated as follows. The Indian Government spends a sum in England of about £14,500,000. This amount it has to find in gold. Since 1858 the value of the rupee has fallen to under 17 pence from 24 pence or more. This loss of seven pence on each 2*s.* of expenditure in England, India has to provide from her income over and above her local outlay, and her expenditure in England calculated at 10 rupees to the sovereign. This is the way the Finance Minister states the problem; though probably in so far as the purchase of manufactured articles is concerned, there is a slight relief owing to lower gold prices. But the bulk of the English payments being gold dividends and salaries, Mr. Westland's way of stating the matter is nearly enough correct for practical purposes.

His estimate then is that the burthen thrown on the Indian taxpayer by the fall in the value of silver in respect to gold is 5,434,000 tens of rupees, and it is sufficiently startling without the added fact that the Indian financial department can suggest nothing to stop the drain or to lessen it, or even to prevent its increasing. Here is a sum that (supposing the incomings to hold good) will provide the permanent reserve of taxation necessary to meet the interest on the forcseen periodic famine and war loans, and the Indian Government confesses itself unable to save it.

Mr. Westland says he must buy gold at this loss and there is an end of the matter. The gold is purchased with Indian exports whose prices with regard to silver have remained practically unchanged for many years.

Such being the helpless position taken by the Government both in India and England on this vast financial problem, it is not surprising that outside thought has for years past been devoted to solving the problem in a sense less hopless to the Indian tax-payer, and generally to the holders of silver. Into the many proposals advanced by silver monometallists and by bi-metallists, I cannot venture to enter. Many I believe are excellent, all well to considered in their way; but one and all are, I understand, open to the same fatal practical objection of wishing to change the system of another country and not of India: to advantage silver at the expense of gold securities by direct currency legislation, altering the legal tender.

The problem stated, that the fall of the value of silver in gold is owing to the appreciation of the latter metal in the scale of commodities of which silver is one, the solution seems to be that in order to appreciate silver without asking foreign countries to sacrifice their own interests, India must create a demand for silver not now existing within her own borders. The demand for gold has to be counterpoised by a demand for silver. Whether

the demand for gold remains the same or not, that for silver must increase largely. And this end can one would think be secured only by an increase in the volume of Indian business transacted in silver which consists in the Indian internal trade and wages payments.

The loss by exchange appears to be owing not to there being too much silver in the world, but to what there is, having too little to do. Like India's labour, there is a want of employment for it. Its quantity and price both might increase considerably if it were more in demand, and then the purchase of gold might not be the ruinous loss it is now to the Indian finances.

It is not impossible that a remedy may lie in a more selfish policy in respect to manufactures, one for instance of keeping the further satisfaction of Indian industrial requirements as a duty for Indian labour and Indian silver, and correspondingly relieving the increasing demands on English labour and English gold.

TABLE TAKEN FROM MR. WESTLAND'S SPEECH TO COUNCIL ON THE 27TH JANUARY 1888.

*The following figures are in thousands.*

| | ACCOUNTS, 1883-84. | ACCOUNTS, 1884-85. | BUDGET ESTIMATE, 1887-88 |
|---|---|---|---|
| EXCLUDING EXCHANGE. | | | |
| *Revenue Heads.* | Rx. | Rx. | Rx. |
| Land Revenue | 22,362 | 21,832 | 22,937 |
| Opium | 9,556 | 8,816 | 8,893 |
| Salt | 6,145 | 6,507 | 6,604 |
| Excise and stamps | 7,350 | 7,618 | 7,942 |
| Assessed taxes | 526 | 512 | 1,406 |
| Other principal heads | 6,098 | 5,795 | 6,345 |
| Total, principal heads | 52,037 | 51,080 | 54,127 |
| *Railway Revenue Account.* | | | |
| Railway net earnings | 8,066 | 7,685 | 9,002 |
| Deduct interest, annuities, and other charges | —7,269 | —7,563 | —8,600 |
| Grand total, revenue heads | 52,834 | 51,202 | 54,529 |
| *Expenditure Heads Net.* | | | |
| Interest | 3,116 | 3,282 | 2,753 |
| Civil expenditure | 19,609 | 20,024 | 21,616 |
| Opium production | 1,855 | 2,066 | 2,505 |
| Post-office, Telegraph, and Mint | 311 | 279 | 145 |
| Irrigation | 547 | 573 | 753 |
| Civil and Military works, Imperial | 2,042 | 1,395 | 2,009 |
| Civil and Military works, Provincial and Local | 2,734 | 2,698 | 2,220 |
| Army | 16,019 | 15,200 | 16,907 |
| Famine Insurance | 1,523 | 1,548 | 95 |
| Railway construction | +176 | 263 | 75 |
| Total, excluding exchanges | 47,580 | 48,225 | 49,078 |
| Exchange on Home expenditure | 3,375 | 3,364 | 5,434 |
| Grand total, expenditure heads | 50,955 | 51,589 | 54,512 |
| Surplus or deficit | +1,879 | —387 | +17 |

F. BEAUCLERK.

## THE QUEEN OF MODERN CITIES.

### II.

THE Louvre and the Tuilleries run, as we stated before, east and west along the north bank of the Seine. To the north again of these palaces and gardens, and therefore parallel to the Seine runs the Rue de Rivoli named so after one of Napoleon's great victories and forming with its beautiful and long arcades one of the fine streets in Europe. As we stroll down this street eastwards, we have the Tuilleries and the Louvre to our right (south,) and we pass by several places of interest to our left. Before we have gone very far we see to our left a fine street leading to the celebrated Colonne Vendome a magnificent trophy of the victories of the great Napoleon. "The idea of melting 1200 canons taken in battle from the Russians and Austrians and constructing of them a bronze column 142ft. in height and 13ft. in diameter crowned by his own statue, was worthy of the man whose ambition was not limited to the subjugation of Europe, but who aspired to be the conqueror of the world like Alexander the Great." This great column was completed in 1810 to celebrate the victories of 1805, The figures on the column are faithful representations of the troops engaged, and the reliefs on the pedestal represent the uniforms and weapons of conquered armies. Napoleon's statue which crowns the column was not constructed till 1831. Louis Philippe had it made from guns captured in Algeria.

The communists of 1871 laid their vandal hands on this noble trophy,—and when I last visited Paris in 1871 the column had been cast down from its pedestal. It has been since restored to its place.

Walking a little further eastwards by the Rue de Rivoli, we find a humbler monument dedicated to another inspired soul who loved France and saved her in the hour of danger and foreign invasion. The small statue of Joan of Arc riding a horse is not worthy, either in design or in magnitude, of the inspired woman who put on armour and spurs in the hour of her country's danger,

and beat back the stubborn English invaders from post to post and fortress to fortress until she re-crowned her King and fulfilled her Mission. By her king's order she still persevered in the work, and fell in the attempt,—and the burning of this heroic and inspired woman who loved and fought for her country is among the most shameful chapters in the annals of England's wars.

Walking further eastwards by the Rue de Rivoli we next come to the historic Palais Royal. It was constructed by the great cardinal Richelieu in 1629—34 for his own residence and was called Palais cardinal. He bequeathed it on his death of king Louis XIII and the name of the place was changed to Palais Royal. The great Louis XIV who loved to live in Verseilles assigned this palace for the residence the widow of Charles I of England. During the long minority of Louis XV the Regent Philippe occupied this palace, and the wild scenes of debauchery which disgraced it during his residence made the Court of France a by-word throughout Europe. But the chastisement was at hand, and it was in a Café in this palace that Camille Desmoulins organized the plan of destroying the Bastille in 1789 and adopted the green ribbon of the Revolution. On the revolution of 1848 the populace assailed this palace, (as they did the Tuilleries) wrecked the apartments and threw the furniture and valuables into the street! Twenty-five tons of broken China and glass were afterwards sold by auction,—and the name of the place was changed into Palais Nationale! Napoleon III however subsequently gave it its original name; and since the establishment of the present republic the palace is used by the Conseil d'etat. There is a beautiful garden inside the palace, which is surrounded on all sides a series of Jewellers' shops the like of which can be seen in few other places in the world.

Not far from the Palais Royal,—and to the east are the Halles Centrales,—the central market place of Paris. Like most old buildings of Paris,—even this market place has a history of its own. For the market women of this place who in vigour and volubility have always surpassed the market women of other parts of the world,—have sometimes played an important part in French history. In 1791 they issued in a body and marched to Verseilles with the male rioters, and forced the unfortunate Louis XVI to come to Paris. In 1871 again it was the *Dames de la Halle* who wanted the priest of St. Eustache Church (who had been arrested) to be restored to them. Even the communists were not a match for these ladies,—and the priest was given up. It is a sight to walk through this very extensive market with

viands and fruits and flowers and fishes of all kinds exposed for sale in the innumerable stalls each marked with the name of the stall keeper. Frogs will be seen here in large quantities,—exposed for sale! Lively scenes are not unoften witnessed in these markets, for French women are keen bargainers, and when the Parisian housekeeper meets the *Dames de la Halle* comes the tug of war!

Mention is made in the preceding paragraph of the Church of St. Eustache. That Church is situated immediately to the north of the market, and is largely frequented by the market people and the lower classes. It is one of the largest mediæval Churches in Paris, 348ft. long and 144 wide, while the great height of the nave (104ft.) and the beauty of the surrounding Chapels give the interior a noble and imposing appearance. When Royal oppression was done away with in France in 1793, an attempt was made to do away with priestly oppression also. But the violent men who made this effort exceeded the proper bounds and wished to abolish Religion altogether, and celebrated the Feast of Reason in this spacious Church! The attempt failed of course, Religion is too deeply implanted in the human heart to be done away with so rudely. The regicides soon saw the establishment of a fresh and galling Imperial Despotism,—and those who had fought against Religion had the mortification to find that a base form of superstition was again the national faith of France. This has always been the misfortune of France. She has always attempted too much and has failed. She has tried to progress by leaps and bounds instead of moving steadily and slowly. But human progress is not by leaps and bounds but is ever the result of steady hard honest work,—and France seems to be realizing this hard truth after a bitter experience of a hundred years. The centenary of 1789 will I learn be celebrated in France with great eclát, and a great exhibition will be held. Of all the great results which have been reaped in France within these hundred years, the greatest I fancy is that steadiness of character and patient pursuit after great objects, of which the French have given indications since 1871.

To the south of the Central market is another Church of a very different character. It is the Church of St. Germain L'auxerrois situated immediately to the East of the Louvre. It was a Church founded as early as the Eleventh Century, but for the most part restored in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This ancient Church has a sad and mournful association,—for it was the bell of this Church which rang the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholo-

new! Thousands of French protestants were massacred on that occasion and hundreds and thousands of honest hard working Huguenots were afterwards expelled from France. Such was the form that Religion assumed in France. Is it a wonder that when the reaction came, an attempt was made to do away with religion altogether in the neighbouring Church of St. Eustache?

As we walk down the Rue de Rivoli further eastward we come to the small square called the Place de Chatelet which was at one time the site of the political dungeon of Chatelet which was as unpopular as the Bastille and was destroyed in 1802. The centre of the square is now occupied by the Fountain of Victory erected to commemorate the first Victories of Nepoleon. There are four figures at the corners and a column of Palms above them on which is inscribed a list of the battles commemorated.

Further eastward stood the ancient Church St. Jacques of which the Tower alone now remains. It is chiefly interesting for its association with Pascal who made here some of his experiments on the weight of the atmosphere.

Further east is the celebrated Hotel de Ville, perhaps the finest Town Hall in the world. But the present building is not old but only a reproduction of the magnificent edifice which was completed in 1628, but was destroyed by the infamous communists in 1871. When I visited Paris last, the Hotel de Ville was a blackened and mouldering pile!

Leaving this fine building behind we travel a little further eastward and northward and arrive at the celebrated Place de la Bastille,—replete with the most thrilling associations. It was at this spot that in the middle of the 14th century was erected the fort of Bastille,—one of the strongest points in the fortifications of the city. But like the Tower of London it soon ceased to be used as a fort, and was long used as a prison and a political dungeon, closing its awful gates on all who incurred the displeasure or suspicion of a despotic monarch! For more than a century it remained an awful monument of Royal despotism, until the people rose against it like the waves of an angry sea, and surged in thousands against its solid walls. They rose and besieged and captured this fearful dungeon and razed it to the ground in 1789, and despotism in France was crushed and buried,—never to rise again. There is a panorama, not far from this place, which paints this scene of the taking of the Bastille. The panoramas of Paris are the finest that I have seen anywhere in the world, and the spectator can scarcely believe he is not witnessing a real scene before him! The Panorama of Constantinople has given me an

idea of that imposing and superb city on the sea which will scarcely improve much when I actually see that town! And the Panorama of the siege of the Bastille shewed at a glance the whole of Paris as it was in 1789 with its churches and towers and sea of houses on all sides and with its thousands of angry people pouring in torrents against the solid walls of the Bastille,—the hated monument of royal despotism.

The Bastille is no more, and in its place now stands a column raised to commemorate those who fell in the revolution of July 1830. It is a column of bronze and bears the names of 645 persons who fell in the Revolution. In the Revolution of 1848 a strong barricade was raised here and was bravely defended, and was only forced after the storming of several days. And again in 1871 the Communists strongly barricaded themselves there, and were only dislodged after a long and desperate struggle.

We have now travelled the whole distance from the Place de la Concorde to the Place de la Bastille, by the Rue de Rivoli, (with its continuation Rue St. Antoine.) which is almost a straight line.

Let us now travel the same distance again, *i.e.*, from the Place de la Concorde to the Bastille, but not in a straight line but by the line of Boulevards which describes something like a semi-circle having the Rue de Rivoli for its cord or base. A preliminary word about the Boulevards is necessary.

The Circle of the Inner or Great Boulevards with their beautiful rows of shady trees on either side, with their rich shops, brilliant cafés and spacious foot-paths are perhaps the finest streets in existence and justly excite the envy and admiration of visitors of all nationalities coming to Paris. But the Boulevards as their name implies were at one time not streets but simply a circle of fortifications enclosing the town. Paris has steadily grown in extent like all other cities in Europe in the course of time,—and the gradual increase in the extent of this city can be clearly defined by three concentric circles. The innermost circle consists of the two islands of the Seine which enclosed all Paris under the early Merovingians and Carlovingians. But the town soon exceeded these narrow limits, and by the time of Francis I. the town had so largely increased that that King,—the founder of the Louvré as we have seen before,—built a new circle of fortifications round the enlarged town,—and this second circle is marked by the Inner Boulevards. But the city soon outgrew even this wide circle—and in the reign of the Great Louis XIV, the town have grown, so much that the Boulevards no longer

served their original purpose as enclosing fortifications. Louis XIV therefore removed the fortifications, made them into spacious roads and planted them out with trees, until they became what they are now—the finest and most spacious streets in Europe. The new circle of fortifications which has been constructed round the present limits of Paris forms the third or outer circle.

The circle of the Inner Boulevards formed then the limit of Paris in her second stage of growth, *i.e.*, during the reign of Francis I in the 16th century.

A succession of Boulevards on the north bank of the Seine forms the upper half of this circle, while the Boulevard St. Germain to the south of the Seine forms its lower half and completes the circle.

Starting then from the Place de la Concorde along this circle we first come to the Church of the Madeleine a modern Church commenced in 1764, but completed only in 1830. It is a superb and magnificent structure after the pattern not of Christian Churches but of Greek temples, and measuring 354ft. in length and 141 in width, and 100ft. in height. It is flanked on all sides by sixty massive Corinthian columns which adds to its imposing appearance. I attended high mass inside this Church on one of the Sundays I passed in Paris.

North of the Madeleine, and at a little distance is the lofty and imposing structure of the St. Augustin Church, with its dome 160 ft. high commenced in 1860 to commemorate the birth of the Prince Imperial, and completed in 8 years. Within two years of its completion its founder Napoleon III was in exile and ten years later the dynasty ended with the death of the prince in the wilds of South Africa!

Leaving the Madeleine behind we stroll eastwards by the Boulevard de Capucines and soon come to the New Opera of Paris, the finest theatre-house architecturally in the world. It was commenced in 1861 in the palmy days of the Empire, but the Republic did not neglect its completion which took place in 1874. It covers the site of 400 or 500 houses which had to be destroyed for the construction of this superb building! The land alone cost £5,00,000, and the building £1,500,000. The costliest materials were used in its construction, and the staircase alone built of fine stones of different colours is a sight to see. The "Cid" was acted on the night that I was in the opera, and the music and the scenic decorations were good.

We proceed further eastwards by the Boulevard des Italiens with its splendid shops and brilliant cafés and unending stream of carriages. It is worth seeing the Boulevards by night when the electric lights from the Opera house and the thousand jets of gas from the shops and cafés on both sides, and the stream of lively Parisians strolling along the street or sitting by the tables outside the cafés and sipping their "Absynth" or "Grenadine" make it a festive scene indeed.

As we stroll further eastwards we come close to some buildings which though not on the Boulevards require mention. Only a short distance to our south is the famous "Boorse" the stock exchange of Paris. It is a modern building, constructed in 1826 and is architecturally not unlike the Madeleine Church. Like that Church it stands on a platform and is surrounded by massive Corinthean pillars. The large clock over the front entrance is the standard by which Paris time (8,2 minutes ahead of Greenwich time) is regulated. The hall inside is busy as may be imagined.

Not far from the Bourse is the Bank of France, established in 1803 and said to contain within its secure vaults nearly a hundred million pounds sterling in gold. It is said that these vaults can be flooded with water at any time, and it is certain that sand is stored here in large quantities to bury and save the gold and silver of the nation in the event of the superstructure being burnt down.

Not far from the Bourse and the Bank is a superb building of a different description. The great library of the nation has been known as Royal Library under successive monarchs, and as National Library "Biblotheque Nationale" under successive republics! Under Louis XIV this library contained 40,000 books; at present the books number between three and four millions—which is I believe double the number of the books in the British museum of London! The entire pile of buildings between four streets on four sides,—Richlieu, Colbert, Vivienne and Petits Champs,—is hardly sufficient to contain this enormous collection.

Coming back now to the Boulevards and proceeding to the east again we soon come to the arches of St. Denis and St. Martin built by Louis XIV to celebrate his victories,—but since eclipsed by the loftier and finer Arc de Triomphe built to commemorate the grander victories of Napoleon. Porte St. Denis is 81ft. high by 82 in width, and Porte St. Martin is 57ft high by 57 feet. The allied army in 1814 passed through

this latter arch and marched along the Boulevards to the Place de la Concorde.

We continue our eastward journey by the Boulevards and soon come to the fine statue of the Republic. Not far from it is the Place de la Bastille of which we have spoken before. And hence we come to the banks of the Seine by the Boulevard Henri IV,—and the upper half of the circle ends.

We have now finished our account of Paris north of the Seine, except that one or two places to the extreme north and east deserve a passing mention. The heights of Montmatre, are at the extreme north of Paris, and being the highest part of the town are visible from every other part. These heights have played an important part in French history. The last struggles of the French army against the allied armies of 1815 took place here,—and here again in 1871 the communists began that insurrection which deluged the town in blood and ruined her finest buildings and treasures. There is a benedictive abbey here of the 12th century on the Butte Montmatre (*i.e.*, Montmatre Hill,) and a grander church of the Sacré Cœur has been commenced and more than half built on the highest point of this Butte. From the steps of this unfinished church one can look down on the whole of Paris at his feet.

From the Batte Montmatre is visible in the far east the Batte Chaumont, another hill in the north-eastern part of Paris. The Butte was formerly a chalk pit, and the hill was known as Montfancon and was used for many centuries as a place of public execution. It is said that as many as 100 bodies were sometimes suspended at one and the same time. For a long time the whole neighbourhood was a den of thieves and robbers and the worst characters in Paris. It was Emperor Napoleon III who has architecturally done so much for Paris, who cleared the place and laid out a beautiful park here with lakes, and gardens, fine walks and beautiful hills.

South from this hill is the celebrated burial ground called Pere la Chaise. It occupies an area of over 100 acres, and contains over 20,000 monuments. The most interesting spot for the antiquarian is the tomb of Heloise and Abelard, over which a Gothic canopy has been raised. Wreaths are still offered and placed on the grave of these gifted lovers of the middle ages. I also saw the grave of Cousin and the monument to Thiers, the graves of the Hugo family, and of Racine, and those La Fontaine and Moliére who sleep side by side. A host of other writers, thinkers and warriors sleep in this common platform of death. Cuvier and Auguste Comte, Sieyes and Talleyrand, MacDonald,

Ney and Massena and many others of the greatest and best of Frenchmen sleep in this cemetery.

South again from this cemetery and out side the fortification of Paris is the Bois de Vincennes, being the resort of the East end Parisians as the Bois de Boulogne is the resort of the West end Parisians. And this completes our account of Paris north of the Seine. We will speak of Paris south of the Seine in our next.

R. C. DUTT, C.S.

## THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS.
## THE GREEK ISLES.

I sailed from Alexandria in one of the Austrian steamers for the Greek Isles, over the deepest blue waters I have ever seen. So beautifully clear is the water of the Mediterranean, that one can see the whole of a vessel's keel and bottom as she lies at anchor. I fail to find words to describe the pleasurable feeling I felt in gliding along between the lovely isles of Greece, through the s'porades, with high rocky mountains and bright green valleys, dotted with white villages; by the Cyclades on our left, that gave Delos to the Greeks: these well-named islands of the blest, whose vine-clad hills in days of yore echoed to the hero's harp and lover's lute. We first passed under the marble steps of Scarpants, then by Rhodes, conspicuous in the most remote annals of history, whose inhabitants were distinguished for early civilization and love of liberty. Here first flourished the knowledge of navigation, and here in latter days the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem made their oft-recorded heroic defence against the advancing Moors. Still on we glide by numerous islands, very beautiful, by Lero and Patmos, till bright Samos, far-famed for its glorious black-eyed virgins and sparkling wine, rises and again fades in the distance, and we are close by the shore of Scio, whose pretty town of like name shines brightly in the sun out of deep green foliage; and many vineyards, with its little port full of vessels, whose build and rig seem so light and fragile, that they look as if they would be fairly blown away like a child's toy on the first strong breeze. This was the ancient paradise of the Levant; but as its beauty was great, so was its fate sad; for when overrun by the advancing Mahomedans its inhabitants bravely resisted, till the whole island was desolated, the men massacred, and the women sold as slaves; it has now, however, recovered much of its former beauty. It gave birth to Ion, the tragic poet; and it also claimed the honour of being the birth-place of Homer. At

length we enter the Gulf of Smyrna, with Byron's extolled "Mitylene" in view.

Where so much beautiful scenery is hourly passed, it would be tiresome to describe the whole; but this gulf, with its numerous little bays and islets, its clear, smooth water, its land-bound harbour, with high mountains tipped with snow in the distance, can never be lost to the mind. It was a bright, sunny evening, though chilly, as we steamed into the harbour; three Austrian frigates and one French brig of war, with numerous merchant vessels adding considerably to the gaiety of the scene. We landed at once, and went to a very nice little hotel. After a walk through a part of this very pretty town, we returned and did honour to a very good dinner and fruity Levant wine. Here hares, partridges, and woodcocks abound; indeed, the bazaar here is full of luxuries of every sort. Smyrna supplies England and Europe with the best dried fruits; its grapes and figs are particularly good, while the rosy apples are famous.

The town is of considerable size, containing some 150,000 inhabitants of almost every nation; the Greek; cast of feature, however, is predominant. In few places have I seen such beautiful women and handsome men. I have taken some distant rides, once to the village of Budjáh, which is almost entirely Greek; and here, at the door of a nice little cottage, stood a Greek girl, who was beauty personified; such regular features, such expression (which is rare with perfect features), and such a delicate colour, one can seldom meet with. I pulled up my horse and dismounted, as the thought passed through my mind that I would give worlds to be able to speak a few words of Greek. I tried Italian and Arabic, but neither was understood. I took out a cigar, and looked at her bright eyes; the laughing puss guessed at once I wanted fire and brought it. My cicérone, one Elias, a Hebrew, came up, and through him I was enabled to exchange a few words with her, and induced her while we rested to bring me a cup of pure water from a neighbouring hill, on which heath was growing and a kind of stunted holly; the cypress and the popular abound and many fruit-trees of European climate, as well as fig and olive trees; the latter seem to be most common, groves of them shading every valley. I reached the hotel late in the evening; and after a capital dinner of Mediterranean soles, roast woodcocks and salad, Ionian wine, and a Chibouk of fragrant latakia, I retired to rest, to dream of my fair Greek.

The second day I rode up to the top of Mount Pagus, where now are the only remains of ancient Smyrna, so frequently ex-

tolled, in bygone days, as the Crown of Ionia and the Queen of the Cities of Anatolia. On the top of the mount is a ruined castle, which occupies the site of the Acropolis. Portions of the old Hellenic wall are still visible, with a few remains of the Temple of Jupiter. An excavation in the hill still marks the site of the stadium; and here Polycarp is said to have suffered martyrdom. Within the ruins of the castle is an old mosque, which is said to have been the primitive church of Smyrna, one of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. From the Acropolis, there is a splendid view of this really beautiful town, of the calm bay and snow-tipped hills on the opposite shore, over wide plains to the east, traversed by the river of Hernus, and to the south the Meles, the river of Homer, crossed by a strange old aqueduct, completes the classic scene. I returned to town over the Caravan Bridge, which spans the Meles, and took a long stroll through the bazaars, churches, and mosques.

I set out early the following morning in a quaint light skiff, with peaked bow and stern, for a sail in the gulf. Nothing can exceed the clear deep blue of this sea—so clear, that you can see the bright golden fish darting far below the surface. It was most refreshing to the senses to glide softly along, and mark the crystal wavelets washing the pebbly shore; for in this highly-favoured Mediterranean, there is no tide to sully its waters, or to leave a long sandy or muddy beach. Here the green grass and many-coloured wild-flowers grow to the very edge. The sun shone out very brightly, but yet the air was agreeably cool. Gliding along between numerous little islands, we landed where the shore looked most promising. Among other places, we walked through the picturesque village of Burnabat. In the evening I rowed back to the town over the smooth waters, now purpled with the bright rays of a setting sun, while each beautiful island and towering hill was reflected on its river-like bosom.

A silk-spinning manufactory here is well worth a visit. Not less than 160 Greek girls are employed in winding and cleaning silk—wild-looking gipsies the most of them are, but some very pretty, with their long elf-like hair streaming down their backs. We walked along the bank of the Meles to Caravan Bridge, the great place for the gay Smyrnistes to take the air; and returned through the bazaars, which make a good display. Gold and silver embroidery work is here beautifully executed, the prettiest Greek girls' caps I have ever seen; they are famed all over southern Europe.

The following day I started early for Nimfi, upwards of thirty miles inland, in the direction of Casabar and Sardis, with

the intention of visiting one of the most ancient monuments in the world, a sculpture of the Egyptian King and conqueror Sesostris, carved in the solid rock, marking his victory over the tribes who then held this part of the world. I saddled and rode off early—took a mounted guide with me, a spare horse with pack-saddles for provisions, and with my gun "in rest," trotted out of the town. I was fortunate in having a bright, clear, frosty morning; all the tops of the surrounding hills shining white with snow. The road first lay through fertile valleys, where the young corn had already sprouted some inches in height. Large groves of olive, fig, apple, and cherry-trees clothed the gently rising ground, while between the town and Mount Pagus the plantations of dark green cypress marked the old burial-grounds of bygone Smyrna.

Thus admiring and enjoying the landscape around, we crossed the Meles and other clear streams; we passed numerous vineyards and hedgerows, and observed that all the low ground seemed to be well cultivated, though the villages were few and far between. As we neared the crest of a mountain, the scene turned wilder and the frozen wreaths of white snow lay upon the dark-coloured heath; here too I remarked the hardy sycamore and poplar trees and stunted oak, while higher up the mountain, two species of fir abounded. Looking upwards, the scene much resembled a scene in Scotland; but a glance towards the plain below changed the impression, for there passed along a string of camels, more than a hundred in number. These animals, I remarked, are much more handsome here than in India or Egypt; they are larger, and have long shaggy hair on their heads, necks, and legs, very different from the smooth-haired camel of warmer climes.

After passing over the top of the hills we came to a guard-house, where there were some Albanian and Syrian soldiers; lawless devils they are, but we were well-armed and commanded, respect. I roundly refused to pay any *buvees*, or toll on their demand, and pushing into the room, sat down and warmed my feet at a blazing wood fire. They looked sulky at first, and one took hold of the barrel of my gun; but on a quiet remark in Arabic, that it was on full cock and might go off, he changed his demeanour, was delighted to hear his native Arabic spoken by a stranger, and we sat down and smoked a pipe together, and became capital friends. In half an hour we remounted and rode on again, and about 2 P.M., reached the village of Nimfi. Here I hired a tolerably comfortable room in a Greek house; had a cup of Ionian wine with apples and dried figs for lunch, and leaving our sumpter

house, started with two armed guides for the Colossus, which we reached in an hour and a half.

Our road lay through a wild beautiful country which, unhappily, like many similar scenes in this part of the world, is infested by robbers. Many a giaour has been despoiled and stripped. Even the Belgium Consul was carried off to a mountain fastness, and not released till £500, ransom was paid for him; another wealthy merchant was mulcted in the sum of £2,000.

We reached a spot where rocks thickly clothed with trees, principally firs and underwood, rise on either side almost perpendicularly. Here we dismounted, and after a little climbing came in sight of a gigantic human figure sculptured in relief on the flat surface of the rock, as seen and described by Herodotus. This memorial is supposed to date from 1300 B.C., and after being lost sight of for nearly 1000 years, its site was discovered about thirty years ago. It is clearly Egyptian in style; and doubtless, as Herodotus says, was intended to represent the conqueror Rameses the second, called Sesostris by the Greek, who overran the country as far as the Euphratis. Homer, I believe, records, that Mennon, the friend of the god Anum, came with an Egyptian army to the assistance of Troy. Herodotus says that the colossus holds a spear in one hand and a bow in the other, but it struck me that the latter instrument was the usual *flagellum* or whip, with which all the Pharaohs are represented on the monument in Egypt.

After a close examination of this interesting relic of antiquity, and the robbers not appearing to dispute our way, we returned to Mimfi by a different route. Game here appeared plentiful. Riding along we put up a hare, four woodcocks, and some partridges; and shortly after dark we reached our lodging in the Greek's, house, where a comely dame waited on us and spread a carpet before a bright blazing fire of pine wood. I got out my provisions and made a capital stew in a glazed pot, of a cold leg mutton and potatoes, while for my beverage I had a cup of the fresh juice of the grape. After the shooting chibouk I rolled myself up in my blanket before the fire and slept soundly till morning.

Having risen with the lark, I strolled through the village, while eggs were being fried for breakfast; saw the pretty niece of my hostess milk the cow, and made acquaintance with half the young people of the hamlet—a sweet spot situated in the close gorge of the mountain, and surrounded by gardens. The people here are as fair as in England, I did not see one person in the village with dark hair or eyes; light golden hair and blue eyes being the most common. After breakfast we rode back to Smyrna,

visiting on our way an old Génoese castle and palace, now completely in ruins, but evidently places of great importance in their day. What a wonderful people these Genoese must have been in their time! They had their colonies all over this part of the world, from Constantinople spreading all along the coast of the Mediterranean.

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# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

**NEW SERIES.**

No. 5.—MAY 1888.

## *THE STATUTORY CIVIL SERVICE.*

"BRUTUS. Kneel not, gentle Portia.
"PORTIA I should not have need, if thou wert gentle, Brutus"
*Julius Cæsar.*

THE report of the Public Service Commission is out. The Commissioners have recommended that Statutory Civilians in actual service should be absorbed into the proposed Provincial Civil Service. This recommendation, naturally enough, has not been very much relished by the existing statutory men. Notwithstanding the absence of active good feelings towards their service, its distinctive character and status had hitherto received recognition, however reluctant, in various forms and fashions. Now for the first time has a definite proposal been put forward to efface the distinction between the Uncovenanted and Statutory services by amalgamating them into one and the same service. Apart from the possibility of damage to the prospects of the statutory members, the proposal involves the important sacrifice of a principle and of a point of honor which it is worth while fighting for. In the hope not only of an equality of prospects, but of an equality of status with the covenanted service, and of a clearly defined distinction from the Subordinate Judicial and Executive Services, have many men who would not otherwise have thought of entering any service at all, aspired to an appointment in the Statutory Civil Service, and secured it after passing the severest test possible,—a test beside which that for the Subor-

dinate Judicial, not to speak of the Subordinate Executive Service, sinks into utter insignificance. They waited with anxious expectation for the verdict of the august body appointed to the task of inquiry; and that verdict, as at present interpreted, has given a rude shock to their fondest hopes. It is a possible contingency that matters will be so arranged as to produce the least practical inconvenience to the existing Statutory men so far as their promotion or pay is concerned; but even if that very problematical thing were done, it would not cure the defect which every member of the unfortunate service cannot but feel very keenly, the defect, namely, of unwarrantable detachment from the Covenanted Service, of being placed on the same official footing with members of the Uncovenanted Services, and of having to take all the necessary consequences flowing therefrom. Not that Deputy Magistrates and Munsiffs are inferior men; there are men in the Subordinate Executive and Judicial services who would do honour to any service in the world, men of great powers and high acquirements men who in other departments of intellectual activity have made for themselves a name worthy of veneration. But these are not the elements to be considered in a prosaic question of official precedence and privileges; nor will a tenacious attachment to a recognized distinction be hastily condemned as mere vanity. By all means appoint men of "proved merit and ability" to offices within the preserves of a more aristocratic service of which their merit and ability have made them deserving; but why for that end lower the position of people who have won it by hard labour, or have had it given to them on special statutory considerations? The Commissioners, evidently, never cared to realise to themselves how puzzled and humiliated some gentlemen in the Statutory Service would feel, who, having previously been in some of the subordinate services, found themselves, after years of patient winding through the official labyrinth at the old, dreary, muddy place, and laughed at by more sober people who had never cared to budge one inch!

The difficulty of the Public Service Commission with reference to the Statutory system is transparent enough. They had three alternatives as to the place they would give it. They could amalgamate it with the Covenanted Service; or they could keep it by itself; or they could amalgamate it with the Subordinate services. Apparently, the Commission got staggered at the first alternative. To draft off several men from each Province, somewhere about a dozen on the average, at once into the Covenanted

Service, whose pale has been narrowed, and whose prizes therefore rendered much more valuable, would be to forestall the work of half-a-century. It would be ridiculed by jealous adverse criticism as an act of almost culpable temerity beyond the daring of sensible men. Probably, it exceeded the bounds of liberalism of the Commissioners themselves. The second alternative would have been destructive to symmetry, so needful for the demands of our æsthetic nature which asserts itself even in purely official acts. That torso of a Statutory service, kept on after the abolition of the statute itself, between the fine heroes on the one side and the homely labourers on the other, would be an inartistic anomaly enough to mar the harmonious beauty of the official statue-ground. Perforce, therefore, they fell back upon the third and last alternative; and rather than be set down for that class of creatures who are proverbially bolder than angels, or be guilty of violence to the accepted notions of official symmetry, they chose to give the Statutory men the full benefit of the regulation drop, because it was so expedient for all purposes!

Neither in their own estimation did the Commissioners hold themselves liable to any moral blame for the unsatisfactory solution of this difficulty. After they had shown more than the expected strength in certain grave matters, they thought it perfectly harmless to show a little weakness in other less grave ones; and the strenuous endeavours they have made for improving the services generally, have probably justified in their own eyes the departure from strict justice in the case of Statutory men on the principle which Bassanio in vain urged upon Portia,—"to do a great right, do a little wrong." If they have taken away something from the Statutory Service, have they not made more than ample amends by the immense concession they have made to the popular wishes by raising the maximum age for the more desirable, because perfectly unambiguous, service to 23 years? Yes; and when they had lent their ears to the just demands of the whole nation, could they not afford to shut their eyes to the laboriously attained position of a few scattered individuals? And when they had promised an exceedingly good thing to a coming generation, could they not with a safe conscience deprive the present generation, (which is always the least interesting) of the actual enjoyment of some of its benefits? For a happy balancing of results, —to provide against too much of a good thing,—there must be some sacrifice somewhere; and why should not, the Commissioners must have said to themselves in their deliberative moments, the sacrifice be inflicted upon a service which is at best a *parvenu*,

without brilliant traditions to boast of, without even ancient mediocrity on its side?

But the arguments of convenience, however specious and even plausibly strong, do not at all satisfy the requirements of justice, of vested rights, of a contract which if not signed, sealed and registered, is at least equally imperative in its definite unmistakable implication, and whose import can never be mis-interpreted when viewed in the light of the subsequent conduct of parties. What the existing statutory men demand is that justice should be done at any cost, that vested rights should be kept inviolate, that the intention of a solemn promise whose allurements have constituted a turning-point for several promising lives, should be religiously fulfilled. The question is not one of rejection of minor details after a great principle has been accepted, in cases where both the principle and details relate to the future, and have no reference whatever to the past. The Commissioners, for example, were at perfect liberty not to reconsider the value of the oriental classics in a scheme for the Indian Civil Service Examination, when they had made the supremely valuable concession of raising the age-limit. And for this very simple reason that their judgment about the value of the oriental classics as now determined cannot possibly touch the past. But the question of the position of the Statutory Civil Service does not stand in the same relation to the subjects under the Commissions' inquiry, as the value of the oriental classics stands to the system under which the Covenanted Civil Service is recruited. The all-important difference is that the Statutory Civil Service is already an existing fact the ignoring of which cannot but be unjust. When the jealousy of a conservative Government lowered the age-limit to 17 years, it was wrong from many points of view; but the minister who inflicted this injustice could not so far as dream of giving it a retrospective effect so as to deprive men, who had entered service at a greater age, of the offices they were holding. Such a proceeding would have been simply preposterous. Similarly, it was quite open to the Commission to stop further admissions; but it is not just, manly or dignified to turn out with ignominy and insult a body of men who have effected entrance after a hard-fought struggle, for no reason whatever beyond their unwelcome and inconvenient presence. We conceive that on moral grounds, the Commissioners were in a manner fettered in their action with respect to the Statutory Civil Service, and could not deal with it quite as freely as they could with other proposals submitted to their consideration by motley and multitudinous opinions. The peculiar circumstan-

ces of the question imposed upon the inquiring body certain inevitable and immovable conditions under which only they could work. One such prime condition which they had not the option to override was the *past* of the Statutory Civil Service. To the facts of that past, they have not attached the deserved importance, and have even failed to give the right interpretation. If arrangements for the future measure the wisdom of our statesmanship, respect for the past measures the strength of our moral manhood. "If the past does not bind us," said Romola to convenience-seeking Teto, "where can duty lie?" It may look rather impertinent to read a stale ethical lecture to the combined official intelligence of India; but in the hurry of departure for an eventful journey, great men are somewhat too apt to forget such necessary trifles as a comb or a brush; and their humble servant would be wanting in his duty if he did not find out the missing article for them before it was too late.

The position of the Statutory Civil Service is not a myth. A decade of existence, albeit inaugurated under a most inauspicious conjunction of circumstances, has shown beyond the possibility of mistake what it is and what it has enjoyed. It has been tested by facts, by principle, by probabilities, even by errors; and all of them have left certain abiding realities in it unshaken.

We say what it is, and not what the Statute might have intended it to be.* We rely upon the application of the Statute. It may be true that the Statute contemplated that men who had shewn merit and ability in the actual service of the Government should be at once taken into the higher posts of the Covenanted Service, without being required to fulfil the conditions laid down by an earlier statute for admission into it, such admission being the *sine qua non* for getting one of the scheduled appointments reserved exclusively for the members of that service. Granting that this is the correct interpretation of the statute, the Government in the application thereof has committed many grave blunders. In the first place, the meaning of "proved merit ability" was mistaken.† Instead of attaching to it the intended signification of merit and ability shown in the actual discharge of the duties of a responsible employment, the Government, curiously enough, understood by it the faint and, at least in Bengal, rarely realised possibility of a high-born youth developing great administrative faculties; and latterly, it was taken to mean, with better reason, the promise

* See *Postscript* at the end.

† See *Postscript* at the end.

of brilliant official life given by a successful academical career. In the second place, there was the equally serious misconception as to the status of persons who got in. Did the admission mean an admission into the Covenanted Civil Service or into an appointment in it, — into an organized service regulated by fixed rules of promotion, or into a specific post involving stationary isolation? For a long while, the former supposition was firmly believed in and acted on; in fact, the second had never struck the authorities. This belief very clearly manifested itself not only in the contemporary official literature on the subject, but also in the inclusion of the statutory men in the general list of Civil Servants in the Civil List. About 6 years after, came the refinement upon the old meaning. The Statutory officers did not belong to the Covenanted Civil Service, but held appointments ordinarily reserved for it. The distinction was emphasized and embodied in the formation of a separate list for the now segregated class of "Statutory Civilians." This interpretation was in direct and flagrant contradiction with the scheme inaugurated under the Statute by Lord Lytton, and sanctioned by the then Secretary of State for India. The rules framed by Lord Lytton laid down that one-fifth the total number of the appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service should be recruited in India. If these appointments,—the fifth part,—were considered not to form an integral part of the organized Civil Service, it meant as much as to say that the strength of that service was to be permanently reduced by one-fifth. It would require more than ordinary boldness to assert that such a result ever crossed the minds of the authors of the rule even in the faintest perspective. The principle not only found no overt place in any public document of the time, but it never even lurked in the depths of the intentions of the Government. The remotest possibility of its existence was thoroughly belied by unimpeachably strong testimony, the testimony of facts, of which a significant instance was found in that all persons holding appointments in the Civil Service were arranged in one general list. The reduction of the strength of the Civil Service is not a matter of such minor importance as to be capable of accomplishment by a covert implication. It is a resolution that involves the searching of the foundations of the whole administrative system. For the first time, now, have the Public Service Commission attempted an approach to the question; and they have approached it with much care and caution, with much elaborate argument, with great show of liberalism, with a preparedness for facing anticipated obloquy. Is it possible to believe that a Government like

Lord Lytton's, conservative to the backbone, contemplated such a revolution, and what is more, resolved to carry it through in an underhand manner so as to hood-wink opposition? Many uncomplimentary motives have been imputed to Government, both by the press and by the witnesses who gave their evidence before the Commission, as regards the creation of the Statutory service; but the reduction of the strength of the Covenanted Civil Service by its means was certainly not one of them. There cannot be the least doubt, therefore, that the originators of the scheme meant that the persons employed in accordance with it should be *Civil servants* under Statute 33, and not what they have now been reduced to, "Statutory Civilians:" the Civil Service was a single arena, with two entrances, Statute 24 and 25, and Statute 33. If, as the pessimists have sometimes alleged, inefficient men were purposely admitted through the latter entrance, they were to be disgraced, humbled, held up to ridicule and contempt, within the pale of the Civil Service itself, in glaring and humiliating contrast with competition men. Indian recruits having been under Lord Lytton's scheme complete Civil Servants, both *de jure* and *defacto*, only Civil Servants who had entered the Service through Statute 33, it was a distinct departure from the old principle when they were converted into "Statutory Civilians" holding specific posts. This variation was essentially material, carrying with it the gravest consequences, as will be seen later on. And people affected by it, if they were wise, ought to have made a prompt, bold, and firm stand against it. But possibly they had too much faith in the justice and good sense of Government.

But even after the status given to Statutory Civilians had been narrowed and lowered to that attached to isolated particular appointments, "proved merit and ability" continued to retain the width of meaning given to it by the Law officers of the crown, and invariably acted up to by the Government. If not exclusively, it was very generally, taken to mean high birth or brilliant college life. Only in a single instance, and that after the Public Service Commission had been appointed, an addition to the Bengal Statutory Service was made in the person of a distinguished officer in the Subordinate Uncovenanted Service. We shall show that the narrowed status, taken along with the wide meaning of proved merit and ability, and with the general tenor of the Rules, leads to an absurdity.

Holding specific posts means that the holder has a claim to the one particular post he has gained, and to no other. It is the

very reverse of belonging to an organized service. The difference is as between life and the want of it. The one is like the seed which once put into the earth, under ordinary conditions develops into the tree. The other is like a dead stock of wood which under ordinary conditions, will remain the stock of wood that it was. The one can grow; the other can only exist. Put a man belonging to an organized service into the lowest office, and he holds the highest in expectancy through an elaborately constructed net-work of intermediate certainties; the vision of the man holding specific appointments is strictly confined to the little platform he stands upon. The organized-service man has a start given to him which will carry him through his prescribed orbit without further intervention; the specific-appointment man is put into static rest at a particular point of the path, and cannot gain a point ahead, until the power that took it to the first point carries it to the second. For the former, the lowest office is only the beginning; for the latter, the lowest office may be the finale. Promotion, in the ordinary way and under the ordinary rules, is impossible to the holder of a specific post. Every change of office is a new appointment, and must be accompanied with all the Statutory formalities of a new appointment, to make it valid. A wide gulf, indeed, between an organized service and specific posts! What the new position actually means, therefore, is that a man of aristocratic connexions or severely tested intellectual ability is to be put into an office theoretically final, and with no prospect of promotion. But this does not cover the whole ground. There remains another defect in the application of the Statute. If the Statute intended to reward men who had done good service in a lower sphere,* with appointments in a higher, it is unquestionable that they must be given at once the higher posts in the higher service. To ask a Subordinate judge or a Deputy Magistrate, who has been drawing Rs. 800 to accept a Joint Magistracy on Rs. 576† as a recognition of his appreciated work would be ridiculous. No offer of less value than the post of a District officer or a Sessions Judge could be decently made to him. The Government, however, did not choose to apply this principle in the case of outsiders. Not that Government does not take men outside the public service at once into

* We take the narrower view, the view most injurious to the statutory officers, for the purpose of our argument. The real scope of the Statute would appear to be wider. It expressly intended "to afford increased facilities" for the employment of natives of India in Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service. Vide Postcript.

† Under the 64 per cent rule.

high offices under its patronage; a young barrister may sometimes be appointed to be a Small Cause Court Judge or a Police Magistrate,—posts high and lucrative enough to satisfy ordinary ambition; but in the case of men to be taken into the Statutory Civil Service, the Government resolved, and one would think wisely, not to try the doubtful, and probably dangerous, experiment of putting a raw graduate or an indolent *Kumar* at the head of the Executive or Judciary of a district. Neither did they think of putting him into any intermediate post. Nay, this was carried so far, that beginning from the very beginning was insisted upon for men who were raised from a Subordinate service to Statutory Civilianship; and it was only after special sanction in special cases, that they were allowed to retain their former pay. The theory, therefore, was that Statutory Civilians must begin their career from the lowest office; and this theory was duly carried out in practice. Putting all the facts together, the whole position stands thus: A man of aristocratic connexions or severely tested intellectual ability is to be put into the *lowest office* of the Covenanted Civil Service, *theoretically final, and with no prospect of promotion.*

A fine result, on which an odd mixture, of truth and errors has landed us! A conclusion at which the most inveterate apologists of Government and its worst calumniators might equally stand aghast! Was this the consummation for which the Statute was passed? Was it for this, that the Government resolutions trumpted forth the advent of a new principle, the granting of a new concession? Was this the service which in its grandeur was above the reach of ordinary mortals, attainable only to the oldest and proudest landed aristocracies? Was this the tempting prospect held out to men "to whom offices . . . in the inferior ranks, or uncovenanted service have not proved a sufficient inducement . . . ?" * Was it for this, that at a later time brilliant *alumni* of the Universities, with every prospect of a successful and lucrative career before them, were called on to compete as for a great prize? Was this miserable pittance all that they got after years of patient industry, in recognition of a famous academic name, in return for sleepless nights of strenuous work? Was this dreary finality meant to seal the beginning of young hopeful life? Impossible. No sane man would believe it. The Government did not believe it, did not act upon it, did not consider it capable of being within the

* Vide Resolution of the Govt. of India, dated 24th December 1879.

pale of rational possibility. The Secretariat could certainly bestow infinitely more substantial patronage upon the nephews of Maharajas, than was put into their power by this force of a Parliamentary Statute. It is important to note that about the time when the Statutory Civil Service was degraded to Statutory Civilianship, the Government of India, dissatisfied with the mode of selection formerly in vogue, impressed upon the Local Governments the advisability of setting great store by educational qualifications and attainments in the selection of candidates. About the same time, also, the Bengal government, dissatisfied with the haphazard way in which Deputy Magistracies were filled up, resolved to test the educational qualifications of the applicants therefor. Now, compare the test respectively prescribed for Statutory Civilianship and Deputy Magistracy. The one required no greater attainments than those of a passed Entrance student of the Calcutta University. And the other,—why, the standard of the Premchand Roychand studentship examination was not considered too difficult for it; or if you wish to measure by the standard of a service examination, it was, so far as it went, quite as stiff as, if, indeed, it was not stiffer, more searching, more thoroughgoing than, that laid down for the Covenanted Civil Service in England. And a Deputy Magistracy means belonging to an organised Service beginning with Rs. 200 and ending in Rs. 800; means gaining all the intermediate posts with the certain regularity of a machine; means definitely expanding prospects, and precisely understood status. And a Statutory Civilianship, as recently corrected and improved? It means the lowest post, and that only, in the Covenanted Service, minus 36 per cent. of its legitimate value as a discount for Indian birth! But the absurdity does not end here. Men who had been Deputy Magistrates for several years before, had not had their qualifications sufficiently tested for an elevation into a Statutory Civilian; they had to prove their fitness by competition with outsiders fresh from College; and after that, as if the Government doubted the sufficiency of this ordeal also, they had to pass through a period of probation in the new sphere into which they were taken, before they were finally pronounced not to deserve thrusting out. Did this previous good service, this examination extreme in its severity, this probation honorably got through, lead to no better result than a finally stationary appointment worth Rs. 320?

But it must be said to the credit of Government, that it has shown itself to be a vast deal more generous than its clever interpretation of the Statute. It accepted, as it clearly appears from its

subesequent conduct, the specific-post theory as a tentative solution of a technical difficulty, and had not evidently the least intention to pursue it to its inevitable logical consequences. It *denoted* the appointments as specific, but, through a secretly-asserting moral instinct, never gave them the necessary *connotation*. Not one of its differentiæ was attached to the so-called "specific post" which for all purposes was treated as a grade in an organized service. The Statutory Civilian was not after all doomed to stationary isolation. He was made to understand that he would not have to rest content with the lowest post in the Covenanted Service. He was promoted exactly on the principle by which those the promotion of members of the Covenanted Service was regulated; exactly as his seniority in the list demanded; exactly as if his appointment was *not* specific. He was made a District Magistrate and a Sessions Judge not only in due course, but with such rapidity that people suspected if he was not running his race rather too fast. The theoretical finality of his first appointment could only be obviated by the legal fiction of subsequent spasmodic lifts,—periodical transfers to *new* posts,—dependent in each case upon the will of the local Government and necessary in each case to be legalized by the sanction of the Supreme Government. But it was not by this ridiculously cumbrous process that the rigidity of his initial office was relaxed. There was no need of relaxation, because there was not the pre-existent rigidity. The Statutory Civilian glided with the ease of nature and custom, and not hobbled, from lower to higher posts. He entered the service as a seed, and not as a dead block of wood.

We mean, this is the conclusion to which the conduct of Government, which as we have seen could not have been otherwise without being either absurd or unjust, irresistibly leads. And we think we are right in inferring intention from such unmistakable conduct. "Tell me," said Lord Chancellor Sugden, "what you have done under such a deed, and I will tell you what the deed means." Contracts may be quibbled away, and plighted words cast to the winds; but acts have a vitality beyond the time and space they occupy for the moment; they create contracts when none exist; clear up their intention when it is ambiguous; and even read into them a meaning different from the surface of the context,—a meaning which is none the less binding by the very force of the different understanding it raises between the parties. Acts impose obligation not only by their past, but by their future as well; they not only live, but like all living things propagate; they give birth to implied promise on the one side, and

cherished expectation on the other,—promise, which it is faithless not to keep, expectation which it is cruel not to fulfill; and in a world of uncertainties, they are the most trustworthy index to that never-seen but always inferrible element in human nature,—intention. When you fire your gun at the breast of your enemy the only rationally deducible inference would be that you intended to kill him, and people would not believe you if you told them that your object was to see if he had a breast plate which could send back your shot. When you hold out the bread of life before the hungry, you are taken to mean that you will allay his hunger; and the fact that you intended to make fun will not save you from the moral guilt which *his* unfulfilled expectation must lay upon you. If acts have any retrospective and prospective binding force, it never was stronger than in the case of those done by the Government with regard to the Statutory Civil Service; the intention of the Government was never laid bare in a clearer light. The undeceptive character of that light,—that it was not a splendid mirage,—has been demonstrated by facts both positive and negative, by facts that were, and facts that could not be, and has gathered still greater force by reflection from a history antecedent to the Acts themselves. There can be no question that Lord Lytton intended to create and did create, an organised system, and that not by itself, but as a part and parcel of the Covenanted Service. He might have erred; but the mistake of the promisor cannot prejudicially affect the promisee; the mistake was not due to any conduct of the latter influencing the former's judgment; nor to any indefiniteness of the promisor's intention which might reasonably have weakened the promisee's expectations; but to something beyond that perfectly transparent intention. Will the promisee suffer for a condition of things which neither party ever foresaw, and which therefore never formed an element of the pledge given and accepted? Even when this error, so irrelevant to the matter, was detected, and when unjustly enough members of the Statutory Civil Service were made Statutory Civilians, they were made so only by name. The Statutory Service was merely formally distinguished from the Covenanted, but retained its organized character. On any other supposition *all* promotions are null and void, as the sanction for the validation of a new appointment was given in no case. Will the Government acknowledge such a stupendous blunder? And acknowledging it, will it visit the consequences not upon itself, the maker,—but upon us, the victims? Then, again, is the compulsory period of probation meant to test

fitness for single posts? Are Departmental Examinations for single posts? Were the Pay Code, the Leave Code, the Pension Code, framed for holders of specific appointments? Was the august Commission itself appointed to inquire into affairs relating to isolated offices?

From whatever point of view we look at the thing, the conclusion cannot be escaped that through all vicissitudes, through errors, through injustice, the Statutory system *has kept in tact its original character as an organized service*. Every other supposition lands us on absurdities uncomplimentary to the intelligence of Government, or on gross breaches of faith derogatory to the dignity of British justice. The new interpretation, therefore, flagrantly at variance as it is with actual facts, can serve no other purpose than importing weakness into an established right so as to make the escape from the corresponding obligation less morally painful. The dissatisfaction felt, at the statute not being supposed to give an organized service, is on theoretical grounds only. Where the dissatisfaction really felt was in the humiliatingly low rate of pay and the separation of the lists; the dissatisfaction arose from these facts lowering the status of the Statutory Service in the popular estimation.

At and before the time that the Public Service Commission commenced its labours, the statutory system was an organised service; and its members held offices ordinarily reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service. The result of the co-existence of these two conditions is that its members could have a prospective claim to *every* post in the Covenanted Civil Service, in due course of promotion, subject, of course, to the rules framed by the Government. It bore a very close and definite relationship to the Covenanted Service; and allowing for the technicality of the recently discovered intention of the Statute, it was, if not perfectly identical with that service, at least next-door to it. The relationship was strengthened and placed beyond the possibility of repudiation by the fixed proportion of pay. The members of the Statutory Civil Service,—we call them such, and not Statutory Civilians, advisedly,—were to be remunerated for their work on no other principle than that their salary should be 64 per cent. of the salary of the Covenanted Civil Servant holding a like post. Not that this rule of fractional pay is based upon any sound principle, or capable of the slightest justification; but it at least serves the very important purpose of showing the inalienable bond existing between the two services. At the risk of being somewhat technical, one is almost tempted to say, that this law

of "definite proportion" is about as essential to the determination of the relationship existing between the Covenanted and Statutory Services, as it is to the atomic theory of chemistry. In both cases, it leads to vitally important conclusions, and establishes immovable relations and sequences. Surely, the Government, in spite of itself and of the Statute, made a tacit admission of the fact of the Statutory Service being a part and parcel of the Covenanted, by following the "definite proportion" rule. The public Service Commission, also, has made the same admission in another, the negative, way. In order to ensure a thorough assimilation of the detached appointments with the new family into which they have been proposed to be adopted, and to obliterate all marks of their kinship to the parent stock to which they belong by right of blood, the commission has recommended that the pay of these appointments should *not* bear any fixed ratio to that of similar ones in the Imperial Service, but should be fixed on independent considerations suited to the circumstance of each province. This clearly, though impliedly, acknowledges the force of the conclusive presumption as to the extreme closeness of relationship raised by the rule of fractional pay.

For fully elucidating the position of the Statutory Civil Service at the time of the appointment of the Public Service Commission, it is necessary to repeat with more pointed emphasis a fact already mentioned. The Statutory officers held posts ordinarily reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service. For better or for worse, their lot was bound up with that service. They were to bear its risks, and enjoy its privileges. If the Civil Service were abolished, they would be thrown out of employ if holding the reserved posts; if the Uncovenanted services were abolished, they would not be affected by the change. They had no claim to any of the appointments beyond the pale of the Civil Service; but like the Covenanted men, they were not debarred from holding any such, by any legal disability. So far, therefore, the identification of the Statutory with the Covenanted service was complete, and incapable of any misconception. Any change of name of the Covenanted Civil Service does not in any way affect the right of Statutory men to hold appointments therein. Logic and common sense alike point to the conclusion that when the Covenanted Service is styled "Imperial," they must necessarily continue to hold appointments reserved for the "Imperial" service. They cannot belong to the detached portion, which by the very fact of the detachment loses its special reserved character. Again, if there are certain well-marked cardinal points of contact between the two

services, the term "Imperial" covers and expresses them with pre-eminent and obvious fitness. It acts like a happy common solvent for both; and while showing the necessary coincidences, it does not obliterate the inherent distinctions. It obviates many of the difficulties which arise out of the word "Covenanted" in its relation to the Statutory service. Preferable on the other grounds urged by the Commission, it is preferable also by reason of its furnishing a common platform upon which both Covenanted and Statutory Civil Servants may meet without the necessity of any official fiction for the equalization of their status. It is plainly a mistake to call a Statutory Civilian a Covenanted officer. He never executed any covenant; and to style him in that way is a contradiction in terms. And when you cannot call a person a Covenanted officer, it takes away, in the hazy notion of long-rooted custom, something from the dignity of his rank. This pretty puzzle has, we believe, something to do with the "differential treatment" to Covenanted and Statutory officers, alluded to in the Report of the Commission. But "Imperial officer" furnishes a very convenient escape out of such difficulties. It would betoken equality of status in plain English, with perfect precision, and without verbal contradiction. But we are not relying upon mere ratiocination, or the exigencies of verbal purity, for establishing the title of Statutory officers to the Imperial service. The Government actually intended to make the Statutory Service imperial. This intention is so clearly expressed, so independent of inference from acts, that the failure of the Public Service Commission to recognize it is astonishing. We quote the rule framed under the Statute: "Persons admitted under these rules to employment in the said "(statutory) service shall ordinarily be appointed to offices in the "Province where they were first admitted. But the Governor-"General in Council *may transfer from one Province to another* "*a person finally admitted in the said service.*" The italics are, of course, ours. If this is not Imperial service, we do not know what is. The Commission itself while advocating the substitution of "Imperial" for "Covenanted," gave to the Imperial service this distinguishing feature of transferability from one Province to another.* It is not a far-fetched supposition, we fancy, that the above rule, so far as it goes, is something like a counterpart of the similar condition contained in the Covenant which is executed by a Covenanted Civilian. The rule and the covenant close the same compact as to the sphere of service, only through different

* Vide P. 69 of the Report.

documents. To descend to a humble similitude, the rule is like a *patta*, the Covenant is like a *Kabuliyat*. By the Covenant, the Covenanted Civilian binds himself to serve in any part of India; by the rule the Government imposes the same exigency upon the Statutory Civilian. The one is a promise made and accepted; the other is a condition imposed and accepted. We bow to the wisdom of the Public Service Commission, but at the same time cannot suppress the belief that the relationship between the two services is more unrepudiable than it appears to think. The Statutory Civil Service,—we use the expression in the rule,—is not only an organised service and a reserved service, but an Imperial service also. And it pains us to notice that its organized character, its reserved character, its imperial character, have all been ignored by the Commission.

Hitherto, we have considered what the Statutory Civil Service is. We shall now say, in a few words, what it ought to have been, supposing that the Statute did not give an organised system. The specific nature of an appointment involves its finality. Such an appointment, consequently, should be the finishing stroke to a spent career, and not the beginning of a new one. Generally speaking, it should be the reward for some measure of distinctive success. A talented Subordinate Judge, or a practising lawyer of repute and standing, might be raised to a District Judgeship as a recognition of faithful work and marked abilities. A Deputy Magistrate, above the rank and file of his class, might be similarly elevated to the position of a District officer. In such cases, the boon is finally accepted. It is a prize beyond the reach of both service and profession, and any extraordinarily meritorious individual, singled out for the bestowal of special favor, cannot claim more, and is only too thankful for a recognition which carries him out of the old rut. And the Government which expresses its appreciation with such condescending gracefulness, cannot be expected to make any further concession. At any rate, the prize is given and taken on the mutual understanding of its finality. Of course, the Government may elevate the winner of the favor to higher honors, but *he* cannot demand it; as, indeed, he could not have demanded his initial elevation from a lower to a higher sphere. The result of such an arrangement is a successful life finished off with a crown, a Government thanked for its substantial patronage of merit, and official caste system broken through. A consummation devoutly to be wished for. But it is the height of injustice to give the lowest post, meant to be final, to merit proved by more than ordinarily severe tests,—to merit

at the beginning of its career. If you narrow the status of the service to specific posts, you must so narrow the meaning of proved merit and ability that you can trust such merit and ability at once with higher appointments. If you choose your meritorious and able men in such a way that you cannot trust them with any but the appointments at the bottom, you cannot but give them an organised service. It is madness to select a promising life for the purpose of stifling it by not allowing it to expand. It resembles the pre-English Indian custom of selecting the most beautiful youths for the purpose of sacrifice.

But in the old meaning of the Statute or the new, in the true meaning or the false, we fail to discover any rationale for merging the existing Statutory Civilians in the Provincial service. In the first place, the Statutory is an Imperial and never a Provincial service, and its reduction to the latter is unjust. Again; the Statutory service must be either organized or un-organized. If it is organized, the only just and rational course of action is to incorporate it in the Imperial service which it has always been ; if it is un-organized, the only legal thing is to reduce its members to the position where they stood at the first admission, since the subsequent promotions are all null and void ; under neither circumstance does it show any point of contact with the Provincial service. Its detachment from the Imperial and merger in the Provincial save no principle, and serve no purpose except of course that of convenience. If it cannot remain incorporated with the Imperial because the latter is organized, its absorption in the Provincial is indefensible on precisely similar grounds, seeing that the Provincial is organized as well, only, the latter course of action is even more unreasonable because it is at once illegal and unjust. The injustice of the unwarrantable deprivation of the imperial and reserved character of the service, is superadded to the illegality of its amalgamation with an organized system. It becomes an illegality, not only unsupported by any principle, but absolutely contrary to all principle,—an illegality unredeemed by that manly courage which in spite of technical defects guards vested rights with the firm, consistent and considerate duty of acknowledged error. Better far for the reputation of Government for moral courage that it should dole out technically illegal justice by manfully accepting the consequences of its mistakes, and fostering hopes which have been reared upon them ; better, even, that it should perpetrate technically legal injustice by annulling its acts *ultra vires* of the Statute, and driving back the Statutory Civilians from posts where they had no business to be, to their

position at the entrance; than that it should countenance the ugly combination of both illegality and injustice. The Commission has recommended its views on the ground that they are "expedient and equitable."* They are expedient no doubt; perhaps, too much so; but he is a bold man who can say that they are *equitable*, assuming of course that equity conveys the idea of justice and other cognate ideas, and that it is something more precious than mere fulfilment of the conditions of convenient symmetry.

Not only has the Public Service Commission done grave wrong to the Statutory service by a deliberate ignoring of its past, but it has aggravated the offence by adding insult to injury. After shattering the status of that service by its unreasonable merger in the Provincial, it has thrown out a pretty broad hint that this wholesale degradation was deserved by its inefficiency. Reputation is as dear to many in these degenerate days, as it was in Cassio's, and there may be found persons who inwardly shudder at the thought of belonging to a branded service. The admitted existence of "honorable exception" does not at all improve matters when the entire service is insulted and degraded. A landed fraternity sheds upon an indifferent member a reflected lustre under which brass passes for gold; while the finger of scorn is lifted at real worth for the misfortune of its being linked with what a sweeping censure has pronounced to be buncome. It is hardly fair to include good and bad in one all-involving remark of general condemnation. It is far worse to include them in one all-involving ruinous punishment. In olden days ten virtuous men might have saved a sinful city. Have things changed so far that the presence of a few black sheep dooms the whole flock to ruthless slaughter? It reminds us of the Emperor in the Arabian Nights whose anger roused by an unguarded word from the grand vizier could not be appeased except by a massacre of his whole family. The procedure which the Public Service Commission has adopted in dealing out punishment to incompetency in the Statutory Service is unique in the annals of penal history. It has recommended that the whole body is to be degraded first, and then individual cases may be considered on their own merits, when settling the position of each. So far as these individuals are concerned, therefore, they are to be presumed guilty until they can prove themselves otherwise. Why, the lowest criminal is presumed innocent until he is proved to be guilty. Not only that. The punishment is to come first and the defence afterwards. Truly, this is Jedwood

* See page 87 of the Report.

justice, not British. This perversity appears all the more wonderful when it is considered that apart from any general principle of presumption about which the commission might wrangle, there was a compulsory Statutory presumption to which the commission was bound to bow. Here is the rule. "Any "person admitted under these rules may, with the previous "sanction of the Governor-General in Council, be declared by "the Local Government to be disqualified for further employ- "ment in the said (Statutory) Service." We believe, that so long as any person is not so declared, he is to be considered *qualified*, assuming, of course, that the Local Government does its duty properly. We reserve the point whether a person who is finally admitted into the Service after his fitness has been tested by actual work during the period of probation, can be dealt with after the summary fashion of the rule. But the rule, at all events, furnishes a direct, simple and natural solution of the difficulty which the Commission might have pleaded as an excuse for its inability to recommend the absorption of the Statutory into the Imperial Service, and which it has solved in a round-about, unjust and unnatural way. The Government could, under the statutory powers reserved to it, weed the service of its inefficiency, and then give it its proper and legitimate place This would secure the required ability, save the Government from the reproach of trifling with vested rights, and other people from the pang of unmerited abuse, from the brand of vicarious punishment. But the Commission chose to put it the other way. Of course, it is the privilege of great men to be eccentric at convenient intervals; it is irreverent to laugh if they sometimes put the cart before the horse.

One more small point. The Commission has recommended that something akin to the Statutory system should be kept on after the abolition of the present Statute, in order to provide for the elevation of deserving men in the Provincial Service to the Imperial. This would of course apply to Statutory Civilians who shall now belong to the new Provincial Service. Some of them, however, had belonged to what was the Provincial Service under the old *regimé*, and were taken under the Statute to what has now been converted into Imperial. They are sent back to the Provincial, and are, in common with those who had never got any lift therefrom, given the chance of working their way up, under a future Statute, to the Imperial. And where is the guarantee that after they have secured it for the second time, they will not again be sent back to the Provincial by another Public Service Com-

mission? A fine see-saw this!—something like a recurring decimal in official life! It recalls to us the career of pith-balls in a closed glass-jar containing an electrified knob, at which we used to laugh in our College days. The light ball flies up to the knob, is thrown, again flies up, is again thrown down, and so on and on. But are promise, acts, hope, ambition, as light?

After causing, in the venerable language of the Indian Penal Code, harm to the Statutory Service in property, character and reputation, the Public Service Commission has made a ludicrously feeble attempt at conciliation. It is as if a peevish aunt after depriving a niece, who is not a special favourite, of her ear-ring, and after giving her a sharp slap on the face for the offence of wearing it, should try, while the poor creature is crying convulsively, to atone for the cruelty by offering her a sugar-plum or two. Unfortunately for the Commission, the Statutory service has outgrown its long clothes, and become sceptical of the nutritive value of its proffered sweets. To compensate for rifled property, to take away the sting from the poignancy of irrelevant reproach, it has proposed that members of the Provincial Service when holding similar posts with members of the Imperial, should be arranged in the same official precedence list, and be accorded social equality! What purpose will the former serve, when the Imperial men will not think otherwise of their Provincial colleagues than as belonging to a distinctly inferior service, and only raised to their height by the ridiculously artificial stilt of printed letters? Fine words, they say, butter no parsnips; neither do printed letters equalize unmistakable differences. For the matter of social equality, can it be brought about by the mandate of an official body, however exalted? We insist upon official equality,—clear, indubitable, as a matter of right; not the fiction on paper, but the real fact. And we are convinced that when official equality comes, social equality will take care of itself. We decline with thanks the favors offered by the Commission.

The members of the Statutory Civil Service appeal from the verdict of the Public Service Commission to a higher and, they doubt not, a juster tribunal. They smart under wrongs which, perhaps are not irrevocable, and they fervently believe that the Government will do them justice. They complain that the Commission has most unjustly attacked vested rights; that it has ignored their past, and the actually recognized character and status of their service; that contrary to all principles of justice and equity, it has proposed to give retrospective effect to a newly created disability. The Statutory Service is, in many respects, a

most unfortunate body. Begotten in jealousy, and bred in error, it has lived a hard life, indeed, through envy and apathy. The people and the press have looked upon it with suspicion. It has evoked no interest and no sympathy in its struggle for existence. And now that it is about to die an inglorious death, the spectacle has not roused the feeblest sympathy. A handful of men must fight their own battle, without help, without encouragement, without the cheering consciousness of any silently-felt sympathy with their cause, without the inspiration of anticipated success. The Covenanted Service and the Uncovenanted have no occasion to be sorry at its fall; and the nation looks on with a perfectly stoic unconcern. Why, it has not the extent and the attitude to attract popular attention. Even the Public Service Commission, a truly great body which, on the whole, has done its arduous task with earnestness and zeal, has not scrupled to wrong it because it is small and weak. But can injustice plead a set-off? It is justice, and not favor, which the Statutory service wants. It demands the redemption of promises, express and implied,—the fulfilment of expectations created by acts whose import is clear as the light of day. It resents the stigma and ignominy of insulting degradation. It shrinks from the thought of dishonored death. It has suffered much already. Is that a reason for its suffering more? Does one small transgression sanctify another great one? Is it not right, rather, to retrace the one small transgression, and restore the service to its proper and intended place? If there have been mistakes in the application of the Statute, are they not capable of a more equitable rectification by the passing of a validating Statute? The history of Legislatures, both English and Indian, teem with instances of such validation of graver and more wide-reaching errors. Is that process of saving actual deeds, the repudiation of which leads not only to self-stultification but to positive injury to others, to be abandoned on this one occasion because the occasion is not "august and proud?" Is justice to be measured by the magnitude of its receiver,—by extrinsic pomp and circumstance?

"The poor beetle you tread upon,
In corporal sufferance feels a pang
As great as when a giant dies."

And this feeble cry, too weak to reach the ear of the authorities, too uninteresting to be effective if it does reach, rises out of a depth of wounded feelings, of crushed young ambition, of stunned and staggered hope, such as would have expressed itself in a truly magnificent howl if the Covenanted Service were thus

throttled out of existence, or, what is far worse, reduced to the level of the much-abused Deputy.

A STATUTORY CIVILIAN.

## POSTCRIPT.

What the Statute meant is not quite satisfactorily settled. Of course, it has been settled after a fashion by authoritative interpretation, and can be no longer considered an open question; but the interpretation is by no means complete or consistent. The Statute is not so easy of interpretation as might appear. To begin with, by "proved merit and ability" the Government of India in 1873 meant "special training in some office or profession, and some degree of distinctive success." (See p. 25 of the Report.) The first set of rules was framed upon this supposition. But in 1874, the Secretary of State vetoed them, because the Law Officers of the Crown held that the Government of India placed too narrow a construction upon the Statute. They said:

"That section (*i. e.*, sec. 6, 33 vic., cap 6) was *expressly* intended to afford increased facilities for the employment of Natives of India of 'proved merit and ability' in the Indian Civil Service (notwithstanding the impediments and limitations contained in the recited Acts), *subject to rules* prescribed and sanctioned as therein stated. The 'merit and ability' need only be proved or established to the satisfaction of the authorities making the appointments, and no particular method of establishing proof of merit or ability is enjoined.

"There seems, therefore, to us to be no valid reason why the Governor-General in Council should limit the exercise of the discretion of the authorities entrusted with making these appointments by prescribing any rules (such as those in the draft sent from India) requiring the Native candidates for employment in the Civil Service (properly so called) to have previously served for any definite period or upon any definite terms in some other employment under the British Government. Such a restriction seems to us to be clearly opposed to the spirit and intention of the Act of 1870."

Two things are clear from the above. In the first place, the Statute was intended to afford increased facilities for employment

in the Civil Service; and secondly, that "proved merit and ability" might be of a general and not necessarily a special character; apparently including merit and ability shown by the successful passing of academic tests. The Law Officers used the expression "employment in Civil Service," and not in an appointment in it. It was not made clear *then* whether the employment was to be specific or in an organized service. The Crown Lawyers were not asked about it. The point apparently had not occurred to the authorities at all. In the rules framed and sanctioned, the organized character of the service was tacitly assumed and acted on. The belief that the Statute intended to afford increased facilities for the employment of Indians in the Civil Service, and that the required merit and ability might be proved otherwise than by actual service, could lead to no other conclusion. It was not till 1885, six years after the promulgation of the finally revised rules in 1879, that the Statutory Civilians were declared not to belong to an organized service. There is nothing to show that the Law Officers were consulted when this very important departure from the old meaning was made. They had been consulted in a matter of detail, as to the meaning of proved merit and ability; and it is rather wonderful that their opinion was not asked on a question of such vital importance as the status of the service. The reference was all the more urgently necessary, and the omission appears all the more unaccountably strange, because the wide meaning of proved merit and ability, and the Rules framed under the Statute, were inconsistent with the new interpretation giving a totally different and an extremely narrow status to the service. *The new interpretation virtually upsets and stultifies the wide meaning of proved merit and ability given by the Law officers. It upsets and stultifies the rules framed on lines indicated by them.* The beginning from the bottom which is the effect of the rules, is inconsistent with the finality of a particular appointment which is the effect of the Statute. The combination of the two, again, taken along with the wide meaning of proved merit and ability, leads to gross injustice in the case of men whose merit and ability have been shown by high educational tests, because it necessitates their accepting as final the lowest initial post. In any case, either the higher posts must be given at once; or the service must be held to be organised. The difficulty of working the Statute and the Rules harmoniously together may be or may not be a reason for abolishing the Statute. We say, may not be, because if there is nothing objectionable in the Statute, the failure of the Executive Government to adapt rules thereto is no valid reason of its aboli-

tion. But certainly it is no reason for taking away rights, however blunderingly given. And the Law officers, who are partially responsible for this contradiction, should have been allowed, in common fairness to themselves as well as to the ambiguously-positioned Statutory Civilians, an opportunity of reconciling this contradiction. It is certain, that if the Law officers were consulted in 1885, as they had been in 1873, they would either have modified their meaning of proved merit and ability, or authoritatively declared the service to be organized, or insisted upon the amendment of the Rules. It is unfortunate for the Statutory Civilians that this reference has not been made; and though for purposes of argument, they are bound to take the present official view, yet they do not, in the face of this omission, consider it either consistent or complete. In the present Essay, however, I have argued upon the assumption that the Statute did not create an organized service. I have attempted to combat this theory by actual facts. Against the theory the facts have been militant; and the question is whether to accept the theory or the facts. Any other possible theory would be supported by the facts. Whatever force the arguments advanced may have, will therefore be strengthened by any other interpretation of the Statute.

# STATE FINANCE IN INDIA.

## II.—(EXCHANGE AND PROFITS.)

IN order to understand the exchange problem as affecting India it seems necessary to have a clear comprehension of two matters. They are the appreciation of gold; and the special difficulties of a debtor country which has to pay the interest on its debt abroad in an appreciated metal. The ordinary difficulties of a debtor country or community are not always clear to the public. But every business man knows the effect of a debenture debt on a concern with limited means and markets. If a concern is paying (say) 10 per cent., a debenture debt at 6 per cent. is a profitable way for the shareholders to raise capital. But if a concern is able only to pay its debenture interest, the shareholders find it a very unprofitable way of raising capital indeed, for it takes all their profits. Without larger profits the concern is clearly not in a position to borrow. Nor is the effect of a debenture debt on a poor concern alone to take all the profits, and to depreciate the share capital, but also to make low prices and bad bargains necessary in order to get a revenue at all hazards to avert foreclosure, and bankruptcy. The debt becomes a working expense, and increases the cost of production. It forces production in quantity, and whether the produce is wanted or not compels sales. It compels sales at a loss in order to provide cash to meet the debenture interest. Whereas a smaller sale near home, might give a good profit (though perhaps at a higher cost of production), yet the total so obtained though satisfactory in itself, might not pay the debt interest. There has therefore to be a greater out-turn and some sold at a loss. For instance take a Coal Company with a debenture interest of 2 lakhs of rupees. The management may have a fixed local sale of 50,000 tons at Rs. 11 a ton: but the local markets can take no more. The case is not suppositious. To put 50,000 tons on the local market may cost Rs. 9 a ton. The profit obtained would be Rs. 2 a ton or Rs. 100,000, which on an ordinary capital would

pay a fair dividend. But the total is one lakh of rupees short of the debenture interest. To avert foreclosure this other lakh must be got, and the Company accordingly doubles its output, and exports to distant markets. The distant markets are subject to competition. The result is worth noting.

By the increased quantity of output, the cost of production very likely falls to Rs. 6 a ton. On the first 50,000 tons sold locally the Company now makes Rs. 5 a ton or Rs. 2,50,000. But it finds that on the other 50,000 tons a loss has to be booked of Re. 1 a ton; only Rs. 5 a ton being obtainable as price after deducting the increased cost of carriage, handling, commissions, and wastage on the longer haulage to the new market. The loss on the export account takes off Rs. 50,000 from the local profit, and the result is the bare debenture interest. At the same time 50,000 tons of the Company's property have been wasted, and the risk, trouble, discredit and worry to all concerned incurred of producing, carrying and selling so large a quantity of coal at a loss.

Now go further and suppose the interest on the debenture debt to be payable in gold, and that owing to the appreciation of that metal the management has to provide 2½ lakhs of Rupees instead of 2 lakhs. The Company may be made insolvent unless it can immediately produce and find a market for a further largely increased quantity, and at a lower price. This is called a stimulation of exports, and is very much India's case. She, like the debtor Coal Company, has to increase her exports irrespective of price in order to pay the interest on her debt swollen by a loss by exchange both on the debt and on a number of other fixed gold purchases besides.

The next question is the appreciation of gold. Besides the large modern increase of moderate fixed gold incomes, and besides those countries that like Germany have lately adopted a single gold standard, many debtor countries with silver standards have joined India in effecting that result. So far as goes the direct incidence of exports upon gold, India seems to have about a fourth share in the general effect. For whereas her exports exceed her imports by 20,000,000 of tens of rupees—the imports into England, the great gold creditor country, exceed the exports by £80,000,000. This great mass of goods represents interest on debt owing to England, ocean freights, money sent for investment and family maintenance and education, for pensions and for salaries of servants of foreign and colonial powers employed in England. Not being an exchange for goods it is all more or less appreciating the value of gold in respect to other commodities, silver included. An imme-

diate settlement for that £80,000,000 has to be found in gold, or gold obligations, and gold at once goes to a high premium. There seems no reason for doubting that these facts are legitimate cause and effect. India therefore has to suffer from the appreciation of gold, not only as caused by her own want of foresight in undertaking to pay her debt interest in a metal she had no concern with, but also as caused by the imprudence and extravagance of other countries, and by the ocean transport being financed altogether in gold. These are the main disturbing influences.

The fall in exchange is continuing which is no doubt greatly owing to the majority of the investments not paying more than the debt interest, and to a consequent risk of failure or of repudiation. The full interest of the foreign loans is not safe. Nor is everywhere the capital. The enterprizes fostered by them are not paying profits, as witness Indian irrigation and railways that as a whole can only just provide profit enough to pay the gold interest on the debt. Silver countries are moreover still borrowing gold and increasing their exports to pay the interest in the same metal.

The following reflections may be of service in assisting to an understanding of a difficult question. They pretend neither to scientific accuracy, nor to exhaustiveness.

Regarding a gold currency in India. Silver using countries are at present poor countries to whom a gold sovereign would be of no use. The average Indian for instance would not handle two of them in the year, if all his earnings were put together. Peoples who use a silver standard have few comforts and fewer luxuries. They buy and consume few things and those very cheap. A small handful of copper meets the utmost of their weekly currency requirements. Silver they see rarely. Gold becomes an ornament solely. The volume of the requirements of the Anglo-Saxon, the typical gold user in all quarters of the world, is immense compared with that of the silver and copper using Asiatic. The expenditure of the English mechanic, and even of the farm labourer soon runs to gold. The comical dismay with which the Englishman in India surveys his monthly bag of rupees with respect to its weight and bulk is an exact reproduction of the need that replaced the handsome old English crowns or five shilling pieces with sovereigns and half sovereigns. The English residents would like a gold currency. But to talk of a gold currency for the people of India is to talk of a diamond currency, or any other splendid impossibility.* The coins would never be used. More-

* The Calcutta *Statesman* has this expression.

over at the present moment the suggestion of a gold currency for India if thrown out by the Government would still more weaken silver, while any step towards giving the suggestion effect would drive silver to a very low value indeed, and make the purchase of gold a financial impossibility.

A yet greater pressure is being brought to bear to induce England, and with her other European countries, to return to a double standard of coinage of silver combined with gold at a fixed ratio. That is Bi-metallism. But it is more than any one can say that the remedy even then would be complete, and that silver would remain at the legal ratio. While the impossibility of getting European nations to agree to the experiment is likely to be insuperable.

If silver bullion did not rise to the level of coin in value, or if the ratio between gold and silver were fixed (as is suggested) above the present exchanging level, not alone would all gold holders suffer, but all creditors also, for they would be paid in the cheaper metal. This actually happens, I understand, in the United States where the Bland Bill compels the coinage of silver dollars that are not of the intrinsic value of gold dollars. The usual inconveniences of a double legal tender would moreover accompany Bi-metallism. But the chief objection to it is no doubt that the gold interest in Europe is too strong to be set aside, and that the gold interest is identical with English general interests. This and the next suggestion both sacrifice European to Asiatic interests.

Silver monometallism is probably a better suggestion for the masses, but one still more hostile to the holder of gold and gold obligations, and still more inconvenient to the wealthy. It is a policy that a communistic government would be likely to try in the interests of the poorer classes.

Two other recommendations have been advanced. One is to stop the issue of treasury notes in India. The other to limit the minting of rupees. If Indian currency notes were merely paper promises to pay, and non-convertible, the coined credit of the State in short, as in former days existed everywhere on the continent, and still obtains in some countries, then to call them in and to substitute silver would no doubt increase that metal's value. For the increased duty would be manifest. But so long as the treasury retains bullion and coin as a reserve and issues notes only as a convenience to the public, it is difficult to see how the question is advanced by ceasing to employ paper.

To limit minting is a device suggested for increasing the value of the coin of the realm by making it scarcer. Such an arrangement

would for a time be a source of profit to those persons possessed of silver coin, among them the Government, but it would be a hardship to the people who would find their taxes a more pressing burthen. For wages and prices would fall and profits would not rise. To limit minting would I think mean nothing else than enhanced taxation. Among other objections to the suggestion moreover is this ; the value of silver bullion would further depreciate, and a vast scheme of private and illicit coining be encouraged, which it would be impossible to prevent. Bi-metallism is probably subject to these disadvantages also.

Something has to be said on the other side. Many persons console themselves with the belief, that the loss by sterling exchange is compensated for by the increased exports. The new exports they think give a profit larger than the loss by exchange. How it was in the parallel case of the coal company I have tried to shew. The exported quantities were there sold at a loss to begin with, which loss was taken out of the profits of the local sale. When there came a loss by exchange, yet more production and exports immediately were seen to be requisitioned ; and the solvency of the company hinged on a larger foreign market in which to sell the exports, and this meant lower prices still, perhaps more loss to be taken off the local profits.

Turning to the exports of this country, I would venture to ask those who hold this comforting theory that loss by exchange is compensated for by the profits of an increased export trade, what profits are likely to be left out of an increased volume of 120 millions of tens of rupees in a ten year period of exports, when during the same period the unmitigated loss by exchange increased by 12 millions of tens of rupees. Surely the net profits, on the sea port valuation of Indian agricultural produce, are not much in excess of 10th the gross income. And if there are expanding profits, why does the Finance Minister assure us that taxation is at its limit ? The actual loss by exchange was increased by 20 millions in the ten year period ended the March 31st, 1886, but for much of this there must have been compensation in lower prices. The rest came upon the net profits.

India's assets—namely, her labour, her intelligence, her land, her minerals, her water power, her stock of silver, are at present to all appearances productive of no profits. There do not appear to be any profits either on local or export account. Every thing is being destroyed, nothing saved. An experienced financier assured me the other day, that he did not think that Calcutta could provide more than one million sterling of native savings

for the best paying concern : and Bengal is the wealthiest province in India. If what is stated is the case then in order to turn the tide of exchange in the direction of silver it would appear that one thing at all events is necessary. India must make profits, and so accumulate capital of her own for an industrial era. Once establish profitable industries in India and capital in the shape of treasure and goods will hasten to India for investment without the terms of a fixed and insatiable gold interest. The question for the Indian financial administrator to answer is, whether without a change of system, profitable industries will spring up in India of themselves, and how they are to be financed.

The question how is India to make profits is not one to be answered only by the State financier. But he has a great deal to do with it, for it is his business to ascertain in what operations can fresh capital seeking employment find profits : and he should know where to find the capital, and what inducements to hold out. If manufactures will pay, or can be made to pay, he must learn where and how to start them. If concessions are required he should be able to guage the capital necessary to work them. If the state must lend here, or guarantee there, or concede somewhere else, it is his business to check the terms. What he has to do is to compel the working departments to make the most of India's assets : and that he is not doing that now, is too painfully apparent. On the contrary everything is being let slide, to use the slang of the day.

There is, it may readily be admitted, extreme difficulty and danger in the path of the Indian administration, for the empire has let go of old fashioned moorings, and let out of sight the beacons that marked them. The ship of state is drifting in the dark in unknown waters, amid rocks and shoals. But one beacon is in sight one matter is certain : it is that anything that will develop India's assets all or severally, but especially her labour and her intelligence, will give her more profits by the simple and common phenomenon known to all civilized nations as a general rise in the standard of comfort, in the course of which more is produced, more consumed, but more also saved. Then capital will become available for the land, the minerals and the water power whose capital value also will increase. On parallel lines with all this progress will advance the value of the stock of silver, however much in the course of increasing business it may have been added to. That has been the experience of England and Europe, wherein, notwithstanding the discoveries of the gold mines of Australia and California, and consequent cheapening of gold,

prices are steadily falling with increased production, the result of intelligent labour and invention. Invention is only the application of intelligent labour to other natural products. Modern discoveries of silver have just now made silver very cheap, it is kept so by the unintelligent uses made of the national assets in silver using countries. If the other assets are made full and proper use of silver will rise in value along with them, until a high standard of comfort allows of its being profitably exchanged for currency proposes for a metal of less bulk. There appears to be no other permanent solution of the question of the loss by exchange but to start Indian industries on a broad and liberal scale: not industries only of agriculture, and of transport, but also of manufacture and science.

India can then expect to cease by degrees to be a poor debtor country, or if she retains her debt as do rich European nations, it will be only as a matter of convenience, because she is making more profits out of her own capital, than she pays in interest for that of other's The relative value of gold to silver will, it may then reasonably be expected, approximate to that of twenty five years ago, before the great lending operations began; and while prices rule low, wages and profits will improve. India should then raise four or five times the present amount of taxation, and think nothing of it.

The present system of taxation, and the ways in which taxation may be made accessory to industrialism, will be discussed in the third part of this paper. For the present it is enough to shew that the loss by exchange appears to absorb all fresh profits.

F. BEAUCLERK.

## THE QUEEN OF MODERN CITIES.

### III.

We begin our account of Southern Paris from the extreme West, and commence with the Champs de Mars which from the most ancient time, has been the scene of military exercises in Paris. It is an immense rectangular piece of sandy ground on the banks of the Seine. In more recent times it was here that the unfortunate Louis XVI and the members of the National Assembly and the representatives of the army and Provincial France swore fidelity to the constitution which had been extorted from the King in 1789.

The constitution did not last very long and many successive scenes in the drama of the revolution were enacted here, until Napoleon assumed the imperial power, and held his fetes and demonstrations on this extensive ground. The exhibitions of 1867 and 1878 were also held here, and it was at the latter exhibition that the superb palace of Tracadero was built on the opposite bank of the river. It is of magnificent and unique construction in white stone, and its two lofty towers 230 feet high are visible from miles and miles beyond the limits of Paris. I went up one of these towers in a lift and had a splendid view of Paris from there. The centre of this Palace consists of a vast hall the dome of which is one of the largest in the world, having a diameter of 173ft.

Not far from the Champs de Mars, and to the east is a spot which Frenchmen of all sects and denominations regard with mingled feelings of pride, and of sorrow. The gilded dome of the Hotel des Invalides can be seen from miles and miles outside the limits of Paris,—and under this dome rest the ashes of the greatest of warriors and of conquerors. The "Hotel" was founded by Louis XIV for providing a home for old or mutilated or infirm soldiers who had shed their blood for their country. There is accommodation for 5000 soldiers, but the number who live there now does not probably exceed 500. There are a "Court of Honour," a Library, a Council Chamber, a Museum of artillery and an Armoury here,—but the most interesting spot

is of course the tomb of Napoleon the great. The visitor as soon as he enters the mausoleum is struck with awe. Before him is a superb altar supported by twisted marble pillars standing on a marble platform and surrounded by a marble balustrade—and the whole lighted by golden light streaming through stained windows and producing an effect which cannot be described. Around him are chapels containing monuments of the Great Turenne and other eminent men. Above him is the lofty dome rising high in the air whose gilded outside is visible for miles round. And below him,—just under the dome is a circular crypt of polished granite nearly 40 yards in circumference, and seven yards deep. In this crypt,—surrounded by marble statues and the very flags which he captured in battles, and on a marble pavement on which are recorded in stone his principal victories, lies Napoleon Bonaparte in a Sarcophagus of porphyry! "Everything around seems to betoken the final resting place of one of the greatest men whom the world has ever produced. Lofty, spacious and majestic, there is an air of repose and tranquillity which cannot fail to impress the least susceptible mind." Leaving aside the Taj Mehal I know of no grander tomb and mausoleum than that of Bonaparte,—and the inside of Taj Mehal, though more beautiful, is not so solemn or so majestic as this solemn spot.

Close to this place, and further to the east is the beautiful modern Church St. Clotilde completed only in 1859. At some distance to the north of this Church and on the banks of the Seine is the Corps Legislatif, the Parliament of France. It was commenced by a Duchess of Bourbon and was completed in 1807 and was then known as Palais Bourbon. On the eventful 4th September 1871 it was here that the Assembly discussed the capitulation of Sedan, while the uproar of the mob outside was so great that even Gambetta could not make himself heard. The excited mob burst into the hall and dispersed the assembly and clamoured for the abolition of the Empire which had landed France in defeat and disgrace, and for the proclamation of a Republic. Gambetta, Jules Favre and the other leaders of the times left the Assembly and repaired with the excited multitude to the Hotel de Ville of which I have spoken before. It was on the steps of that Hotel that the Republican Government was proclaimed, a Government which has lasted and given peace and rest and strength to France for the last sixteen years.

Near the Corps Legislatif, and towards the east is another famous building also on the banks of the Seine. It was a structure built in 1786 for a Prince, but after his execution it became

the residence of Madame de Staël whose salons were then frequented by the most distinguished men of France. In 1802 it became state property and Napoleon I. assigned it to the Chancellor of the newly created order of Merit of the Legion d'Honneur. Since then the building goes by the name of the Palais de la Legion d'Houneur.

Further to the east is the Palais des Beaux Arts which is both a museum and a school of painting, sculpture and architecture, and numbers over a thousand students.

Further to the east, and on the banks of the Seine is the historic Institute of France with its lofty dome and spacious wings. It was founded in the seventeenth century by cardinal Mazarin as a College but during the Revolution it was converted into a prison! At present it comprises within its precincts the celebrated French Academy which was founded by Richelieu and which has since his time shaped the language and the literature of France. Beside this historic academy there are four other academies within this building, *viz.*, the Academy of Belles Lettres, the Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Fine Arts and the Academy of Moral Science.

Close to this place and further to the East is the Mounaie or Mint of France which is said to be capable of turning out £80,000 in coin per day! There is a complete collection of French coins from the time of Charlemagne to the present day. A little to the East of this is the beautiful fountain of St. Michel on the corner of the Boulevard de St. Michel, running North and South.

We have hitherto travelled from West to East, along the South bank of the Seine, from Champs de Mars to the Boulevard de St. Michel. We must now pause awhile near this important Boulevard and note the places of great interest on either side of it or close to it.

Before we have gone very far along this boulevard, we have on our right (*i.e.*, to the west) a number of historic buildings. The Palace of Luxembourg was constructed in the seventeenth century by Marie de Medicis; widow of the Great Henry IV. At present it is occupied by several Government offices, and the extensive and beautiful gardens of this quandom-palace are now free to the public. There is also a museum here containing pictures and sculptures of living artists. Close to the palace is the spot where the bold and gallant Marshal Ney was shot for his attachment to Napoleon by the victorious Allies of 1815, and a statue of the intrepid soldier marks the place.

Further to the north west of the palace of Luxembourg is the Church of St. Sapplice with its lofty but unequal towers, and further west again is the Church of St. Germain des Pres, the oldest church in Paris. The nave is said to be that of a church of the tenth century, and the choir belongs to the 12th century, *i.e.*, to the Norman period. The windows however were restored in a later, *i.e.*, in the Gothic period. The appearance of the Church from outside is distinguished from all the other Paris Churches, by the massive plainness of the Norman period.

These are the most important buildings to the west side of Boulevard St. Michel. On the east side of that Boulevard we find buildings still more venerable and hoary and still more important.

The museum of Cluny is the most ancient of all the ancient monuments of Paris. It is almost the sole relic of the Roman period in Paris, and the building was the palace of Emperor Chlorus Constantine, A.D., 292, *i.e.*, sixteen hundred years ago! It contains collections of prehistoric flints, Celtic antiquities, Roman pottery and sculpture, ancient French tapestry, French, Flemish, Dutch and German wares, and carriages, arms and furniture of different periods of French history. Some curious things are kept here and are shewn to visitors.

Leaving Cluny we go further south along the Boulevard de St. Michel, and come to the historic edifice of Sorbonne associated with the literature and the genius of France! The famous Sorbonne University was founded in the reign of St. Louis of France in 1250 and it soon became the chief institution of schoolmen and theologians who promulgated their opinions so boldly as not unfrequently to oppose the spiritual authority of the Pope himself. In later times Guizot and Victor Cousin and a host of eminent thinkers delivered their famous lectures here;—a medallion figure of Cousin is prominent in the court yard, and a street in front of the building is named after the philosopher. It is needless to say that this building with its lofty dome is the centre of the University and schools and colleges of Paris which are extending on every side,—and thousands of college students and ardent school boys receive their training under the shadow of this venerable edifice.

Another venerable building is close by,—the famous Pantheon, dedicated to the Great men of France! The noble height of its dome; and the magnificence of its structure, seem to mark the veneration in which Frenchmen hold their great men! The dome is 272 feet high, and is the most conspicuous object on the south side of the Seine,—next only to the gilded dome of the Invalides. This noble structure

was however not originally built as a monument to great men but as a church. There was in olden time a chapel here over the tomb of St. Genevieve who died in 572 A.D., and the chapel was replaced by a Church. The Church fell into decay and was pulled down and replaced by this magnificent edifice which was dedicated to the same St. Genevieve by order of Louis XV. The subsequent history of the building well illustrates the varying temper of the French people within the last hundred years. The Convention of 1791 decreed that the building should not be a Church but should be made into a memorial temple to great men, and caused the inscription,—"Aux grands hommes la patrie reconnaissante" to be engraved in the facade. Napoleon I opened it again for worship according to the intention of its founder, at the same time ordering it to be the sepulchre of the great dignitaries of France. Louis XVIII went farther and handed over the building to the Archbishop of Paris to be used as a Church and erased the inscription to Great men! Louis Philippe caused the inscription to be replaced and ordered it to be used as a national monument as the Convention had ordered. Napoleon III again restored it to the Church! In the Revolution of 1848 it was the head quarters of the insurgents, and in 1871 it was occupied by the communists who happily had no time to carry out their intention of blowing it up altogether! At present it is used as a national memorial, and is not used as a Church.

The interior of this noble structure is equally noble, simple and majestic. The walls and the dome are ornamented by fine paintings and frescoes. The graves of the Great men are down below in the underground vaults,—and it is here that the visitor is disappointed. Unlike the Westminster Abbey of England where the visitor strolls among the thick graves and monuments of thinkers and writers, kings, warriors and statesmen and is absorbed in the noble associations of past greatness, the Pantheon has few graves of great men to shew and shews them to the least advantage. The visitor is conducted in the midst of a crowd by a conductor through dark vaults in which he can see next to nothing, and is shewn some graves of men about whom he knows little, as a rule. The most important tombs are those of Voltaire and Rousseau, but the remains of those great men are not here, but were removed elsewhere by impious hands in revenge of the desecration of the Royal tombs under the convention!

Victor Hugo the greatest of French poets has recently been buried here, and his tomb is ever loaded with fresh wreaths brought by grateful people.

Further East from the Pantheon, and on the South bank of the Seine is the Jardin des Plantes which is not only a garden open to the public but is also a famous place of instruction in the Natural Sciences. It contains a Botanical Garden which rose to importance when the illustrious Buffon was appointed director in 1732. The great Humboldt added 3,000 new specimens to this department in 1805.

The Jardin also contains galleries of Natural History which are the completest in Europe, and close to them is the gallery of comparative Anatomy founded by the immortal Cuvier.

There are also a Gallery of Zoology, one of Geology and Mineralogy and one of Botany, besides a library, an Anatomical museum, &c., &c. Gratuitous lectures are delivered here by eminent men on scientific subjects.

We have now finished our rapid survey of Paris, beginning with the two islands in the Seine and then traversing the north and the south banks of that river. But an account of Paris is not complete without some mention of *subterrancan Paris* if I may so call it. The magnificent drainage system of Paris is unique in the world, and branches into a hundred ramifications underground as the Streets of Paris branch in all directions above ground.

And the vast catacombs of Paris,—also unique in the world,—contain the skulls and bones of about twenty millions of human beings, and stretch for miles together, like a city of the dead,—under the city of the living!

The underground drains of Paris are lofty arched passages running for miles and miles together in different directions through which one may walk or go in boats! They are only for the discharge of rain or other water, and nothing noxious is allowed to mix with them. The contents of these drains were originally discharged into the Seine close to the Boulevard de Sevastapol,—but this connexion has been stopped, and the water is now discharged several miles down the river. As we walked through these drains, —each with a lantern in his hand and saw the long lines of subterranean passages running in all directions under the town, we were struck with wonder. The greater portion of this drainage system was done under Napoleon III.

The Catacombs are still more remarkable. These vast underground galleries were formerly quarries of soft limestone. As the stone was quarried from age to age for building purposes, the underground excavations increased in size, until they undermined an entire district! In 1784 the Government finding the quarries were unsafe caused piers and buttresses to be erected to support the

roof, and shortly afterwards transferred into these galleries all the bones from the "Cemetery of the Innocents" which was then closed. And thenceforward the galleries were called catacombs and were used as such. Thousands of bodies were thrown in here pell mell during the French Revolution, and were arranged subsequently, in 1810. The skull of the celebrated Madame de Pompadour was thrown in here during the reign of Terror. Bones from other Churchyards have since been from time to time removed to this wonderful depository of human remains. We walked through these gloomy vaults—each holding a candle, amidst millions and millions of human bones carefully piled and arranged on both sides of us. Holes in many skulls shewed death by bullets in battle or in scenes of violence, and short moral passages engraved on stone monuments reminded the visitor every here and there of the instability of human pride and human life.

St. Cloud is on the banks of the Seine and is only six miles from Paris as the crow flies,—and all the big monuments of Paris are visible from St. Cloud. The Palace here which was a favourite residence of French Kings, and specially of Empress Eugéné is now a mass of blackened and discolored ruins,—thanks to the vandalism of the communists of 1871. The beautiful park and gardens however still remain all round this ruin and amply repay the toil of a visit to this place.

Verseilles,—about 8 miles from Paris as the crow flies,—is a place of yet prouder associations. The magnificent palace and the matchless park and gardens of Verseilles were laid out under the command of the "grand Monarch" Louis XIV at a cost of £40,000,000. That king virtually left Paris and removed his court here, and the court of his successor Louis XV was debased by the license and excesses,—under the domination of Madame de Pompadour,—which became a by-word in all Europe. The retribution came in the reign of his harmless and good successor Louis XVI who was dragged from Verseilles to Paris by the mob in 1790 and was executed two years after.

The historical museum founded here by Louis Philippe in 1832 is unrivalled in extent in the whole world. As the visitor walks through hall after hall he sees an unending series of historical paintings illustrating the most glorious episodes of the French history from the days of Clovis and of Charlemagne to those of Napoleon III. Charlemagne and St. Louis, Henry IV and Louis XIV of course figure most prominently while the great victories of Napoleon I cover acres of canvas! In sculpture too

the same profusion is visible, and the great men of France live in these galleries in speaking marble.

Thus the palace of Verseilles is now a sort of national museum commemorating the great deeds and thoughts of Frenchmen,—dedicated according to the inscription on it, to all the greatness of France. Loyal adherents of the old regime may regret the splendours of the times of Louis XIV and of the Napoleons which were witnessed in these halls; but the *nation* rejoices in calling Verseilles a national property now, and every humble citizen recalls with pride—as he strolls through these historic halls, the great deeds and the great thoughts which have given to France her place among the nations of the Earth.

R. C. DUTT, C. S.

## LINES.

*(On revisiting Peer Pahar House, Monghyr, after sixteen years.)*

When last I gaz'd upon these scenes,
Life was not full of tears,
Nor bore this weary head of mine
The weight of ill-spent years.

How perfectly I then enjoy'd
God's precious light and air!
And join'd with Nature to pour forth
My heart in grateful prayer.

How nimbly then I climb'd these hills,
Light-hearted as the roe,
Or, with my trusty gun in hand,
Stroll'd in the vale below!

And not a day pass'd by, but some
New pleasure came to bless,
My gentle wife and children fair,
With joy and happiness.

Those pleasant days for aye have fled
Upon thy wings, O Time,—
Tho' still unchang'd the scenes I saw
In life's delicious prime.

The scenes remain unchang'd,—but ah!
The woeful change in me!
O glowing youth! O bounding health!
O boastful vanity!—

O ease of mind! O feelings rare!
O Love's bright golden store!—
Vanish'd like meteors, to return
Never,—ah, never more!

But thanks, dear Lord, for I have learnt
To count such loss as gain;
Now know I that for such as me,
The Lamb of God was slain.

For when, in sickness, 'neath my feet
Wide yawn'd the darksome grave,
To Thee I cried,—Thy gracious hand
At once was stretch'd to save.

Loathsome, by sin defiled, stone blind,
I grovell'd on the ground,
Thy healing touch was felt, and I
In Thee my Saviour found!

With tears my eyes,—with gratitude
My wretched heart brimm'd o'er;
—Thy sympathetic voice I heard,—
"Go thou, and sin no more!"—

Thee, House upon the Hill, again
With chasten'd heart I greet!
And, clinging to the Blessed Cross,
Seek now thy cool retreat.

O. C. DUTT.

THE
# NATIONAL MAGAZINE
NEW SERIES.

No. 6.—JUNE 1888.

## *STATE FINANCE IN INDIA.*

### III.—(TAXATION.)

WITH reference to what has been written in a previous portion of this paper pointing out the probable increase of the burden of taxation that would be the effect of a rise of silver alone unaccompanied by a rise of profits, the following suppositious case may help to make the matter clear. It will shew that taxation would have to be decreased, and that the increased purchasing power of the remainder would be of doubtful usefulness except to the servants of the Government. The suggestion is to force up the value of silver with respect to gold. In all likelihood there will then be a fall in silver prices, and in order to illustrate the question of taxation the case may be taken of a farmer with a business that yields him a gross income of Rs. 1,000. To obtain this sum we will assume he spends Rs. 600. The gross profits of his farm are therefore Rs. 400. And of this the State, we will say, takes Rs. 100 in taxation. The figures are exaggerated. The net profits of the farm are on this calculation Rs. 300. If the farmer is farming on borrowed capital, he can pay the interest on his debt out of that balance. If not it forms a fund for further investment, either in enlarging or improving the farm, or in other enterprizes that may have nothing to do with agriculture. It is enough to say that the sum of such profit balances is the total of the country's accumulations. If by any means whatsoever silver rises in price, and its purchasing power is increased, the farm products though the same in quantity will be sold for fewer rupees. Purchasing power may increase so much that the farm gross income may stand under the

new conditions at Rs. 600 instead of Rs. 1000. In that case if the gross profits are to be of the same value as before in purchasing power the farm expenditure must fall to Rs. 360, so leaving the gross profits at Rs. 240.

The question of the new taxation now comes in. If Government still takes Rs. 100, the net profits will be only Rs. 140, which will mean that while the gross income has fallen only by $\frac{4}{10}$ths, the net profits have fallen to less than $\frac{1}{2}$. Clearly, for the farmer not to be worse off by the change, his net profits should be Rs. 180. That is to say the State can take only Rs. 60 in taxation. It surrenders that portion (here very much exaggerated) that used to pay loss by exchange.

The effect of lowering silver prices and appreciating silver without at the same time raising profits is hereby seen to be illusory. And bi-metallism cannot raise profits. Even if bi-metallism were otherwise feasible and proved lasting in its effects of raising the value of silver singly, the only saving to the country would eventually be that which Government and other employers gaining in exchange in selling silver for gold, could effect by paying their servants lower salaries: that is salaries re-adjusted to the higher purchasing power of the rupee. If these salaries were not re-adjusted, there would be no saving, and firms not dealing with gold countries so as to gain by the improved exchange, would lose. And whether in the case of government it would be found feasible to re-adjust salaries may be doubted. I do not think it would be possible.

Whatever will simply reduce the purchasing power of gold will save loss by exchange and taxation. But solely to increase the purchasing power of silver is to endanger the object in view.

For the State to benefit through its income derived from taxes, by a fall in silver prices, that is for it to be able to retain notwithstanding the fall in prices the old rupee scale of taxation, without increased pressure on the taxpayer; or without reducing salaries, which it can hardly do; quite a different change altogether has to take place to any that has so far been described. There is no further question of gold for the present. The matter is one of silver account solely. While prices are falling and silver rising, gross profits (and perhaps wages also) must rise. There must be more sound business. I mean by sound business the state of things represented by the equation—Production=Consumption +Profits—in which profits relatively are increasing. Taxation being paid out of profits, the former quantity of taxation might

then be levied in rupees without hardship to the tax-payer. Net profits would remain of the same value or increase in purchasing power.

But in order to keep the gross profits at a relatively high figure during the fall in prices, the gross income of Rs. 600 must be maintainable by an expenditure reduced in greater proportion than ⅓ths. It must be maintainable by an expenditure reduced say one-half, or by Rs. 300. That is to say the farm expenditure will now instead of Rs. 360 be Rs. 300. There will then be a gross profit of Rs. 300, and out of that the farmer could pay Rs. 100 in taxation, and be himself a little better off, by about Rs. 20, than before. His Rs. 200 will have that much more purchasing power than had his Rs. 300 before the fall in prices. And the State would have a clear balance of Rs. 40 at its disposal. That would be a very desirable result. But for this change for the better to take place it is obvious that a sum of Rs. 300 has to do the work of Rs. 360, and if while silver and profits are both rising this improvement can be effected in the cost of production the rise in silver will indicate gain to everybody. There will be gain to the State that finds itself possessed of a larger income raised without trouble : gain to the servants of the State and to the owners of fixed incomes generally whose salaries or dividends have more purchasing power : to the capitalist, large and small, who gets better net profits : to the labourer who receives higher wages : to the country at large through enhanced accumulations of capital widely distributed. A change like this will mean that through a greater efficiency of labour, and a lower cost of production, the same work is being done with an absolutely less outlay. It will mean that while there has been a fall in prices, there has been no fall in wages, and there has been a rise of profits, gross and net. That in doing the same thing less labour has been expended, and, considering the enhanced purchasing power of the rupee, more liberally paid ; that less material has been used up ; and that a greater use has been made of the country's invention and intelligence ; that labour and material have together been better adapted to the work to be done. Lastly, and here gold is again in question, the rise of profits in India will attract *capital* : and through this account will affect European and American gold, which will then fall in price and correct exchange, as it sets itself to purchase more and more of India's silver, and more and more to employ India's labour and materials.

A fall in prices that means all this, is what industrialism, a thorough use of India's neglected assets, may be expected to

effect. The State can then raise the scale of taxation without hardship on the people.

The question is how is such a state of affairs to be arrived at. Whether taxation can be made accessory to an increase of profits is the great dispute between free-trade and protection, and there is no doubt that the last word by a great many has not been said on either side. But whether taxation can be said to be used successfully or not to improve earnings, the fact remains that excepting only in India and England it is so used. Import duties in most tariffs are levied designedly to increase the employment of the protected country's resources in the first instance, and secondarily only to yield a revenue to the State.

India has very little indirect taxation; meaning taxation not paid direct to the tax gatherer by the people; and a quite insignificant portion of it is import duty. The salt duties though indirect in form, and levied on an article of consumption and paid by dealers, are universally admitted to be really a capitation tax on the masses of the people. As such all Indians Europeans and Natives alike approve of them within the limits now set by the law. The export duties on rice are paid by the Indian cultivators and are practically direct taxation, but as being a custom's duty the tax goes as indirect. The opium revenue is the proceeds of a state monopoly of sales to traders with a foreign country. The excise is indirect taxation and is important: so also are stamps: the two together are worth nearly eight millions of tens of rupees. The net customs revenue including the export duty on rice amounts to one million. The forests after paying expenses yield a net revenue of only four hundred thousand. This one fact is enough to throw suspicion on existing arrangements. In France the forests yield four times that sum.

Altogether the purely indirect taxes do not amount to 9½ millions, and of that not ½ a million is import duty.

The remainder of the taxation as shewn in the table printed at the end of part 1 of this paper is derived from Land Rx. 22,937,000: Salt Rx. 6,600,000: Assessed taxes Rx. 1,406,000: a balance from miscellaneous heads: and from the Opium monopoly Rx. 8,893,000. Regarding the opium monopoly a correction is necessary as the revenue here stated is gross. A sum of Rs. 2,505,000 has to be deducted as cost of production.

There is one other source of revenue though at present it is far from being as profitable as it should be. The railways of India at

present are estimated to yield to the State a net profit of no more than Rx. 400,000. And even this small saving is doubtful. As a single concern for the whole empire the State Railways only just yield enough profits (net earnings they are called) to pay the interest on their debt, and annuities in extinction of debt, at *2s.* to the rupee. A capital of £70,000,000 can pay no more than this. What Irrigation capital pays it is impossible to say, its indirect results on the Land revenue being inaccessible. If loss by exchange is applied there is a considerable loss on railway account. But loss by exchange has been here treated as an expenditure by itself. The arrangement is Mr. Westland's. The grand total of the Revenue heads is Rx. 54,000,000, which represents Rs. 3 a head of the population taking the population at 180,000,000. It is not difficult to shew that though enough for the present this revenue is too little for very probable requirements by Rx. 10,000,000. This is owing to the non-elasticity of the revenues generally, to the specially precarious nature of the opium receipts, to the disappearance of any fund for famine relief, to the danger of war with Russia, and of a further fall in exchange. There is chapter and verse in different statements by authority for every one of these additional calls on the revenue. If they are collectively reckoned too highly at ten millions, it is rather that they are not all likely to come on the revenues at once, but it would be quite unsafe to calculate that there is not an early date before which they all will come on the revenue.

Regarding the normal elasticity of the revenue it may be admitted that it was shewn sufficient in the ten year period 1877—1886 to pay for the Bombay and Madras famine and for the Afghan and Egyptian wars, without a very heavy deficit.* And this is re-assuring, but it is no guarantee that unless a reserve of taxation equal to Rx. 10,000,000 is not very soon provided, the deficiency in the future will not outrun all present means of coping with it. The opium revenue is considered to be doomed, and that alone means over 5 millions. Another 5 millions for the other purposes stated is surely in face of the repeated statements of the Government not more than enough to insure the finances against war, famine and loss by exchange. And it is solely as a reserve that the increased taxation is to be sought for. There is no need to impose it until wanted. It is necessary to speak of it only because the Finance Minister states plainly that if wanted it could not now be had. That is the test of the position. New sources

* Rs. 6,609,812.

of taxation have to be found that do not exist, or the present sources of revenue have to be made more prolific. And as has been suggested previously the sole way to do either of these things is to find more business for the people to do, and then they can pay more taxes.

Before however the Indian finance minister need take up this question there is a preliminary step, which is to ascertain if other countries cannot be made to subscribe to India's taxation; and there is very little doubt that something in that direction could be arranged if certain prejudices were overcome. I mean such a prejudice as holds it to be wrong to do anything in India that might even for a time harm or impede English trade. An export duty might be put on raw jute which foreign purchasers would have to pay. It may be assumed that whether a producer or a consumer pays an export duty depends upon whether the buyer can get the article elsewhere or not. That is to say, it depends on whether there is competition and not combination among sellers. India alone grows jute, so that while the grower pays the rice export duty, and India is beginning to lose the opium monopoly, for a long time to come foreign manufacturers of gunny cloth might be made to contribute to Indian revenues through the medium of an export tax on raw jute. As much as the rice tax might be got in that way but it may be admitted that the suggestion is more useful as shewing the direction that fiscal policy should take, than as indicating a very remunerative tax. If the tax was found prohibitive of foreign manufactures in *gunny*, the capital now employed abroad could be usefully transferred to Calcutta and its neighbourhood and there invested in new jute mills to the great advantage of this country.

No reference to this subject can avoid a mention of the import duties on cotton goods removed after the surplus year of 1882 in obedience to clamour from England. They can be reimposed and one or perhaps two millions of tens of rupees obtained from Lancashire in the year as a commission for the privilege of supplying India with clothing. In order not to encourage Indian competition, and to keep the Indian market, Lancashire will not raise prices, and her mill owners will pay the duty themselves. Or as in the supposed case of the *gunny* manufacturers they could transfer their capital to India and work their business inside instead of outside the barriers of the tariff. Coal can be similarly treated, also leather and paper manufactures, and sugar. On all of these, following the example of England herself, and in distinct accordance with the teachings of the

political economists can import duties be imposed for revenue purposes. It is not protection, for the taxation is obtained on the basis of excluding local competition. The United States raises more than the double of the Indian land revenue in customs duties alone, and yet has a complete industrial system. That is protection. And clearly there is some very extraordinary transition to be gone through before India can reap the advantages of so novel a system in her finances. But at least this can be said that taxation has in America proved a safe accessory to industrialism; and I may be pardoned therefore for thinking of it in connection with the same movement in India. If ordinary tariffs will not give the taxation required protective tariffs must be resorted to; and the entire financial and commercial system altered for good and all.

And that is what will probably have to be done merely for revenue purposes, since the power of the State to raise Rx. 10,000,000 more taxation at present is more than questionable.

The foregoing ends most incompletely I am aware, what I wish to say about State Finance in India. I have sought rather to throw together notes on the subject, which may lead others to think about it for themselves, than to write either scientifically or exhaustively. I can say only that I hope what I have written though disconnected in form is in substance correct. I should like to add that the bugbear that frightens people from a dispassionate consideration of protection, as a cure for the acknowledged evils not alone of India's threatened State finances, but of the poverty of India's earnings and education, is high prices. Economists fear that protection will introduce high prices for manufactured goods, and that the cultivators will not be able to pay them. That in short the evils of poverty, ignorance and debt, will be exaggerated and not relieved.

Until so much capital is attracted to India that prices fall within the tariff barrier by local competition, no doubt there will be higher prices. But the fact does not seem to be altogether of such evil presage as is supposed. These prices will themselves attract the required capital and set on foot the desired competition at home all the sooner. The agriculturist who has to pay the higher prices will save something of the high cost he now incurs in sending his produce to a far distant and capricious market.

That the manufacturer will sell at as high a price as he can get must be admitted at once. In business there is no sentiment. And he will have the same advantages as the cultivator in a near and certain market. But he has to reflect that the cultivators, his chief customers, can make reprisals on him by raising the

price of raw material. Behind the tariff barrier all countrymen are equal, and have to reckon with each other, without escape. If a war of prices took place the official class and all fixed incomes would suffer until salaries and profits were re-adjusted, but a war of prices such as this is a hollow thing in the long run and soon comes to an end.

There is then to be thought of that factor the value of which it is impossible to estimate before hand, but which inevitably affects prices, I mean the general cost of production. What protection in a young country aims at is to develop—to develop—to develop. To develop the producing power of the land, of the labour, and of the materials (the forces and resources of nature) belonging to the nation. To produce more, to consume more, to save more. Even though prices may temporarily rise, profits may rise still more through the enhancement of the standard of comfort and a relatively diminished cost of production, and then wages will rise and salaries can be raised. Money is so merely a nominal and a registering matter when these great economic forces are in operation that the habit of attaching to it too much importance is embarrassing.

But this must not blind us to the fact that at first there may be a rise in the prices of manufactured goods if India imposes protective tariffs, and that the high prices will be felt until Indian manufactures supply all the protected goods used. The high prices will fall on the cultivator, but then this has to be remembered also, that by the known circumstances of Indian life the higher prices will be financed by the money lender. And the money lender will pay them if he can see his way to recouping himself out of the higher profits of the *ryot's* labour. I have shewn how profits can improve while prices are falling. It is the same when they are rising. I have said elsewhere that diversity of employment is probably the touchstone that will turn India's unemployed labour to gold. I think the money lender will find it better worth his while to keep the *ryot* alive and comfortable, if the latter is selling his produce with a prospect of better profits to a yearly increasing and diversifying body of industrialists in towns and villages around him even though more has to be paid for local products than is now paid to importers; than at present, when there are no profits, and when the *baniya's* advances are measured and valued by the yearly rain fall. When there is more capital in the country, and that capital is earning profits, there will be a general expansion of credit. A better system alone is required.

F. BEAUCLERK.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION]

## *A NEW VICEROY.*

The appointment of a new Viceroy of India reminds those who have watched Indian affairs closely within the last fifteen years that the advice usually tendered to the chief of the State during the early days of his residence in India, and even before his departure from England, is not always such as to lead him to a correct understanding of important facts. There are many important facts most necessary for him to know, but easily overlooked if the mind is in the least prejudiced or non-receptive. Yet although a knowledge of them alone can make his term of rule fruitful of good, as often as not, indeed in the majority of cases, if not in all, a Viceroy comes to India with much to unlearn, if not to unsay.

The term allowed as Governor-General of five years is too short a space in which to learn a tithe of what is in progress in this great Empire, where the chief matter observable is the absence of trustworthy news and information. So that what is learnt should be essential, should be truly focussed, and thoroughly understood. Still less is there time in which to unlearn unfortunately preconceived errors. While to be obliged to unsay and contradict in action what has been said in speech is naturally damaging and unpleasant.

There is happily no need to affront Lord Lansdowne's disinterestedness and understanding by supposing that any thought of self whether in respect to ease, aggrandizement or profit will mix themselves with his reflections on first setting his foot in India, or afterwards during his Viceroyalty.

The Indian Viceroyalty is no bed of roses. No more responsible post exists, nor one more difficult to fill without a certain shrinking of reputation. A King they say should be the servant of his people. That is an aphorism that much depends for its practical application, as may be believed, on the people. But there is no manner of doubt that a Viceroy of India is the slave of his

administration. On him the last comer, and the least instructed of his council devolves all responsibility, all initiative, and all blame.

Praise seldom comes near him.

The last two vice-reigns sufficiently demonstrates this fact. Or if there is praise it is terribly one-sided and embarrassing, while the blame is loud tongued, and vexing to men of wide views and pure motives.

All that is known of Lord Lansdowne points to self-restraint and self-devotion.

Both moreover are qualities for which his high order is pre-eminent. He himself is an aristocrat of the aristocrats: a Fitz Maurice and a Keith. He is comparatively young, is not yet disillusionized with this disappointing modern existence of ours. He has filled worthily high employments, and will be thoroughly trusted by the people.

No two feelings will struggle for the mastery in his mind, and he will have solely before him the splendour of England and the welfare of the Indian peoples. To his mind there will not be two things, but one, and it is right they should be so, and that so he should think them.

These are days in which India's Viceroys seek popularity. Such a thing was unheard of until in quite recent years. Viceroys now seek the good will of the people. The reason is not far to seek. It is the boast of English rule that it is educating the people. Some think the process is proceeding too fast. And that is a matter for Lord Lansdowne to consider. But rightly or wrongly, education, as he has said recently, is making rapid strides, and with it has come a more intelligent understanding of the higher qualities of British rule and of British rulers. The ruler naturally values more in these circumstances the appreciation, the affection of the people.

As time passes and Lord Lansdowne begins to realize that India is not altogether known to Englishmen resident in India as well as he has been led to suppose, he will read something of native writings, hear more of what the people say, and will be wise to lay the information so acquired to heart. He may never know the people intimately in their homes. He will scarcely have the time. But it is well to remember that they will not expect him to do so. The people will be satisfied to judge him by the effects of his rule upon themselves. They will not be too curious of his motives. They will credit him with good motives. They will look on him as their father who knows everything.

And if they do not benefit in their humble estate by his rule, will pass on the same trust to his successor, saying "he that has gone cared not for us." If they wrong him and are unjust he must not be disappointed. Their education has not yet advanced enough to teach them foresight. It would be rash to assert that education has ever yet taught a whole people foresight. But he may find himself able to improve their condition in a way to earn their immediate gratitude.

Lord Lansdowne's noble predecessor has secured the frontier of the empire, has by a wise and far-seeing justice soothed race animosities, perhaps too rudely awakened by premature encouragement of native aspirations, and he has never held his hand from the summary punishment of corruption in high places. Lord Lansdowne's path is so much the clearer before him. His task will be easier for what Lord Dufferin, the wisest Viceroy of modern times, has done. It will be the easier for what Lord Ripon has done, for the Local Self-Government act of the previous Governor-General was well timed and well judged. But his path lies in a different field to that traversed by either of his immediate predecessors. Lord Ripon worked among the educated natives. Lord Dufferin discarding class question has worked for the safety and solidarity of the Empire. Lord Lansdowne's way lies among the poor.

English rule, English energies as applied to an Asiatic Empire are finally approaching trial. In India is being tried a vast experiment, and judgment must be given soon. It has been taught by outside means and by foreign agency to re-vivify a body of 250 millions of poor peoples, slaves from centuries to custom as to tyranny, socially crystallized into castes, religiously ultra-conservative, politically dead. It has been sought to form these millions into an empire on European pattern; to protect them from powerful adversaries; to free them from the local tyranny of petty princes, landlords, and usurers; to imbue in them the respect of law; to educate them; to free them politically, financially, and intellectually; to endow them with hopes and ambitions; to render them fit for the varied employments and enjoyments of the XIXth century; to enable them to earn each one of them an honest living.

Much has been done, but more remains to be done, or what has been achieved may be lost.

The chief ultimate means to these great ends is British influence and example. Lord Lansdowne's British subjects will claim a large share of his consideration—without them he can do

nothing. The natives, he will find, admit this, and the last thing they desire is to end British rule. If a few seem by their writings to imply the contrary, they are among the least influential in the nation. Englishmen are its leaven. Only there are not enough of them. And the few of Lord Lansdowne's countrymen that he will find in India are working under extraordinary disadvantages. In a speech to which reference has been made His Excellency alluded not only to rapid increase of education in India, but also to the increase of industries. Here he was unhappily led into error.

The educated native press is so pleased at his promising to fulfil the spirit of the age in respect to joining the educated classes in the administration, that they have overlooked this mistake in respect to industries, the occupations primarily of the poor.

There has unfortunately not been the increase of industries that Lord Lansdowne has been led to describe. On the contrary although India affords a field for industrial employment unprecedented and unexampled in the world past and present, though it has labour, cheap labour, skilled labour, unbounded material resources, yet except in the employment of Government, in a small and diminishing number of mercantile houses, and in the Bar and Press of the sea ports, in the planting districts, in the railways, and the petty factory and mining industries of the cities of Bombay and Calcutta, and the districts of Mysore, and Lower Bengal, there is no adequate occupation for the educated classes, either European or native; and of course except in agriculture, there is no occupation for the peasantry.

The industries Lord Lansdowne spoke of as rapidly increasing are quite imaginary. Such as exist are inadequate for the needs of the empire. And they have ceased to expand. There is no capital for them to expand upon: and the profits yielded are insufficient to attract capital from Europe.

The ancient industries that have come down from time immemorial with their wealth of knowledge and skill are dying out. The workmen castes are being forced upon the fields. The administration reports of every province of India are year by year stating this fact without an attempt to conceal its character, or palliate its seriousness.

Factories, mills, mines, all of which would afford occupation for educated and uneducated alike are at a standstill for want of capital. Medicine is overstocked. The Bar is overstocked. A general poverty that makes a people more anxious to recover petty damages, and to save small sums in dispute, than to save their

time for new and profitable enterprize, is answerable for the excess of legislation in the country. But the Bar is overstocked nevertheless. The overplus of educated men has no other resource but to write. And many write well.

But when all are writers, there are naturally few readers, and literary pursuits whether journalistic or otherwise do not pay. And writing in such circumstances is very irresponsible and very fruitless. Moreover the competition for the favours of a small reading public leads to writings of a regrettable nature. For though education has made great strides the reading public is still lamentably small. This is an advantage in one way, since very few read the semi-seditious matter that a few men desperately seeking a living would disseminate.

The masses of the people are miserably poor. The artizan is losing his occupation under pressure of western competition. No capital is being provided for the adequate growth of a new industrialism based on machinery and modern methods. The poorer agriculturist makes no profits. He is in debt, and he dreads year by year a failure of the rains which to him without savings or credit means famine. Even the richer farmers and landlords are without means to improve their condition. They cling to their rents and savings. There is no internal trade. An export trade of unparalleled waste and extravagance has its small profits consumed by the effects of bad state financing in the past. A mass of taxation of not less than £2,000,000 is lost in buying dear gold to pay interest on debt.

Taxation, though apparently light when compared with the number of the people is really heavy when compared with their profits. Lord Lansdowne's financial advisers will tell him this, and will tell him moreover that he has no reserve of taxation to fall back upon to meet the failing opium-revenue, and diminishing net railway earnings; and to provide for war, famine, and a further loss in exchange. If industries were rapidly increasing this could not be the case, except in the wholly impossible supposition that while increasing they were yielding no profits.

The facts would be better explained to Lord Lansdowne if he were informed that a larger and to some extent a better educated population had less work than heretofore. And that consequently a clever, patient and industrious people were being condemned to industrial stagnation and inaction.

Lord Lansdowne should suspect all advice that would make India to appear to be prospering while famines are recurrent probabilities with every failure of the rains; while the people are

by more than three parts unemployed; and are in chronic debt and distress.

Lord Salisbury said recently that, "The first necessity of a man is to live. His first duty is to work."

In India he cannot at present fulfil with certainty either the law of his being, or his duty to his nature.

VERE.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

# INFANT MARRIAGE.

I OUGHT to state that I am not for reforms at high pressure. For the rectification of our domestic and social customs, the British legislature should not be the only quarter to appeal to. It is not the one panacea for all the ills that flesh is heir to, though the readiest engine within reach of the popular reformers, who can get the ears of the powers that be, to coerce the people by. If a reform is to be deep-rooted and sure-footed, the conviction of the people must be correspondingly changed and the only way to it is through the moral force of discussion and persuasion. We are firm believers in the sovereignty of public opinion. Focus it, though slow at first to move, to an abuse, and it will be reduced to ashes in no time. Hence it is that however much we might sympathize with Mr. Malabari's efforts for our social amelioration, we cannot agree with him in his methods—his overproneness to invoke legislative interference for every scheme of his. What a mischief was brewing in the supreme legislative council, in the shape of an amendment to the Civil Procedure Code regarding the restitution of conjugal rights, owing to our precipitate rush towards British legislature for the solution of the problem, it is an open secret now. And if the demonstration of the orthodox party in favour of infant marriage has in any way contributed to the averting of the impending dire calamity, we are sincerely thankful to them. However this is policy; and policy is one thing and a calm and judicious investigation of an institution for amending its defects is quite another. And we proposed in this essay to resume the discussion of the subject of infant marriage in one of its several aspects, the consideration of it in all its bearings within the compass of a single article being found wholly impracticable.

It is rather unprofitable to tread on debatable grounds and in the present discussion we hope to take our stand on firm ground, whence the staunchest advocates of infant marriage cannot dislodge us.

The argument of physical degeneracy brought against early marriage, we have not much faith in. Our brethren of N. W. P. are as much addicted to infant marriage as we are, but they possess as splendid a physique as any martial race of the world. The physical weakness of the Bengalees is rather dependent, we suppose, on other causes than the one of early marriage. As to the theory of the extinction of the early-marrying races of Hindustan, the decennial census returns bear witness to the falsity of such a speculation.

There is then the stock argument of the non-development of *real* love in infant marriages. But the thousands of the happy and loving couples of our early-married countrymen give the lie to such an assertion. We are rather inclined the other way: that infant marriage by creating opportunities for early association and for early moulding of each according to the taste of the other to which long study contribute so potently, rather fosters than otherwise the attachment and friendship of the pair, thus gradually leading to a complete fusion of their souls. Further, the wife, being in her infancy adopted into the family of her husband, with her growth, becomes thoroughly incorporated with it—an identification which has stood in such good stead to our joint family organization.

The institution is again objected to on economical grounds: one must, it is urged, be competent to maintain himself before he takes upon himself the responsibilities of married life. It is too true indeed; but the Hindu joint family system solves the difficulty for us to a great extent. And to the wealthy aristocracy the question of means can not be a bar to early marriage.

The populousness of India is again laid at the door of the custom of infant marriage. This appears to me to be only a one-sided generalization. Early marriages lead no doubt to early fecundity but nature has its own check in the comparatively early loss of the child-bearing power of the Indian women. It is a well-established physical fact corroborated by all medical evidence how soon 'change of life' occurs in India. And we doubt if ever our early married couples get on the average more children than people who marry late. The over multiplication of the Indian people is to be mainly traced, we believe, to that peculiar tenet of the Hindu religion, which enjoins on every person, male or female, on pain of eternal damnation, to pass once in their life through the hymeneal altar. The soundness or otherwise of this injunction it is not our present business to enquire into.

Having thus investigated the commonly received opinions against early marriage and discovering how little water do they hold in the popular mind, we now proceed to lay our own position. We take our stand wholly on humane ground. It would demand but few words from us to paint to a Hindu parent or house-holder what a terrible curse is girl-widowhood for India and how it for ever blights the peace and happiness not only of the girl herself but of the whole family of which she is a member. And the census of 1881 estimates the number of the girl widows under the age of fourteen at 2,86,364. Now is it not worthy of the serious consideration of the leaders of the Hindu community, if this vast amount of human suffering can be averted in future by a slight modification in the marriageable age of the girls? Widow-remarriage is against the genius of the Hindus and I am not sanguine about any melioration in the condition of these victims of the existing custom. Nor am I prepared in the present article to argue whether the introduction of such an innovation with its inevitable lowering of the high ideal of the eternity of the holy wedlock, its unwelcome exposure of the original deformity of the conjugal relation as founded on the most intense of the self-regarding instincts, and its conventional notion of chastity, is at all desirable or conducive to our higher moral evolution. Be that as it may, if one thing is more certain than another there is no chance of the Hindus in their present temper adopting the re-marriage of their widows to any extent. So is it not meet and prudent too, to arrange our affairs so—and when that can be done with comparative smoothness, without in the least giving rise to anything like violent opposition —that the girl-widowhood may be wholly effaced if possible in the future from the Hindu Society? This consummation can be easily attained by raising the marriageable age of the girls to between 13 and 14. Against such an alteration the cry of Hinduism in danger can but too faintly be raised. The practice is not wholly unknown among us. In the very stronghold of ignorant bigotry—the East Bengal—the *Kulin* girls are often allowed to grow up unmarried up to a very high age (of course from an Indian point of view). Now all that is necessary to make the custom universal is to give a little turn to the current of popular opinion in this direction. With that view we should accustom ourselves to sympathize with and countenance the parents that marry their girls at the age of their puberty instead of condemning them as at present. And we believe the leaders of orthodoxy are not in practice the same advocates of early marriage, as in profession. They would surely hail in their heart of hearts the change that is to reduce the

chances of the early widowhood of their girls to a minimum. It is on the other hand the grossest libel on the whole Hindu girlhood to suppose, we are of opinion, that it would go astray if not united to husband before puberty. It is almost hopeless to argue with a man of such uncharitable views and we should not waste our breath in such a fool's errand.

To effect the change, however devoutly wished for, we are of course not for going to Government to enforce it with all the rigours of law, making it penal to marry Hindu girls before a prescribed age. Public opinion and enlightened self-interest, when properly appealed to and aroused, will do the whole. Nor is it desirable to fix any arbitrary limit of age for marriage. With an eye to the increased chances of girl widowhood in cases of early marriage, the proper age of wedding of each individual girl ought to be determined by her growth, mode of living, early propensities and other manifold circumstances of which her guardians should be the sole judges. This should however by no means be allowed to degenerate into a plea for early marriage; and public opinion would certainly look to it. We should be chary again on the other hand that it may not lead to the opposite abuse, *viz.*, unusual late marriage. We ought to have eyes undazzled amidst all the gloss of European civilization to see the frightful moral wrecks that are occasioned by the long-deferred marriages of the West. Who is there that will not be shocked to read that half of the children (50 per cent) of Lisbon and Stockholm, a third of Berlin, Vienna and Naples (33 per-cent), a fourth (25 percent) of Milan and Copenhagen and a fifth (20 per cent.) of St. Petersburgh and Turin are illegitimately born? After this who would vaunt of the Western chastity? Better far our savage virtue than the civilized counterfeit of it of West! From this our go-ahead reformers, who are indifferent to their girl's wedding even when they attain the ages of the European misses, ought to take a profitable lesson and awaken themselves to the gravity of the responsibility they are incurring by their conduct. And further of what avail is this unusual late marriage? Do they imagine that by a little advance in age the youthful couples would use their wise discretion in the selection of each other—but by the bye the impulsiveness of the young people in such love affairs is proverbial—and thus the chance of difference and misunderstanding between the wife and husband would be obviated? If so, they should have been long disenchanted of this illusion by the judicial separations and the proceedings of the divorce courts of the European countries and the home of late marriages.

The plea of ecomonico-social difficulties urged by some against the abolition of infant marriage I do not think it needful to examine here. Not that they are of minor consequence but that the alteration proposed in the marriageable age is so inappreciable that those problems are left almost wholly and unaffected. For instance the questions of the Hindu joint family system, the prestige of the master (*Kartâ*) of the household, the privilege of the parents in the selection of the daughter-in-law or son-in-law of their choice, the respective positions of the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in a joint family and all such kindred matters, remain wholly untouched by the slight raising of the girls' age for marriage as insisted on by me.

TRIPURA CHARAN BANERJEA.

## *PHYSICAL DETERIORATION.*

I do not think I need dilate at present on the benefits of physical improvement, as many able writers have already discussed the point and the principle has been established and accepted long time before I thought on the subject. The task before me therefore is not to establish any premises. My concern is to trace as far as I can the principle, the predominant cause of the deterioration of our physique. Several assertions have been made from time to time with a view to determine the true cause of this national calamity. Ever since the agitation against the early marriage of the Hindus the question has again and again been brought forward before the notice of the Indian public. In fact it is a very momentous question. It demands the utmost attention and care from all interested in India's welfare. Whatever may be the cause, that the process of physical deterioration is going on amongst us hardly admits of any doubt. The question has assumed a national aspect and it may be discussed with profit and advantage at the next assemblage of the Nation which is to take place at Allahabad in December next. But whether the National Congress will take up (considering that it is already overburdened with many important subjects) or dismiss the subject I beg most respectfully to draw the attention of my countrymen to the momentous question the issue of which concerns us all. But before I proceed further, I transgress for a moment to meet the arguments of some of my educated countrymen whom I greatly esteem and who cherish the opinion that a nation may rise in the scale of progress without paying any attention to their physical development and that extension of knowledge is all that is required, because physical power is only brute force. To dispel the above illusion and to show that it is not based on any tangible ground I beg to quote a passage from a well-known great Historian :—

"The dreams of inexperienced philanthropy" says Sir Archibald Alison in his history of Europe "may nourish expectation inconsistent with this proposition and anticipate an adequate protection

to private right from the extension of knowledge or the interest of commerce without the aid of warlike powers, but experience gives no countenance to these ideas and loudly proclaims the everlasting truth that as regulated freedom is the greatest blessing in life so it never can be defended for a course of ages from the assaults of regal and democratic despotism but by the hardihood and resolution of those who enjoy it."

It is evident from the above quoted extract that the extension of knowledge is not the only panacea that makes a nation happy and contented. It should be allied with physical strength. For instance if the Russian invasion (God forbid) take place to-morrow can we be usefully employed by the British Government to quell the Russian invasion? It is not only for the sake of the Russian invasion that our physical improvement is suggested but also it is essentially required for the existence of the Indian people.

Having now said this much I now proceed to consider and trace what I consider to be the primary cause of our physical degradation. It has been said with confident assertion that the predominant cause of our physical degradation lies in our marriage system. It is further stated that there may exist thousand and one causes but it is the only prevailing cause and the root of all mischief. Let us now consider carefully how far the above allegation is borne out by facts. If our marriage system is the root as complained of then it is natural that the cry which we now hear would have been heard long ago. Because as we know the Hindu marriage system is not the growth of to-day. It has been sanctioned, consecrated and practised I may say, from time immemorial. It is not my contention and I do not mean also that because the complaint was not heard the disease was not real. But what I do mean and persist in contending is that the actual cause of the complaint was really wanting and that there was no perceptible physical degeneration in our ancestors, on the contrary they were blessed with a strong physical constitution. It will thus be seen that there was no such complaint in the days of our ancestors but subsequently these complaints have been heard and they have proceeded from causes other than the early marriage. At any rate this much can safely be said that our marriage system is not the primary cause of our physical degradation. Then it may be fairly questioned what is the true cause of our physical degradation? If we cast our eyes upon the whole Indian peninsula and penetrate into every institution that is in vogue what do we observe? Not

a vestige is to be seen among the thousand concerns of our life by which we can glean any system which subsists for the cultivation and promotion of our physique. No, our national amusements, our daily avocations seldom contribute to the promotion of the physical culture. We read in ancient history that our Rajas in days gone by and even the Musulman Nawabs and Emperors took special interest in the physical improvement of their subjects. Even now there are extant rules and regulations on the subject of (ব্যায়াম ক্রীড়া) physical exercises. But now no one cares amongst us for these manly sports. It seems it is an age of perfect physical inaction. Peace in Society and security in life are undoubtedly the great and foremost blessings which a nation can enjoy. But it seems these two benefits have brought in their train the two great curses the effects of which are the greatest obstacles in the path of progress. I mean here that we are now blessed (?) with repose and indolence. Let no one understand by this that I am cursing these two benefits which the British Government has judiciously conferred on us and for which every Indian should be grateful. But what I deplore most is that instead of utilising these two benefits for cherishing and encouraging amongst us a noble and martial spirit we have abused them and physical inaction is the result. No one is more conscious than myself that these two benefits are the primary causes of the diffusion of knowledge amongst us and that knowledge has improved us vastly in many ways. Who are the chief parties to be blamed for our physical degradation I shall show later on. Suffice it for me now to observe that the blame does not rest with us alone. It is a trite maxim that necessity guides and controls to a great extent the action of man. What is the necessity for us to acquire great physical strength? Beyond the preservation of our health and life I find no plea for it. If carefully considered our necessity does not as the situation stands suggest the improvement of our physique to the extent which will enable us to vie with other nations.

The work that we generally perform is of a sedentary nature. It requires no very great physical strength. It is not the practice of the generality of mankind to do such work as brings no profit to them. Every question settles on the merit of its own condition. We are a conquered people. If any invasion happens in this country we will be obliged to ask the British Government to drive the invaders beyond the limits of India. Our situation will not permit us to take the task on ourselves. This is a hard view of the case no doubt but it is a hard fact. If

we take into consideration the situation of our Hindustani and Mussulman brothers we find a different result. The British army in India is mainly composed of them. Their situation or condition enjoins that their services depend on their physique. Their situation requires them to fight Afghans, Burmese, Egyptians and other warlike nations against whom their commander will lead or direct them. Hence their physical improvement has become a part of their duty. No such duty or condition is required from us. Our sole concern in times of war if any, is to watch the rise and fall of the Government securities in the money market and pray to God that the war may terminate favourably to the English and that no injury may befall us. It is obvious therefore that those classes of natives from whom the British army is recruited generally are of strong physique. And it is also evident to the students of history who are acquainted with the events of great nations that their noble and martial spirit is preserved to a great extent by the pursuit of manly exercises. The history of the Teutonic race clearly illustrates this point. Save and except the love of labour I find no plea for our physical improvement. Experience teaches us that few people in the long run can afford to devote their time to labour. Domestic and other worldly avocations engross and occupy our whole time. Unless there is an inducement held out, schools for the cultivation and promotion of physical exercises if opened will prove very little effective. Middle class men can ill afford to send their sons to such schools, because they will see clearly that the time spent for such purposes is neither to their or to their sons' interest. Under the present circumstances such schools if opened at all will be anything but permanent. The students who will receive training in such schools will cease to take any interest as soon as they will grow into manhood, because other matters of a pressing nature will occupy their time. From all that has been said it is obvious that the process of physical degeneration will continue no matter whether we remove early marriage or allow it to subsist. Long days of physical inaction has left us little to appreciate physical exercises. We see grown-up respectable Englishmen after finishing their daily work go and participate in foot-ball, Tennis and other manly games. They think it a duty to be mindful of their physique. How many of us care for our physique? It is an insult and derogatory to the position of our grown up men to participate in such manly games. They fear their arms and legs may break if they indulge in such games. Our high notions and sensibilities tell us that such physical exercises should be left to inferior class of Society

such as Goulas, Bagdis, &c. Because gentlemen can not be made durwans or mootias. Contact with the Englishmen however has revived the appreciation of athletic sports. We see some English games are imitated by our countrymen for their amusement recreation. But these symptoms are a mere oasis in the desert. The general mass of men are little affected by this effervescence. It can never cope with its mighty opponents. While on this subject the following extract from a speech of Raja Rampal Sing which he made at the Second National Congress vividly pourtrays the true picture of the situation and the Government on the subject:

"But we can not," says Raja Rampal Sing, "be grateful to it for degrading our natures, for systematically crushing out of us all martial spirit for creating a race of soldiers and heroes into a turning flock of quill-driving sheep."

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"But on our own account we deprecate the existing policy. High and low we are losing all knowledge of the use of arms, and with this spirit that spirit of self reliance which makes a man dare, which makes men brave, which makes them worthy of the name of men. When I was only five years of age my grandfather made me begin to learn all the physical exercises in vogue amongst us and I was trained to the use of all arms and martial exercises. But what man now sends his son for such training? What young men now-a-days know anything of these things?"

The above fact as delineated by the Raja faithfully discloses the existing state of things. It impresses on us most painfully the cause of our physical degradation. Hardly now-a-days one man in a thousand may be found who has learnt all the manly exercises. Government should be responsible for our complete physical inaction. It must take measures in time to arrest the progress of this mischievous disease. It is necessary that we must all go to the Government asking it to take remedial measures for the havoc which is now traceable in all parts of the country. It is a deep stigma on the fair name of the British Government. It need not be argued that our complaint is an imaginary one. It is a patent fact. Those who have the eyes to observe must be mournfully impressed with the fact how surely and truly the process of physical deterioration has been in progress amongst us. In England what an impetus and encouragement is given to the cause of the promotion of physical exercises. Our mother the Queen-Empress, the Royal family and a host of distinguished noblemen and gentlemen, encourage and appreciate divers

athletic sports and exercises. Military colleges, swarms of athletic clubs, &c., dot the land of Great Britain. All parents in England take care of the physique of their children. Nor do the elderly men pay less attention to the development of their physique. Example in the long run has proved a safe teacher and guide of mankind. Elderly men play with the young ones to encourage them in these manly sports by their examples. In fine it is part of their duty to develop their physique and they take delight to spend their leisure hour for these purposes. If we ponder on the condition we have been placed in and our mode of life it will be apparent that our physical degradation is a certainty. I have not as yet touched upon the influence of climate on the national character. Indeed the causes of physical degradation amongst us are many. Nor do I attempt to show the share which overwork and the want of proper and substantial food have on the physique of the nation. I have dwelt at length on the one cause only which I believe to be the primary one. Inattention to sanitary rules has also had some effect on the health and physique of the nation. The expenses incident to the observance of sanitary rules prevent many to a certain extent from giving effect to them. I know even that many educated men are unable to pay the proper fee of a Doctor. Many a time it happens that they have to borrow money for the proper medical treatment of their family. The educated men have to pay dearly for the proper observance of sanitary rules. But I am fully conscious that humanity can not tolerate unnecessary deaths.

A BENGALI ZEMINDAR.

## THEBAW EX-KING OF BURMAH.

The history of Thebaw recalls, in some aspects, the history of the life of Louis XVI of France, that is to say, in so far as the evil results of past mal-administration culminated in his reign, bringing upon his head the punishment that should have been shared by his predecessors. And as Louis appeared wholly a saint to one party, and entirely a devil to the other, so has it happened to Thebaw.

From 1879 to his downfall, the Indian and English people were now and again startled by sensational newspaper paragraphs, and telegrams, "More Massacres!" "The King still drinking!' And others as terse and malignant. His detractors then said that, his thirst for gin and blood seemed equally unquenchable. And they went on to bemoan the sad state of public morality, that passively looked on while such atrocities were committed; to please them, and to come up to their nervous standard of morality, the people of England, if not of India, should have risen as one man, in the firm purpose to stay the mad career of the Burmese king. According to their opinions Thebaw should have been deposed years and years ago, for as firmly as they appeared to believe all the monstrosities that were reported of Thebaw, so assuredly did they seem certain that the deposition of this man was a most insignificant task, for had they not felt the pulse of the Burmese people! and did they not state emphatically, that these people were longing for British intervention! All we had to do was to march a small body of troops to Mandalay, pluck Thebaw off his throne and march out with him again, relegating him to some Indian fortress as a state prisoner, and as soon as the act was accomplished, the Burmese of Upper Burmah would forget and forsake the House of Alompra, and humbly bow their necks to the yoke of our Civil administrators. These are not fanciful statements, but a condensation of the supposed facts, which was prevalent in the literature of this

subject and in those days. Comment now-a-days, on such statements, is superfluous.

The other party say that he was the most enlightened Prince that ever sat on the Burmese throne, and that he was gradually leading Burmah on the road of progression, and in this respect following the example of China, and more especially that of Japan. They say, that the thought in his mind, the object he had in view, when he adopted the course of sending Burmese embassies to European princes, was to facilitate such progress, and that his sin against the British, in this respect, arose from the impulsive imprudence of youth, and from the counsels of bad advisers, who had in the past, much intercourse with the British, and knew how sensitive they were about such matters, especially if there appeared any prospect of opening up or extending, channels for the development of the Commerce of their continental neighbours. The British, then, would show a very meanly jealous spirit. Thebaw probably had never heard of Napoleon's definition of the English people; otherwise doubtless he would have been most careful to avoid wounding their commercial susceptibilities. These Ministers of Thebaw also mistook the quiescent attitude of the Indo-British Governments under Lord Ripon's administration—apathy regarding, or inability to resent such innovations. No one should hold these Burmese ministers blameless, because they had that full light of information which the young king lacked. They had also experience of the past, and they knew that the late king Mindone acknowledged the supremacy of the British, that further he admitted fully, that single-handed it would be an act of madness for Independent Burmah to attempt to cope with them. Doubtless on the heads of these Burmese ministers the whole weight of responsibility should be and will be placed, as regards the loss of the Kingdom and the fall of the dynasty of Alompra.

The best friends of Thebaw admit that there were many irregularities connected with his rule—that blood was shed in Mandalay, but that this blood-shedding was almost solely among the King's kin, and they further state emphatically that these acts are not to be imputed so fully to the King as has been done. Thebaw they say was more passive than active in these matters. He had ascended the throne through palace intrigue, putting aside not only the claim of the Nyoung You prince, but of other princes also, hence he, and his most intelligent queen, were for a long time, as puppets in the hands of the Palace Party—of which party, Soopayah Lat's mother, was a notable member—that had raised them to a position of power. These friends of Thebaw

go on to say, that he was just beginning to throw off this yoke, and to act in the spirit, and on the principles of a liberal ruler, when the end came.

The following sensible statement appeared at a critical period, in the "*Times of India*," anent the recently reported massacres at Mandalay—by the way, the numbers of those assassinated fell from one hundred to eighty, and then to sixty, and again to forty individuals. "It is strange that, when the people of Mandalay carry their indignation against the atrocities of the King, to the length of expressing their desire for British intervention, and the slaughter of so many influential personages must have alienated the ruling classes, a revolution does not break out." Yes, indeed, it was remarkably strange, if all that was stated by irresponsible newspaper correspondents against Thebaw was true. What a comment subsequent events have been on the above extract. The people of Upper Burmah, instead of seeking or welcoming British intervention, have done all in their power, to resist foreign invasion and are still resisting.

The following is extracted from the writings of one who paints Thebaw in most of his writings, in very dark colours. "It is of interest to think of what the King said to Mr. Archibald Forbes, on his visit, early in the year (1879) to the Burmese Court," 'Whence does he come?' asked the golden foot at the interview, 'From the British army in Afghanistan, engaged in war against the Prince of Cabul,' replied Dr. Williams the interpreter. 'And does the war prosper for my friends the English?' 'He reports that it has done so greatly and that the Prince of Cabul is a fugitive'." It is also related by the same writer, that the King made a remarkable speech during this interview. This is the speech that was thought so remarkable. "One of the ministers being absent, Thebaw asked where he was. On being told it being 'Court-day,' he was in Court, the King replied in quite a Charles-the-twelfth fashion, it is well. I wish the ministers to make every day a Court day, and to labour hard to give prompt justice to suitors, so that there be no complaint of arrears." If we accept the statements which declared Thebaw to be a blood-thirsty tyrant and the oppressor of his people, then certainly, the speech is peculiar.

I will now treat of the time when the British Resident at Mandalay was withdrawn. This was a very grave error, from all points of view, and this action, and the subsequent attitude of the British Government towards the Burmese Government, proved a great stumbling-block to Thebaw, owing to the misconception or

perverted conception of his advisers respecting this attitude of the British Government, and who therefore, furnished him with wrong data for his conclusions and actions, as all was resolved from a wrong basis. If we go into this question thoroughly and in a spirit of sympathy, that is, trying to see matters, as Thebaw must have viewed them, then we must conclude, that after all, he could hardly have acted differently in the manner in which he did act.

After the withdrawal of our Resident, the relations of our Government with the King of Burmah were necessarily much altered, and the position the British Government took up, would have been understood by any European Government, because the policy of both is pursued on the same plane of thought. It, however, was asking too much of the Burmese king, when it was expected of him that he should comprehend the passivity and calmness which urged on indifference of the Indo-British authorities. Lord Ripon, whether advised, or acting spontaneously was,—though certainly innocent of such an intention—an important agent in Thebaw's downfall. If he had not permitted the reported insults offered to the British in the person of their Resident at Mandalay, to remain as it were, unnoticed; if he had taken decided action to vindicate our national prestige; if he had spoken in language that could not be misconstrued or misapplied, Thebaw's eyes, and the perceptions of his advisers, would have been opened to the gravity of their position, and perforce they would have been obliged to go upon the opposite tack.

It was said that, "since the departure of Colonel Horace Browne, the position of Mr. St. Barbe had daily become more and more unsatisfactory. The studied discourtesy with which he was treated, combined with the spirit of antagonism towards the British displayed by King Thebaw and the Court party, and finally the system of espionage over the inhabitants of the Residency established by the Burmese authorities, rendered the continuance of diplomatic relations, even for routine business, impossible, and Mr. St. Barbe was accordingly instructed to leave. Notice of the withdrawal of the Residency was given to all the British subjects in Bhamo and Mandalay. Acts of barbarity continue to be committed by the Palace Party." Mr. St. Barbe left Mandalay with the whole of his establishment, by a British steamer, and the Burmese offered no molestation, but were really surprized.

## *THE YEARS* 1857 *AND* 1887.

### A RETROSPECT.

The year 1887 is another year which like 1857 is calculated to mark an epoch in the History of India. The year 1857 well deserves to be buried in oblivion. The year 1887 called forth from the native Princes of India, from native chiefs and from the native commonalty, a spirit of enthusiasm and loyalty to the crown, scarcely evinced by the other colonies of Great Britain. In loyalty India is second to none of the nations that own Victoria's sway. India desires not to be behind them in her devotion, and in the expression of those feelings which bind the subject to the sovereign. From the three sister Presidencies, and from nearly every large city and centre of trade, heartfelt though humble gratulations have been forwarded through the Viceroy, to be laid at the foot of the throne. The dusky denizens of India see more to reverence in the embodiment of Royalty than they did in the abstract pomp and power of East India Company, representing no doubt in its time, the march, and progress and enterprize of commercial interests, but unassociated with the incidents and surroundings of Royalty and unattended with the impress of concentrated dignity and Power. Referring to the dark days of the year 1857, we give the following extract from the *Calcutta Review*, from an article on "Cawnpore and Lord Canning's administration" contributed sometime ago to its pages, by myself. It brings to our memories, a vivid picture of those evanescent scenes in history which mark dynastic changes, and which represent the crisis which gave to India her first Empress, Queen Victoria. Dr. George Cline writes:—

### *THE YEAR 1857.*

"And how did the close of the year 1857 affect Lord Canning, at his palatial residence in Government House, Calcutta? In Calcutta too, was the closing of that year watched with more than usual interest, for it was a year which had affected nearly all. Many mourned the death of friends or of those who were

nearer and dearer to them than any friends. The sobbings of the new year were laden with the sighs and the fitful moanings of the breeze, which came wafting over the graves of those, who a few months ago were in the full flush of health and of life. The new year 1858 was destined soon to usher in a new state of things. Lord Canning might have experienced many a sad regret as the hour struck twelve, when, as in the language of Tennyson.

'The old year lay adying,
And the new year blithe and bold
Came up to take his own.'

"To him what varying moods of mind did the passing and coming year give rise to! For on him, in all that broad land of India, rested a grave responsibility. How strange to him appeared the phantom of that year 1857, reeking with blood, echoing the wail for the dead and the dying; resonant with the sound of that one word *Revenge*, on the lips of every European in India. That year too was different from other Indian years. It was just becoming one of the vanished phantoms of the past. On that night, there were no steps on the floor of the Viceregal Government House, no music of foot falls, no echo on the boards which often before had resounded to the sounds of music, of laughter and of dancing. As the pale phantom of that year glided away into the darkness of the past, no sound arose, that made those who then were there miss its echo, through all the long year to come that was now newly born. Like the phantom shape sketched by Dante, it seemed to steal away noiselessly, down the carved and gilded staircase, sweeping with light, quick steps, noiselessly and still, from carpetted landing place to statued recess, until it was soon to fade into the boundless space outside. To Lord Canning, and also to how many outside of the walls of that house, did the fitful gasping sob of the whole year, sound like the last wail of a dying spirit? To how many in all parts of India, did the death of that old year awake the melancholy idea, so well indicated in these lines by Dante, in the *Inferno*:

'E caddi come corpo morto cade!'

"Not the least among the momentous changes which that year had caused, and which the new year was bringing in, was one which had already been foreshadowed, in a despatch received by the Governor-General of the East India Company.

"It was soon to be an accomplished fact. The extinction of the East India Company's Government, and the formal transfer of the entire Indian Government to the Crown, were to take place,

The East India Company was to be no more. In its stead, over the vast domains of British India, the Empress of India and the Queen of Great Britain was to reign. The Company which sent to India Lord Canning, was, like many other great institutions, drifting away into the abysm of the past. The servant whom they sent out, was no longer to acknowledge the authority of his masters. The late Company itself was destined to pass away, adding another illustration to the things that were; affording to the moralist another memento of departed greatness, which teemed with reflections suggestive as any which were once associated with the departed greatness of the Cæsars, with the memories and the triumphs of ancient Rome; as full of morals as those connected with the marble fragments of Carthage over which Marius wept, grander than the giant tombs of Troy, which brought sad reflections to the mind of the great warrior Alexander,—more awful with the shadow of dead thrones, more forcibly suggestive of the swift passage of all imperial things to their end, than even the prospect of Athens, of Corinth, of Algeria, or of Palmyra, in their decay.

"The old pathetic elegies upon the glories of past greatness, crowd upon the mind, as we peruse the last page which concluded the great work of the East India Company. History has recorded too well its rise, its brilliant triumphs, and its fall. Akbar's mournful reflection on all departed greatness, may well have been written on the portals of the Company's house in Leadenhall Street.

'The sum of all in all the world is nothing after all.'

"The evanescent triumphs of the Cæsars were not more transient, than those of this once great Company of merchant traders. The letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero could not have added more striking illustration of shortlived splendour, and subsequent decay than what its history has afforded. Mark Antony's exclamation—'But yesterday, the word of Cæsar might have stood against the world,'—might be made to illustrate the potent authority once wielded through its despatches by its Chairman and its Directors. In its palmy days of power, it wielded at its will the destinies of eastern potentates. Its records formed part of the proudest and most gorgeous story of the acts of merchant princes. Never since Jason went to sea in search for the golden fleece, were merchantmen so successful. For one hundred years, were its Directors the actual senate of the East.

"On the ruins of the Indian Empire, they built a fabric of Government, which left no rival in the fields of the east. When

the company appointed its writers, it gave to them in point of fact, the powers of proconsuls and chief magistrates. When it named its chiefs, Sovereigns and ministers of foreign states recognized them, not indeed as rivals, but as the executive heads of the Great British proconsulate in the east. Governor-Generals, who had established names for themselves in the niche of history, bent to its mandates. The proudest names of English history, names which have left an indelible stamp on the history of the East, took the origin of their greatness from their association with that proconsulate. Clive, Hastings, Cornwallis and Wellesley, veiled their pride before their employers, and in their despatches, they 'always trusted that their acts might please the Directors.'

"Governors-General—themselves the arbiters of Eastern thrones, had to acknowledge the authority and act according to the instructions which bore the sign-manual of the Directors. The simple signatures, at the foot of a despatch, declared war, or concluded peace, dethroned a prince or set up a sovereign. They pulled down Eastern Kingdoms. They set aside preferred royalties. They made their power felt within the palace walls of Delhi, in the councils of the Nizam of Hyderabad, within the walls of the palace where Scindia swayed his dusky millions; within the remote snow-clad fortresses of the Chiefs who owned fealty to the Maharaja of Cashmere. Their signatures gave to their magnificent servants veritable diplomas to be rulers of Asia. Even in the House of Parliament was their influence felt and recognized.

"Lord North in vain opposed the will of the Company, with all the influence of his power. Pitt and Castlereagh used all the forces of the Crown and the Parliament, before they succeeded in breaking up the monopoly of Indian trade which was so rigidly held by the Company. In the days which immediately preceded Lord Canning's assumption of the viceroyalty, and especially in the days of the last proconsul, Dalhousie, through the Chairman's signature alone, kingdom after kingdom in the far East, was added to the superb domain of the traders in tea and silk. The Governors-General of the Company's time were virtually uncrowned sultans. But they were more powerful than the phantom kings who ruled at Delhi, or the oligarchy of native chiefs who swayed the destinies of the subjects of Oude, or the last of those Marhatta chieftains, who had essayed to make Central India their own.

"Piece by piece, the glittering mosaic of the Indian Empire had been built up. From the few acres of land purchased 'for a

wharf' on the banks of the Hoogly, it had extended, until it had absorbed province after province. But the time came, and with it the inevitable. In the language of the Persian poet, 'that which is written upon the forehead, will be done.' And so it was with the East India Company. When the great struggle between the Crown and the Company took place, scarcely an effort was made to retain the Eastern Satrapy which its warriors had helped to win. Military greatness had been thrust upon the representatives of the Company who sate in Leadenhall Street, but military greatness was not what they desired. Despatch after despatch shewed how little they valued their fresh acquisitions. Between the warriors in India, and the merchants in Leadenhall Street, there was always a bitter feud.

"They desired the spread of manufactures. Their soldier statesmen in India were intent on the manufacture of an empire, while they demanded tea and silk, Cashmere shawls, jute, indigo, pagodas, and rupees, they obtained provinces and districts, and enhanced expenditure, but they wrote out indignantly to reduce the military expenditure. The first withdrawal of European regiments heralded the mutiny. They drove their greatest warriors wild, with their mercantile reproaches. They were the last to forward despatches which might stop trade and initiate war. But when war was once declared, they reluctantly sanctioned it—yet province after province fell to their lot. The Marhattas, the Punjabis, the Rohillas, the Pindaris, the warlike chieftains of Oude, the half-civilised barbarians of Assam, equally bent to the force of the stubborn will of their lieutenants as the suppler Hindus had done before them, at the battle of Plassey. Jewelled crowns were sent as souvenirs to the Leadenhall counting house. Their warrior agents were welcomed home in a princely way.

"Formal dinners of victory were given to their delegates. Jewelled swords of honor were presented to them. And what the delegates valued more than all, princely pensions were bestowed on those who had, although against orders, thrust greatness on the merchant princes of Leadenhall Street. But the days of the Company were numbered, and it was left to Lord Canning to publish to India the Proclamation of the Empress of Hindustan. Among the Native chiefs, those who had remained staunch were the Nabob of Rampore, the Maharajas of Gwalior, Indore, Jeypore and Jummo—the Rajahs of Jheend, Nabba, Puttialah, and Kapurthalla and the Begum of Bhopal. On these special honors were conferred.

Delhi soon fell, the old king of Delhi was transported to Burma. His sons were killed by Hudson, and for three days their bodies were exposed to the public gaze of the populace, in the Silver Street of the city of Delhi. Central India was cleared of the rebels. Oudh was reoccupied. The Sikh army, hastily organized, for a time took the place of the disbanded regiments of Bengal mutineers. In the general wreck the Company passed away, and the Queen of Great Britain throughout all India, wherever the British flag waved, was proclaimed thenceforth the Empress of India."

G. W. CLINE, L.L.D.

## THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS.
## THE GREEK ISLES.

During my stay at Smyrna, I received a most hospitable invitation from the principal physician there, to his house at the village of Bournabat—and so long as memory holds her seat, will the most agreeable reminiscences be cherished of our moonlight walks in gardens where the rose, the orange, and the myrtle combine with the sweet honeysuckle and Asiatic flowering shrubs of richest odour to shade the trelised bower; where the more peaceful thoughts love to linger, till one all but wishes his lot were cast in fair Bournabat. But the time came when I must bid adieu to the pleasant scenes of Ionia, and I soon found myself at Rhodes. How well I remember, as a child, looking at the picture of the enormous brazen colossus, with its legs stretched across the mouth of the harbour, and ships sailing between them, and now I was looking at the veritable port! The statue, alas! has long since disappeared. The last remnant of its fallen greatness was sold by the wretched Turkish Government to a Jew, who broke it up, and loaded 900 camels with the metal, as the story goes. It was handed down to us moderns as one of the seven wonders of the world, and right well, if it ever did span the entrance to this harbour, it deserved the distinction. It is more probable that it was erected on the shore, or perhaps at the mouth of the little or inner harbour. It is certain the statue did exist, and its massive remains were extant even to a late date.

Rhodes is a very interesting town. As I wandered through the yet strong fortifications, a lasting monument of the power and the energy of the knights of old (the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, who made a most heroic defence of the place when attacked by the Turks under Suleiman II, surnamed "the Magnificent"), fancy could well people the fine old fortress and venerable castle with these gallant Knights of early Christendom in their strong armour, repulsing the repeated attacks of the turbanned hordes. Pleasing indeed I found it to wander through the highly-ornamented Gothic gateway, the moated towers of great size and strength, with all their paraphernalia of drawbridges, battlements, and bastions, made impregnable to the warriors of those days by a treble line of wall and ditch, and pleasant to mark the numerous armorial bearings of the Knights sculptured on shields of marble and stone over the doors and on the walls of the grey

old palaces and buildings. Here I could distinguish the arms of England and France, the Pope's Keys, and the heraldic devices of some of the most illustrious families of Europe.

The ancient Church of Saint John has been converted into a mosque, but is still in fair preservation, though its marble columns are whitewashed. Here we visited the hospital of the Knights and the palace of the Grand Master, now in ruins. The entrance to the harbour is defended by two square towers, built by a Grand Master, and called respectively by the names of Saint John and Saint Michael. These with the rest of the fortifications, gray with age and built in the old style, with overhanging buttresses, and with stone Crosses in the wall, have a very imposing effect, and forcibly lead the mind back to the days of chivalry. Could Sir Walter Scott but have seen this place, and heard its legendary tales related, what an interesting story he would have added to the long list of his productions.

According to the Greeks, this island was peopled by the Heliades, the grand children of Phœbus, and their king accompanied Agamemnon to the siege of Troy. It was very famous for its temples and architecture, and there were a hundred different colossi, besides the celebrated stupendous statue at the entrance of the harbour, which it is recorded was erected in honour of the Sun and dedicated to Apollo.

For three days we sailed among the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, and nothing we thought could exceed their beauty, or the clearness and delightful temperature of the atmosphere. Each lovely isle, too, has its classic legends or its sacred history. With what pleasure one views Sauws of Ionia, celebrated in mythology as the birth-place of Juno; and Icaria, called after Icarus, the son of the Daedalus, who, fleeing from the tyrant Minos, made wings of feathers, fastened with wax, for himself and son; but Icarus mounting too high, the sun melted the wax, the injured wings forgot their skill, and he was plunged into the sea near this island. What a pleasurable feeling it is to recall the impression these tales made upon one when a boy, while the very spot they celebrate is in view! With a feeling akin to awe, one looks upon the Isle of Patmos; for it was the scene of the Apocalypse of Saint John. It was here that he wrote the book of Revelations, during the exile to which he was condemned by the Emperor Domitian for preaching the Gospel. Then came in view Ikero and Calamo, known for their abundance of honey, and hundreds of little islands, famed long ago for corsairs. In the far distance, high Mount Taurus rears his snowy peak into the sunlit sky;

and as we gradually near the mighty range, groves of fir and pine, and rocky glen, add each their peculiar beauties to the scene.

Early one morning we put into Phineka Bay, the weather being very boisterous for Austrian Mariners; though their vessels are comfortable, they make but poor sailors; and their engines, engineers, charts, compasses, and so forth, are all English. We lay in the bay eighteen hours, and thus had abundance of leisure for local observation. The beach is very rocky, and the whole coast bold in the extreme. Many of the mountains in the background, very high and white with snow; some are put down in the chart as 4,800 feet high. On a rocky hill close to the beach in the bay, there is an old castle, I should think of Saracen origin, which shelters a few poor huts. We tried to land in one of the ship's boats, but found the surf too high.

On the fourth morning we anchored off Mersina, and went on shore for a few hours; it is the sea-port of Helena, some three hours' journey inland. It is only a small village, however, inhabited principally by Turks, yet evidently increasing in importance, as four or five large store-houses of stone were being built. Four English vessels and two French were lying in the port; the principal export appeared to be wheat and fruit. Here the coast is low in comparison with what we found it all the way from Smyrna, nevertheless very pretty.

Early on the fifth day we arrived at Alexandretta, or Iskenderum, a place of some little importance as being the port of Aleppo, but in itself a wretched little village. I took my gun on shore with me, and wandered over the place. Many of the people could speak Arabic here; some little traffic was going on with two or three small vessels in the harbour, and a long string of camels were arriving from Aleppo. I took a guide, and rambled away into the country. A European (a Spaniard, I think) warned me not to go far, and not to the mountains, as they were infested by robbers. All the country round the village is very low and wet, creating miasma, which causes the inhabitants to suffer much from fever and ague. The mountains in the vicinity were crowned with snow, and looked wild and picturesque. I wandered to the foot of them, bagging one partridge and four snipes. The latter were very plentiful, but I had only a few charges of shot.

The few labourers I met in this locality were all armed with long Arab matchlocks, swords, and knives; even a woman herding her two calves looked quite fierce, exemplifying the very unsettled state of the country. We were informed that Arab robbers frequently committed depredations close to the village. The few ancient ruins that I observed here are not of much interest.

After walking about till I was tired, I returned on board, and we sailed in the evening for Latakieh, where, the following day, we went for a few hours walk through the town and suburbs. This is the ancient port of Laodicea, which, if history may be relied upon, once was capable of containing a thousand galleys. It has been so frequently overthrown by earthquakes that the greater portion of the present town is a mass of ruins; there are, however, interesting remains of its former greatness, and it is rather a pretty-looking old place, full of crumbling arches and towers, with a surrounding wall, built at different periods and by various architects, giving a strange, incongruous appearance to the whole.

There was an outbreak here a month previous to our visit, when the Mahomedans wanted to put the whole of the Christians to death, but they now seem very peaceable, and were most polite to us in two or three houses that we entered. Indeed, I might have enjoyed the hospitality of half the town. This town is built on a rising ground, surrounded by groves of orange, fig, and olive trees, with well-watered gardens. It has long been famous for its tobacco, of which we made some purchases.

The next morning our vessel sailed for Cyprus, which we reached in two days; and what a beautiful island it is! How well worthy of its selection by the Greeks as the birthplace of Cupid! We went on shore early and walked along the "Marino," a well-built and flourishing street facing the beach. After breakfast, we started off for a walk to the town of Laureco, in which, however, we found little to interest us. Some of the villas looked very comfortable, and had gardens in front, well-laid out. We called at a monastery and the Greek priest very politely took us all over the building, and then into the refectory and gave us a good cup of coffee; afterwards conducting us to the top of the belfry, from which we had a complete view of the surrounding country. It is not only bare, through destitution of trees, but only a small portion of the land is cultivated; nevertheless, the ground seems productive, and would bear a much larger population than what at present occupies it. Here we were not a little amused listening to a number of small boys busy learning the Greek alphabet; their Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta, droned in the sing-song Asiatic manner, fell oddly on the ear.

On one occasion I wandered away into the country, attracted by its fresh and agreeable scenery. Numberless, wild-flowers decked the plains, particularly a species of heath, which had a very sweet scent; and, finally, I came to a garden of oranges with the fruit ripe on the trees. Delicious they looked to me, heated with my long walk, and wistfully I was gazing at them

through the tall prickly pear hedge, but no owner appeared who might be induced to sell. I felt no inclination to take by force here—a plan sometimes necessary in the wild countries I had traversed; and, besides, the owner might be poor. I was revolving in my mind how to obtain the tempting fruit from the garden of Venus (for here it was, according to the strange legendary tale, that she passed much of her time), when, lo! the goddess herself appeared among the trees in the form of a pretty nut-brown country lass, in a short red petticoat, blue bodice, and long black elf locks fastened up with a scarlet silk handkerchief. I commanded just enough Greek to explain what I wanted, and showed her a few small pieces of silver. She laughingly agreed to give me some oranges, and, while she climbed a tree, I found a hole in the hedge through which I crept into the garden. My little maid was high up the tree, shaking down the ripe fruit, not thinking how much of a well-rounded ankle she was showing, till, on glancing downwards, she saw where I stood, and her well-feigned anger knew no bounds. Both Greek and oranges were hurled fast and furiously at my luckless head. Nevertheless, we made peace together; and, gathering up our oranges, sat down under the cool shade to eat the delicious fruit. We laughed and joked, without a thought of anything but the present: so merry had we become, that one might have sworn that the goddess of love had put spirit in her fruit, when a horrid old scolding woman suddenly arrived, who claimed what appeared to us the unnatural position of proprietress to our rustic maid, and sad and tearful might have been the finale to her girlish mirth, had it not been for that old-woman-like vice usually termed avarice. The old lady took the silver the young one despised; and without further adventure of any sort, I returned to the vessel.

After another day's wandering on this fair island, we shaped our course for, and in due time arrived at, Beyrout, and as the morning broke, gazed for the first time on Lebanon's hoary peaks. The harbour is commanded by an old grey tower, much battered by Sir Charles Napier during the short but decisive war against Mahomed Ali. Beyrout is a fine, large, and really flourishing town, with both English and French houses of business, also American, Italian, and Greek merchants. The latter seem to get on capitally as general dealers, and make more money than any other nation in the Levant. As Greeks they are proverbially shrewd and cunning, often, I fear, too much so to be consistent with gentlemanly behaviour, but I have known of many bright exceptions to this too general accusation.

J. H. LINTON.

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# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

NEW SERIES.

No. 7.—JULY 1888.

## *THE KASHMIR STATE.*

THE best Government in the world is that which succeeds better than any other, and we need not stop to enquire what successful Government is; all that is required from us is to point to the unanimous opinion with regard to that particular Government which is thus distinguished. Take for instance, the Government of India; it occupies a position more remarkable than that of any other Government and its success is unanimously and universally admitted. Can any one show that a change in the form of this Government would be more beneficial to the welfare of the people of India? The difficulty encountered in this attempt accounts for the tenacity with which those who make up the Government of India adhere to their convictions that no change is likely to be advantageous, but may very likely be the cause of considerable mischief if not of worse consequences.

This is the surface that meets our view and it presents a solidity which at first sight seems to repel further examination. We cannot but admire the view before us but can we rest contented with what we see? Ought we not to ask, how has it come to pass that the Government of India has been so successful?

Take again the case of a Government like that of Kashmir which just now is a subject frequently in the front. Every one says it is a bad Government, full of all sorts of corruption and apparently not open to improvements under existing conditions. Being generally looked upon as an unsuccessful form of Government the Kashmir Government is, perhaps, an instance of a very bad sys-

tem of administration. But is it really so bad as has been re presented.?

As no one would venture to say that the Government of India is so perfect that no change in its construction, however simple, could produce any good effect; so, on the other hand, it would be unjust to regard the Kashmir Government as beyond the possibility of improvement; or that because much of the good it might have done has been left undone, therefore those who take a prominent part in the administration are incapable of ruling with prudence or discretion.

The Government of Kashmir before the time of the present dynasty was, as far as can be learnt from the meagre records preserved, as tyrannical and selfish as the caprice of its rulers permitted, and the example set by his predecessors was that which Golab Singh followed when the fortunate combination of events made him master of Jammu and Kashmir. He did what was possible from his own point of view to render his throne permanent and the people his instruments in that regard. Thinking probably that the less opportunities his subjects had of intercourse with the rest of the world, the less they would desire to extend their trade especially towards India, he imposed duties upon all the indigenous manufactures of the country as well as on imports which were calculated to prevent intercourse with other countries except under difficulties which only a very few could overcome, whilst the control of the chief articles of commerce was centered in the hands of the Government itself. In this way not only the manufacture of the Kashmir shawls was entirely under the control of the Government, but its extension was made impossible by means of independent manufacturers and the high cost of the shawls tended to reduce the sale to narrow limits and to tend to ultimately strangle this trade. All trade was in this way paralysed as well as the chief manufacture of the country and but for the remonstrances of the Government of India, Kashmir would have gradually sunk in population and wealth and the family of the rulers who had brought about this condition of affairs would have themselves been little better than paupers.

But this policy served the purposes of Golab Singh and though he reaped the advantages which a greater freedom of trade, caused by the instructions for reform which the Supreme Government gave, his son Ranbeer Singh adhered as far as he could to the system introduced by his father and would have re-imposed the prohibitive duties only just before abolished if he had possessed the power to do so. In this respect the late Maharajah acted accord-

ing to his father's example and the notions of government so long prevalent in the East, the main feature in which has always been for the ruling family to make as much personal profit out of the state as possible; the welfare of the people being a secondary consideration because prosperity seems to have been regarded as rather the natural condition of all classes than as dependent in any way upon the action of the rulers. The East is not alone responsible for this selfish feeling, all government throughout the world have been similarly influenced, and it is only in a few countries in Europe, particularly in the United Kingdom that more liberal and useful notions prevail and they are of comparatively modern introduction.

But with the excuses which may be indulged in on behalf of the late Maharajah his rule was a bad one and has had the effect of setting a bad example to his sons, the eldest of whom is the present Maharajah and the two princes Ram Singh and Amar Singh. The vice of negligence was indulged in by the late Maharajah to a serious extent. He knew how not to do anything as well as any one could suppose. Proposals for public works were readily entertained but rarely carried out, and those that were finished never cost the money set aside for the purpose; the greater portion of the public money found its way into the pockets of the contractors, and those who should have detected and exposed the misappropriations themselves took a part of the loot. The Maharajah was also relieved of the responsibility of paying salaries regularly by the proposals of high officials to reduce public expenditure by the sale of public offices the holders of which undertook the duties on the understanding that they would be allowed to make their own arrangements for exacting from the people money by an infinite variety of methods. Intimidation and bribery were the result of all this, but the personal profit derived was sometimes great, the Maharajah listened to the remonstrances that poured in but paid little heed to them, and thus the people of Kashmir have become accustomed to extortion and as they can see no way out of these surroundings they submit silently to the apparently inevitable decrees of fate.

According to modern ideas this system of administration is justly condemned, and those who wish to see an end put to it are urgently demanding reforms. It is doubtful if even those who have been brought up in this vitiated atmosphere wish to prevent the circulation of purer air, there is in the disposition of even an Eastern potentate who knows little of better modes

of Government a desire for change to better things; the misery that bribery and intimidation create is not hidden from the most careless ruler and its cause is readily apparent. There is thus some good ground upon which to begin any new work. On another occasion it can be shown what may be done in the future by a just and proper use of the materials to hand, under wise and judicious management.

The past history of the Kashmir State is thus similar to that of all oriental states; a change from weak and vicious rulers to a more vigorous and just autocrat whose career is interesting rather from compassion with its predecessors than from any marked usefulness; and never at any time has a period been inaugurated from which a lasting and beneficial administration could be expected. This period has, however, been begun under the present Maharajah. His Highness has fallen under the influence of the progressive age when the civilization of the West has reached his territories and has begun to impose its restrictions and imperious edicts upon him, submission to which in some more or less substantial form is imperative.

The Government of India has endowed its representative at the Kashmir capital with the title and powers of Resident and in this way the old system of native administration has been made to change into the more modern forms of Government, responsibility for misrule has taken the place of despotic callousness and publicity follows all proceedings, praise or censure accompanying all that is done.

The Kashmir State from its position and from the visits of Europeans during the summer is exposed more than any other native state to observation of Englishmen who, in these days, rarely lose an opportunity of exposing or criticising the acts of the Maharajah and his advisers and high officials whenever they feel disposed to do so in the Indian newspapers.

The Maharajah has thus begun his reign under difficulties altogether unknown to his father and not dreamt of even by Golab Singh the first of the present dynasty. The misrule of the late Maharajah has had a very injurious effect on the condition of affairs in the Kashmir State. The neglect to use his executive power which the most conspicuous of the late Maharajah's failings has demoralised the subordinate officials and even many of the highest to a degree almost inconceivable. Corruption in every form, bribery, deceit and lying have obtained ahold which many years of honest rule may not be able to

eradicate. Unfortunately, too, the Government itself has imbibed some of the vices which degrade the officials of all ranks. The most conspicuous of these vices are the irregular payment of salaries and the careless and frequently corrupt administration of justice. The Government is indifferent and in this way the entire administration is diseased and the remedies whilst they ought to be severe must take some time in effecting a cure.

Under these surroundings the Maharajah had to make selection of his advisers. For some time during the first year of his rule he introduced many reforms, under the advice of Baboo Nilamber Mookerjee who was well acquainted with the feelings of the late Maharah, having been for eighteen years his legal adviser. At this time the Resident made his influence felt; he suggested the appointment of Dewan Luchman Dass as Prime Minister. The appointment of a council comprising the two princes, brothers of his highness and Dewan Lachman Das, was made at the same time and the inauguration of these changes was supposed to be the introduction of a vigorous and effective government and the commencement of a new era in the history of the Kashmir State.

But the anticipations fondly indulged in were doomed to be soon dispelled. Why Lachman Dass was nominated by the Resident may be, perhaps, conjectured from the results that immediately followed. The Government of India was probably anxious to 'develop' Kashmir and for that purpose, proposed the construction of a railway, which would, doubtless, serve a double purpose; the facilitating of the placing of troops in the country on some emergency which the Foreign Office is ever labouring to convince us must at some time occur; or for the benefit of the trade of Kashmir, the usual result of any line of railway. Expensive establishments for the railway, and for the survey of the land throughout the State were in a short time imposed on the Kashmir State; but so far, the railway project seems to have been entirely collapsed whilst the survey makes slow progress. But these advantages were all on one side; the people have, as yet, derived nothing therefrom, whilst the finances have been burdened heavily and the confusion, corruption, and misrule went on as unrestrained under Dewan Lachman Dass as before; and, to make confusion worse confounded, the Dewan openly insulted the Maharajah in Durbar, withdrew his friends from His Highness and practically imprisoned him in his own palace. The disorder thus prevalent at length, after a year or rather more, worked its own cure. The Maharajah's position became intolerable and His Highness taking advantage of an opportunity offered himself

dismissed his Prime Minister and Dewan Lachman Dass retired from the position he never ought to have been asked to occupy. He never wished for the office he held and seems to have been forced by superior power to hold on so long as he did.

What power does the Resident of a native court hold? This is an interesting question which the Maharajah of Kashmir may have done something to decide. The prestige which a Resident enjoys is a power in itself, which can be used at all times and in an infinite variety of ways, but it is essentially different from the power which the Resident uses when acting as representative of the Government of India. He can threaten the displeasure of the Supreme Government for proceedings tending to misrule or similar mischief but he cannot make his prestige subvert the orders or the wishes of the Supreme Government. In other words the Resident has no power to compel the Maharajah to retain in office a Minister whom the Maharajah is determined to dismiss. The Maharajah dismissed Dewan Lachman Dass on his own responsibility, without the consent of the Resident, and, as afterwards appeared, the Governor General approved of the conduct of the Maharajah in this instance. The Maharajah of Kashmir has, therefore, established a precedent that a native Prince is at liberty to dismiss his Prime Minister whenever he thinks proper to do so, the opposition of the Resident notwithstanding. This case and the proceedings now going on before the Committee of the House of Commons regarding the Deccan Mining Funds and the connection therewith of the Residency at Hyderabad, will render needful the formation of rules for the guidance of Residents at native courts.

The arrangements made recently by the Maharajah promise to be productive of better Government than the state has had for some years.

The appointment of Dr. Surajbal as Governor of Kashmir is a good beginning. His knowledge and experience will be of great service and his example of probity and industry will be of great moment when corruption and laxity of discipline have caused much mischief. If Baboo Nelamber also joins the Maharajah's service there will be an additional impetus given to good government. The Maharajah's younger brother, Raja Amar Singh, is anxious to do the best he can to ameliorate the condition of affairs and thus it would seem that the Kashmir State is about to commence a new era, and may be in a few years as prosperous and well ruled state as any in India.

J. C.

# *THE MOHARRAM:*

OR

THE FETE OF HOSAIN.

——oo——

THE first of the Mahomedan (Shia) festivals is the *Muharram*, so called from the name of the month in which it takes place. It is also called *Daha*, from a Persian word signifying ten, and *Ashra* or Ashura, from the Arabic word Ashar, which means the same number. These names are given to this festival, as it lasts for ten days, *i.e.* the space of time in which Hasain was pursued by his enemies. During this period, which is considered inauspicious, no marriages are celebrated and no wars undertaken by the Mahomedans.

This *fete de deuil* was instituted to commemorate the tragic death of Hosain, one of the grandsons of the Prophet. It is celebrated with great pomp and solemnity specially by the Shias or Imamias who form one of the great sects of the Mahomedans. The Chiefs of Lucknow and Moorshedabad belong to this sect; while those of Hyderabad, the Carnatic, Bhopal, Tonk, Delhi and Bhawalpore are Sunnis. The majority of the Indian Musulmans belong to this latter sect, and yet the memory of Hasan and Hosain is held in greater veneration than that of the Prophet himself and the first Khalifs, specially by the Musulman women in India. The death of Hosain is looked upon by the Mahomedans as an event unparalleled in history for its cruelty. "Cruel event!" says a Mahomedan writer, "which will penetrate all Musulmans with the most profound grief till the day of resurrection." The 10th day of the Moharram is the anniversary of the death of the unhappy Hosain, which took place on the 10th day of that month of the year 61 of the Hedjrah, or the 10th October 680 A. D. The story of his death is recorded in *Guli Magfirrat* and the other works which treat of the commencement of the Mahomedan religion.

Hasan and Hosain are the sons of Ali and Fatima, the daughter of Mahomed. The former was poisoned by his wife at the instigation of one of the emissaries of Yerzed—their rival in the *Khilafat.* The circumstances of the death of the latter form the object of the festival of the Moharram. In his struggles for the sovereign power, Hosain was assured by the inhabitants of Cufa that if he would come and place himself at their head, they would take up his cause and secure the Khilafat for him. Believing in their professions, he left Medina, but soon found himself surrounded by traitors and assassins. Seventy-two men only—all his faithful followers—stood by him. But what could they do against a host? Surrounded on all sides by the enemies, in the plain of Karbala, they fought for three entire days without food or water; and being reduced to an extreme feebleness, they gave up all hopes of saving their lives. At last they were all put to death, excepting the women of the harem, of Hosain and one of his sons, who was ill at the time. The head of Hosain was cut off, carried to Cufa, and thence sent to Damascus to be presented to the cruel Yezid—his rival for the supreme power. "The indignant sun and the moon" writes a Musulman author, "turned their looks from this heart-rending scene."

From the moment the new moon appears on the horizon, devout Moslem prepares for the festival of mourning. He places water here for the thirsty and vessels of *surbet* there for the mourners. Clad in black, and having planted the banners and made ready the representation of the tomb of Hosain, the faithful begin to weep and strike their breasts in order to show their grief. Every evening of the ten days of the feast, they assemble in a hall or an Imambara to hear the reading or recital of the sad narrative of the event which is the object of the festival. The person to whom is confided this task, accompanies his reading with sobs and groans, and his assistants in their turn express external marks of their grief by lamentations and cries of *salam.* They chant afterwards an elegiac poem in honour of the Saint, a poem full of lamentable details of his martyrdom which are well calculated to excite in the assembled people lamentations and weeping. "Whoever takes part in this festival will receive his recompense in heaven. The true believer must manifest by tears and cries of horror the detestation which he feels for that wicked man, who deprived the grandson of the Prophet of his life." If he cannot do it himself, he must charge some one with that duty. Alms, sweetmeats, boiled rice and curry are distributed every morning and evening of the ten days of the feast.

The copious supply of water forms a peculiar feature of this festival. The want of water, which formed one of the most terrible sufferings of Hosain and his followers in the plain of Karbala, is recalled to the mind by the plentiful supply of it. "This liquid is most esteemed when one is deprived of it, and least appreciated when one finds it in abundance."

The recital of the *Marsiyas* forms another feature of the fete of Hosain. The Marsiyas are generally verses descriptive of the melancholy circumstances of the death of Hosain. They are generally pathetic and then chanting not unoften draws down tears from the eyes of pious Moslems. The last of the Kings of Oude, himself a distinguished poet, composed a Marsiya on the occasion of a Moharram celebrated in his palace of exile, the chanting of which, it is said, moved the audience to tears.

The Banners or Sehadda form an important part of this fete. They are surmounted with an overt hand, which is an emblem for the fine members who compose the family of the Prophet and which forms a peculiar symbol of the Imamias. Many Moslems disclose their religious principles by raising the hand. The *Shiites* show five and the *Sunnites* only three figures, when they make known their religious persuasion.

The representations of the tomb of Hosain or rather the chapel which contains it, are more or less richly decorated. They are called *Taziyas* or simply *Tâleât* or *Dhora*; and in some localities, *Dola* (palanquin). On the last day of the fete, they are carried in procession in the streets and are afterwards buried in some spacious cemeteries called Karbala, from the name of the place when Hosain was killed, or thrown into a river or a tank. The usage of carrying the Taziyas in procession is very widespread in India. To oppose it is considered by the ignorant Musulmans as an act of impiety. It is followed by many Hindoos, specially by the Marhattas, and it is not *unusual* to see respectable Hindoos in the other parts of the country take part in the fete, or join the procession. The Moharram is celebrated with more enthusiasm in Malwa and the Daccan than in the rest of India. They lead horses and even elephants in these processions. The horse representing the horse of Hosain pierced with arrows on all sides, is the most richly decked, and is the observed of all observers. If the cenotaphs are very rich, then only the image of the tomb is thrown away and the figure of the edifice brought back and deposited in some Imambaras. Sometimes they represent the interment of Hosain by simply placing flowers and

garlands, which are taken on the cenotaphs, and this ceremony terminates the mourning. The Moharram procession in Calcutta is indeed an imposing sight. The processions organized by the Houses of Haje Karbalaie and Mirza Mehdi are too well known to need any description here. They display both the wealth and piety of those two famous Mahomedan Houses in this city. The Taziyas of the grooms of the European Stables in Calcutta are no less imposing.

The Imambaras play an important part in the feast of Hosain. They are edifices specially destined for the celebration of the Moharram. They are sometimes called Taziya-Khana or the house of mourning. Except in India, they are not found in any other part of the Mahomedan world. It is in these Imambaras that the faithful, dressed in the blue or black, assemble during the ten days of the festival to hear the recital of the tragic history of the Martyrdom of Hosain, to which is sometimes added the narrative of the death of Hasan and the other saints, and the chanting of the Marsiya. The recital or chanting is executed with a tone and gesture well calculated to excite emotion in the hearts of the hearers. At each pause, the people who compose the assembly, strike the breast and pronounce alternately the names of Hosain and Hasan. This joining together of the names of the two brothers led some foreign travellers, notably Tavernier, to believe that the festival of the Moharram was instituted to celebrate the tragic end of both the brothers. This, however, is a mistake. If the Moslems join to the cries of Hosain those of Hasan, it is merely because the sad end of the one naturally recalls to the mind that of the other. The fete of Hasan is, however, observed separately on the 28th of Safar, the anniversary of his death, though not with equal solemnity and *eclat.*

The Imambaras are sometimes erected as mausoleums. At Lucknow Asp-uddowlah, that munificent Nawab of Oude, lies buried in his own Imambara, which is constantly illuminated by çandles. The tomb itself is strewed with flowers and the priests chant there day and night verses from the Koran. In the same city and at the quarter of the jewellers, repose the mortal remains of the celebrated Mogul Baquir Khan in the Imambara erected for the purpose.

Of the Imambaras in Bengâl, the most noted is the Imambara of Mohammed Mohsin at Hooghly. Situated on the right bank of the river, it commands an extensive view, but the river frontage is by no means imposing. The building is a quadrangular edifice

with two lofty towers and a spacious hall with marble floor, the walls of which are all inscribed over with the texts from the Koran. To the munificence of this Mahomedan gentleman, we owe two other very useful institutions, I mean the Hooghly College and the Hooghly Charitable Dispensary,—the one ministering to the wants of the mind and the other to the ailments of the body. The Hooghly College, be it said to the honour of its founder, has supplied the Bar with some of the ablest advocates and the Judicial Service with some of the best judges.

I am not aware of any special *Fatiha* for Hosain. There is, however, one for this Imam and his brother. It is this:—"May the Eternal deign to accept the vows which I make for the repose of the glorious souls of the two brave Imams,—of the two Martyrs well-beloved of God,—the innocent victims of wickedness, the very happy Abu-Mahommad-ul-Hasan, and Abu-Abdullah-ul-Hosain; for the pure fourteen; * and for the seventy-two Martyrs of the plain of the Karbala."

G. C. MAJUMDAR.

* Mahommed, Fatima and the twelve Imams.

## *THEBAW—EX-KING OF BURMAH.*

### VI.

THE following is a correct statement, from a Burmese point of view, of the withdrawal of the English Resident from Mandalay. It was on the 6th of October, 1249, Burmese Calendar, or 1879, English year, that our Political Agent at the golden city, thought that his continuing there any longer, would derogate from the prestige of the British nation, and having already received permission from the Viceroy of India to withdraw, left Mandalay per steamer, accompanied by three British officers, the Residency guard, and a number of registered British subjects, the latter only leaving in response to the Resident's expressed desire, and not from a sense of insecurity. However, just before leaving, the British Resident wrote to the Burmese authorities, in a demi-official way, informing them of his intention to quit their capital and court. Now, the point I wish to emphasise is that nothing strange, nothing serious enough to warrant so grave a step, had occurred or was occurring. To view this proceeding correctly we must be cognizant of the fact, that the British and Burmese Governments continued on friendly terms, and that no single instance of the breach of treaty conditions had taken place.

Despite this being the case, the British Resident in his last letter to the Burmese authorities quietly ignored the facts, for he simply stated that it was thought improper that he should remain any longer, and then he left. Under these circumstances does not the action of the English Resident seem unexplainable both as to the matter of his letter and to the manner of his leaving? For he left hurriedly, as if he perceived and apprehended danger. It is a fact, that all who were at the time at Mandalay—viewing the matter in an impartial spirit—and who saw the manner in which the British officers rushed away from that city, could not help feeling and expressing intense surprise. The foreign European residents at Mandalay were taken quite aback at the course adopted by our Political Officers; and the opinion of the Europeans

was shared by the merchants and traders, and by the people generally, of the two Courts. These people said that the British officers had acted in a most blameable way, in trying to make out matters to be more serious than they were, knowing well that their hurried retreat would furnish grounds for various rumours, and that these rumours would have a most deterrent effect on trade, resulting most likely in damage and ruin to the traders.

The Burmese authorities, up to this time, had always acted with a view to maintain friendly relations between the two countries, and were most careful that all they did should be in accordance with the terms of the Treaty. These are not *exparte* statements, but are the real facts of the case.

The peculiar manner in which the British officers left, looking so much like a flight, caused as was expected a serious panic among the people, and resulted in the stoppage of trade, as the people were allowed to imagine all sorts of things. Such being the state of affairs, it will be seen that it was time the Burmese Government took some action in the matter. This Government thought it a necessary step to nominate able and courageous ministers of high rank to proceed to, and to protect and watch the towns of Melloon, Menhla, Tounghoo, Yarneethar, the villages of Maliyne, Burgon, and other frontier towns and stations, and this was done with a view of reassuring the minds of the people and reviving their confidence, so that business and trade might be restored, and the trader feel assured that the public roads were safe to travel.

Another matter to notice is, that when the British officers were leaving Mandalay, a second letter, containing the following matter, was sent to the Burmese authorities. Our Resident wrote asking the Burmese officials, to protect and take care of all goods, persons and things (British property) at Mandalay. Such a letter is inexplicable when reviewed in the light of the manner of departure of the British representative.

The Burmese officials still showed that they had taken no offence at the peculiar conduct of the British officer. They acted in perfect good faith on receipt of this letter, for they replied to it at once, and stated that to enable the Burmese authorities to comply with the request conveyed in the letter, it would be necessary that a list of the property and the people to be taken care of should be sent to them. No reply to this letter was sent to the Burmese, because the British party was in such a hurry to get away ; nevertheless the Burmese Government acted in a most worthy and almost

noble way, for they caused all British subjects who were left behind at Mandalay, likewise all goods and property, animate and inanimate, to be properly cared for and protected.

These proceedings, which caused merchants, traders, and the people generally to entertain imaginary fears, and this unsettled state of mind as a consequence, leading to the stoppage of trade, and to the hitherto free movements of the people of both Governments, and necessitating on the part of the Burmese Government the obligation of nominating officers to watch and protect the frontier stations; the unsettled state of the British subjects, who were removed from one place to another, and the sufferings generally of every body, were attributable to the action of our officials at Mandalay.

It has been stated by others, and the writer after careful investigation is obliged to concur with the statement, namely, that if Mr. Shaw, our previous Resident at the Burmese Court, had lived, it seems more than probable that such a state of matters would not have come about. Mr. Shaw was not only a strong man, but the right man in the right place, for he understood thoroughly the Burmese character, likewise the attitude to be adopted to suit the shifting political manifestations or phases of such a despotic Oriental Court, and at the same time to preserve his own respect and honour, which really meant safe-guarding the honour of the nation he represented. During the long time Mr. Shaw held his responsible position, he managed matters so ably, that he was successful in avoiding all causes for friction, and though he was so remarkable for his firmness, yet he was universally liked and respected. Had Mr. Shaw lived, it is not too much to say, that in all likelihood Thebaw would have still been King of Burmah, and that through the wise counsel and aid of our Resident, he would have ruled with more of righteousness and judgment. Probably he would have felt strong enough, when backed by the support of the British representative, to have shaken himself free of the influence of the Tynedah Mengyee and the Palace Party. Unfortunately for Thebaw, Mr. Shaw at a critical moment succumbed to rheumatic fever. The regard and respect, our Agent was held in by the Burmese Court and the Burmans of Mandalay, was shown at his funeral, which was attended by all ranks of the people. Colonel Browne did not make a suitable successor, and Mr. St. Barbe was still less suited to deal with such a Court—He was too sentimental. Instead of being the strong man of the place—self-reliant, he manifested nervousness,

not lack of physical courage, for there was no opportunity then for such a display, but mental weakness, a tendency to view matters as through a highly coloured medium and it is regrettable that his medium for mental vision was not rose-coloured, but rather of sombre hue. The old astute Burmese ministers read him as an open book, save his weaknesses, and took the upperhand. Thebaw, however, was ignorant of any friction between his ministers and the Officiating Resident, for at this time he was taking deep draughts of the pleasures appertaining to a King in Burmah; he was using to the full the unexpected enjoyments his position gave him, nor had he been long enough on the throne to feel the least satiety.

As the writer has reached a point in narrating certain events in the life of King Thebaw, and from which point subsequent events, up to his deposition, are well known, having repeatedly been brought under public notice, by the Indian newspapers, he thinks it would be best to conclude this sketch, the materials for which were collected with care and have been used with impartiality. The writer is forced to the conviction, that from the date of the withdrawal by the British from all diplomatic relations with Thebaw's Court his doom was sealed; and this is another reason for not pursuing the story further at present, but he hopes to do so a little later on, should he obtain the further materials he desires to get; the time will also then be suitable, to publish a full biography of Thebaw.

The points the writer has been concerned to put before his readers are, that the misdemeanours, or say crimes of Thebaw, have been greatly exaggerated. That if we felt bound to punish the King of Burmah for the blood shed at Mandalay, we are also bound in equity to annex Nepaul, sweeping out of that country the men who have imbued their hands in the blood of kindred. Cabul should receive like measure. It is not a question of finance, not a question whether expeditions in these latter countries would pay, but a question of justice.

If we waged war with Thebaw because of the breach of treaty regulations, we had no right to depose him on such grounds. If however, we were forced to depose him in obedience to the voice of his subjects, because if we left him on the throne our army would be leaving anarchy behind them, and which might so swell at any time as to flood our own territories; such a position in argument is however, untenable, owing to the history of the subsequent resistance of the people of Upper Burmah. If we

say that there were other secret but overwhelming reasons which forced us to depose Thebaw then the only right step, as appears from the evidence, was the installation of another Prince, of the dynasty of Alompra. Thebaw has not been a saint, but nevertheless it is true that he has been maligned. The burden of judgment has been laid on the wrong shoulders.

The Tynedah Mengyee, that most powerful and astute minister of Thebaw's, is the real culprit, on whom no doubt, the impartial investigator of the incidents of crime and maladministration at Mandalay—leading to tension with the British Government, and resulting in the downfall of the dynasty of Alompra—will cast the blame. It is on the head of this Chief Minister, *defácto*, that the weight of the guilt of all these results will be laid. The impartial historian will hold him responsible for the loss of the kingdom to the Prince of the House of Alompra.

This Tynedah Mengyee, had a bad beginning, his youth was stained by duplicity and by dark and bloody crimes, for it is said, apparently on the best authority, that he began life as a dacoit. It is, however, certain, that he always had a partial leaning to dacoits. He manifested an evident hankering for his old predatory pursuits. During his period of authority in the State, Upper Burmah was greatly infested by dacoits, and it was the theatre for the display of rapine and bloodshed. It is almost silly to ask soberminded men to believe, that the hand of the executive was powerless to repress evil doing, and to bring evil doers to condign punishment, unless it was serious that lawlessness should exist. A Native Government, with the Chief of the executive an able Burman, would have had the sympathy and co-operation of all the villages and towns of Upper Burmah, if it really endeavoured to put a stop to crime, and desired to punish the criminals. But such design, or wish, was not in the mind of the Tynedah Mengyee, for while dacoits and dacoity flourished, he had a source of large personal income. Rather would this man resent all endeavours to put lawlessness down.

The present history of Upper Burmah. The difficult task it is found to pacify the country, to maintain order and rule through civil administration, is not analogous to its recent past history under native rule. The people now up in arms are really not dacoits, or it would be but the truth to say, that three-fourths of those people are not. They are neither dacoits, nor rebels, but patriots, who are struggling for the restoration of their native Princes. It is cruel to brand such men with infamous appellations. And the

cruelty is refined and intensified when such expressions proceed from the lips and pens of men who boast a high state of civilization.

To return to the Tynedah Mengye who, during the whole time he was in a position of authority at Mandalay, always exerted his influence in the state in a manner inimical to its interests, that, is to say, not to support and reward the virtuous, but to shield and aid the vicious. This is a grave charge to make against any man, and its gravity is increased when it is made against a responsible Minister of State. But there is sufficient evidence available, which shows that the Tynedah Mengyee not only shielded dacoits, but shared in the booty their exploits produced, in other words, he was a sleeping partner in a business of rapine, murder and wanton outrage; and this partnership yielded him a rich annual harvest.

Thebaw once got an inkling of the state of affairs, and manifested so keen a desire, for the investigation of these matters, that for a time this oily-tongued courtier had to give way before the purpose of the king, and to assume great zeal and apparent alacrity in aiding the king's desire, to extirpate the bands of dacoits who infested the country.

There was a Burman officer at Court at the time, Lay-Thyin-Atwin-Woon, the King's admiral, who was as fine a manly fellow as any in his profession—honest to the backbone. A man who knew nothing of the shifts and quirks of courtier life, and abominated all falsity. If there was one man who could be depended upon to do his duty in a straightforward way, and to give a faithful report of the causes of the recrudescence of crime in Upper Burmah, he was that man; and the King's choice fell on him in an almost natural way. Thebaw empowered Lay-Thyin-Atwin-Woon to proceed to the disturbed localities, and to hunt down the dacoits, while at the same time he was to collect evidence as to the causes which had led to such lawlessness The gallant admiral started on his mission, and pursued the task appointed him in such a determined spirit, that he hunted down several bands of dacoits, and succeeded in capturing a great number. The evidence the admiral gathered from his prisoners was clear and explicit. They one and all said, that they were launched on their career by the Tynedah Mengyee, and were working under his instructions and in partnership with him. This was sufficiently criminating evidence to have hurled the man from his high position, but, either his power was so great, that Thebaw dared not openly resist or else, the combination of his power and the subtle influence he exerted

over the King's mind, sufficed to frustrate the right purposes of Thebaw, and to render futile the energy and honesty of the admiral. Those dacoits were released by the authority of the Tynedah Mengyee without the case being further investigated; and all further efforts to put lawlessness down, was dropt.

Whenever the Tynedah Mengyee found Thebaw getting too inquisitive about State matters, or manifesting a spirit of revolt against the power of his minister, he became most lavish in his gifts to the Court—Money was furnished with a free hand for both the king and queen to spend in extravagance. Especially did the Tynedah Mengyee manifest a careful interest to keep Soopayah-Lat fully engaged in all the pleasures of an eastern court; for he knew that she was a woman possessed of a strong mind and keen foresight. The queen was permitted and encouraged to indulge to the full, her taste for building Pagodas and Kyoungs; on which both she and Thebaw have spent enormous sums of money. They have erected a great number of them at Mandalay.

By encouraging the young king and queen to pass their lives in a round of pleasures of eastern magnificence, he kept them in his meshes, and prevented any active or corrective interference with state affairs. He has reaped benefit while Thebaw and Soopayah-Lat have received denunciation and punishment for the mal-administration of Upper Burmah.

The Tynedah Mengyee was always a great opponent of reformation; he was an extremely Conservative Burman; and though in point of nomination he was not the Chief Minister, for there was the Kinwoon-Mengyee, who bore the title of Senior Prince Minister, yet in point of fact, the Tynedah Mengyee was the Chief Minister, as the Kinwoon-Mengyee was a weak man, though a scholar and a travelled man; he had visited Europe. The Kinwoon-Mengyee was an advocate for reform, tending to constitutional methods of government after European models, and for the advancement of education and a higher state of civilization among countrymen. But so feebly expressed were his convictions, and so weak and timid was his nature, that he was incapable of coping with his vigorous and powerful colleague and rival—The Tynedah Mengyee.

# *NATURAL SCIENCE AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.*

THE claims of Natural Science as a subject of study, though now fully recognised in Europe and America, have yet to be established in our country. Consequently, its place in our educational system is quite subordinate and somewhat anomalous ; and it is no wonder, that men like Mr. J. C. Dutt* who advocate the cause of Natural Science should meet with such opposition, their views being a long way in advance of our public opinion.

Mr. Dutt has urged the claims of Natural Science so well that I would only be trespassing on your space to dilate on them. I must say, however, that he might have done this without assuming such an aggressive attitude towards Sanskrit. It is true that Natural Science has asserted its position in the western world after a long and bitter contest with classical learning. But the position occupied by Sanskrit in our Universities is quite different from that which the classical languages held in the western Universities. She is too weak to be an object of hostility. We would, on the contrary, wish to see her get stronger and occupy a more dignified position. Mr. Dutt is fully alive to the worth of Sanscrit, as, indeed the translator of Kahlana's *Rájataragini* is expected to be. He distinctly says, that he is "not against the study of Sanskrit," and that he "does not undervalue its worth." He would, I have no doubt, admit, that Sanskrit is essential for a scientific study of language; that, Sanskrit is the fountain of our vernacular literature ; and that, Sanskrit literature gives us an insight into the past condition of our country, and enables us to form a correct estimate of our ancient civilization. It is possible to exaggerate these benefits, and to mistake arrant pedantry for genuine culture. Nevertheless, instances in which Sanskrit learning has led to very valuable results are so numerous and so well known, that they hardly

* The *National Magazine*, March, 1888. The *Concord*, June, 1887.

need be mentioned. On the other hand, it must be conceded, that Natural Science puts us in the way of interpreting nature ; that it liberates the mind from the thraldom of Superstition ; and that all the important industries of the present day are based upon it. Mr Dutt believes and we fully agree with him, that "the study of Science will help to a much greater extent the development of civilization in our country than the study of Sanskrit." But whatever the comparative merits of Sanskrit and Science may be, it is undeniable that each is a factor in our civilization ; and it is not at all desirable that the one should be advanced at the sacrifice of the other. Science may be, and, no doubt, is, more useful than Sanskrit. But the service that is done by the latter is of a nature which cannot be rendered by the former. In fact, it is from the sum total of the results, that we venture to pronounce Science a more fruitful study than Sanskrit. If particular results of Science study were to be weighed against particular results of Sanskrit study it would in not a few cases be extremely difficult to say which way the scale turns. The results are of a nature which often makes comparison an impossibility. Plants which bear edible fruits are unquestionably more useful in the long run than ornamental plants. Yet who would recommend the exclusive cultivation of the former?

Mr. Dutt argues :—Because Science is better calculated to advance our civilisation than Sanskrit ; and because "it is not possible for our young students to study, English, Sanskrit and Science, during the period of their College career," Science should be made a compulsory subject of study, in preference to Sanskrit. The premises are perfectly sound, but the conclusion drawn by him does not necessarily follow. It is not possible, even if it were desirable, that all of the students of our Colleges should take up Science. An elementary knowledge of it, like an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit, is indispensable for general culture ; and both should have a place in the Matriculation or Entrance Examination. But the further prosecution of Science should be left optional with the students. Many there are who would have a positive distaste for it ; others may find it more advantageous to pursue literary studies. It would certainly not advance the cause of Science to force it upon them. The function of a university should be to foster and encourage the tastes and inclinations, and develop the special aptitudes of the youthful *alumni* whose training it undertakes to guide and control. All branches of study have grown so largely of late that specialisation has become a

necessity. This being the case, the University courses should be so prescribed that every student may be left unfettered to follow the want of his mind. This is what is done by the London and other Universities of the civilised world, and this what the Calcutta University should do. Students who intend to pursue Science, or any of the professions based upon it, such as Medicine and Engineering, could not accomplish their object if they have to fritter away their energies upon subjects like Sanskrit which have not the slightest connection with the special subjects of their study, and which are learnt or rather crammed only to be forgotten. Would not the time he is compelled by the Calcutta University to waste upon these in order to pass the First Arts Examination be more profitably employed in learning such subjects as Chemistry, Biology &c., and thus laying the foundation of his future studies? A knowledge of Sanskrit or of any other subjects has its value; whatever that value may be. But the question is not whether it has absolutely any value or not, but what is its relative value to a student. I learn that not long ago some students applied to the Senate of the Calcutta University to make Sanskrit alternative with Bengali for the First Arts Examination. One of the arguments adduced by them was, that some of them intended to graduate in medicine. But why should such students be required to take up a "Second Language" at all? Would it not be a saving of time and energy to them to substitute Biology or Chemistry for it?

Just as for one class of students, *viz.*, those who wish to devote themselves to Natural Science or any of the professions based upon it, Sanskrit or any other "Second Language" beyond the Matriculation stage, may or, rather ought to be—dispensed with; so with another class of our students, *viz.*, students of language, history &c., Sanskrit may be said to be indispensable. The classical language of India should unquestionably be a compulsory subject of study for an Indian Arts degree. The University has made it optional with other classical languages in the First Arts Examination; but for Indian Students it is practically compulsory.

If Sanskrit were made alternative with Bengali in the First Arts, which is the change contended for by Mr. Dutt, students of the class just mentioned—viz those who would graduate in Arts—might take up Bengali instead of Sanskrit, which is not desirable, at least in the present state of our literature. On the other hand, the change would not give the desired degree of relief to students of Science or of scientific professions; for, they would still be compelled to take up a "Second Language" when

there are other subjects on which their attention could be more profitably bestowed.

In a pamphlet published in 1886, and again in an article on "Educational Reforms in Bengali" which appeared in the January issue of the *Calcutta Review* for the current year, we made certain suggestions, which if carried out are, we think better calculated to advance the cause of Natural Science, than the change proposed by Mr. Dutt. The suggestions are as follows :—

We do not think it would be at all desirable to introduce Elementary Science in the Entrance Examination *at the sacrifice* either of English or of the Second Language. We would propose that the Elements of Physics and Chemistry be prescribed as *optional* subjects for the Entrance Examination, the marks obtained in them counting only towards the place of the candidates taking them up in the general list. Or, only one paper may be set in History and Geography, (Physical Geography being excluded altogether) instead of two as at present, and Elementary Science made *compulsory* by setting a paper in it. The object of the Entrance Examination should be to lay the foundation for general culture; and it would, we think, be a distinct disadvantage to introduce specialism at so early a stage. However, the question as to how science could be most effectively ingrafted on the curriculum of the schools is one which is incapable of satisfactory settlement without thorough discussion; and the proposals I have just made must be taken as mere suggestions put forward to invite discussion.

Whatever objections may be raised with respect to any attempt to introduce science in the Entrance Examination, we are aware of none, at least of a very serious nature, to its introduction into the First Arts as an *alternative* branch of study except the general difficulty of getting competent teachers for all the subjects. The students after passing the Entrance Examination, should decide upon their future career. For those who intend to pursue literature the present First Arts course will serve with perhaps some slight alterations. The rest may be grouped under three heads as follows :—

(A.) Students for general science and its application to the Industries.

(B.) Students for Engineering.

(C.) Students for Medicine.

In each of these cases the Second Language, History, and Logic may be altogether dispensed with, and the following alter-

native First Arts Course substituted for students coming under the heads (A) and (B).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | English ... ... ... | Two papers | As at presen |
| (*b*) | Mathematics ... ... ... | Do. | |
| (*c*) | Physics ... ... ... | Do. | |
| (*d*) | Chemistry ... ... ... | One paper | |
| (*e*) | Biology or Drawing* ... ... | Do. | |

For Medical Students Mathematics beyond the stage required for the Entrance Examination is not essential, and the following course may be found advantageous :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | English ... ... ... ... | Two papers. |
| (*b*) | Botany ... ... ... ... | Do. |
| (*c*) | Zoology ... ... ... ... | Do. |
| (*d*) | Chemistry (Including Elementary Physics) | Do. |

So long as English remains the vehicle of instruction in our Colleges, a knowledge of that language is indispensable and cannot be safely omitted from the Science Examination corresponding to the First Arts (the First Science Examination or whatever other name it may go by). It is obvious, however, that the English course needed for the Science Students should be different from what is wanted for the Art Students. All that is required of the former is sufficient knowledge to enable them to understand English scientific booksand to express their ideas in English. The English course and the university examination therein intended for them should be adjusted accordingly.

The fact of the University First Arts Examination being held at a rather large number of places precludes the possibility of the application of satisfactory practical tests at the Science Examinations. It is, therefore, highly desirable that the number of the F. A. Examination centres, at least for the Science candidates, should be largely reduced. Indeed as the introduction of Science on the scale contemplated here is not likely to be effected in the near future anywhere except in the metropolis and two or three of the more highly advanced mofussil Colleges, the holding of First Science Examination at the metropolis only would not practically lead to any serious hardship.

After passing the First Science Examination, the students of general and technical Science should take up their special subjects of study. The present Science (B) course for the University degree ought to be considerably modified. The Science Students should not be called upon to pass in the English course† ; nor is it necessary, that Mathematics higher than the First Arts

* Drawing being intended for the Engineering, and Biology for the other students.

† At least as constituted at present. A special course in English adapted to the wants of Science-Students may with advantage be made compulsory for the Science degree.

standard should be made compulsory for them all. To illustrate by an example: For students desirous of making Physics or Chemistry their speciality it would be of very little use to make a critical study of the plays of Shakespeare, the poems of Milton or Wordsworth, or of any of the works of Burke, Pattison or De Quincey. All the branches of Natural Science have grown so largely of late, that it is impossible for any man to be equally proficient even in all the subdivisions of any one branch of Science. Zoology, for instance, has made such rapid progress within recent years, that a zoologist is now obliged to devote almost his exclusive attention to one class or order or even a family out of numbers of classes or orders or families into which the Animal Kingdom is divided. Such dispersion of energies as is fostered by the Calcutta University, is quite inconsistent with the spirit of the age. It cannot lead to any good result, at any rate, any result commensurate with the time, labour and energy spent. The Calcutta University appears to be tremendously behind the age, and it is high time the eyes of that sapient body were opened.

The Entrance Examination lays the foundation for general culture. At the First Arts a step is taken towards specialism which should be further developed at the Science Examination corresponding to the B.A. Examination. In order to do this the (B) or Science course of this Examination should consist of the following subjects arranged in groups of two, in addition to a compulsory course in English specially adapted to the wants of Science Students, the candidates being required to take up any *one* of such groups :—

I. Pure Mathematics.
II. Mixed Mathematics.
III. Experimental Physics.
IV. Chemistry.
V. Botany.
VI. Zoology.
VII. Physiology.
VIII. Geology.
IX. Mental and Moral Science.

Mathematics (Pure and Mixed) with Experimental Physics may form one group ; Experimental Physics and Chemistry, another group : and so on. It need hardly be remarked, that the standard of proficiency required in each subject should be very high. Above all, a *practical examination should be held in every subject that admits of it.*

Both at the First Science Examination and at the Degree Examination, candidates may take Honours in any subjects prescribed for the Pass Examinations,

It will be seen, that we are at one with Mr. Dutt in principle, though we differ as to the *modus operandi*; and if we have criticised his proposal a little freely, we have done so not in the spirit of an oppositionist, but in that of a friend and fellow-worker.

*P. N. Bose.*

# MASTIA FERRETTE. *

## (OR THE INSIDE LIFE OF A POPE, BY HIS OWN CHAMBERLAIN ?)

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

SHE had taken refuge in a corner of the vast vestibule, and found herself the object of the somewhat curious, if not important, regards of three or four bedizened footmen, who contemplated her in mute admiration.

As far as it was possible to judge through the long black veil which enveloped her, she was remarkably handsome. One could see her fine figure and the sad profile through the folds of the mourning stuff with which she was almost eclipsed.

Suddenly a man of the average height, dressed in a velvet Cassock with long pendant sleeves, emerged from an inner compartment and halted at the threshold.

The footmen turned round and immediately assumed an attitude of respect. For before them stood a private chamberlain of His

* *Mastia Ferrette* was known as Pius IX.—Full name "Giari Maria Mastia Ferrette," The original name of the story given by the author himself is "The Private Life of Pius IX." The author of this famous work is "Carlo Sibastiani Volpi;" one of the late chamberlains of the famous Pope alluded to, who wrote this work in 1885 from Geneva.

In his prefatory note C. F. Volpi says that he fled away to Geneva, in order to protect himself from the clutches of his enemies. He served as a chamberlain to two Popes in Rome especially the one mentioned, for 20 years, *i. e.* from 1884 to 68. He vouches for the perfect truth of this narrative. He then affirms it to be absolutely necessary that every body should be in possession of these facts, for which he has already, in the celebrated trial with the Pope's nephew, produced incontestable evidences. The church being immutable, her interest will be best served if undeterred by fear. The faults of her ministers are unveiled and indeed, against Popes in the past who have dishonored themselves.

In conclusion the author boldly says that his desire was that this narrative, the work of an impartial historian, should be published in all the languages of the world without any prejudice, and he hopes that some day, should it please God, he will see it printed even in Rome itself.

Holiness, though there was nothing about him to tell the position he held in the pontifical hierarchy.

Advancing towards the young girl, he asked—"So it is you who are called Clélia Maddi ? "

"Yes, monseigner."

" I cannot properly see your face, pray remove your veil."

Without saying a word, the young girl obeyed, lifting her veil and showing a face as beautiful and as regular as an ancient Medallion. Her pale and rather wan features, together with her swollen and red eyelids, seemed to point to some deep and recent sorrow.

" Do not distress yourself my child," said the chamberlain. " Oh ; may I hope, " burst forth the girl, " may I hope to obtain pardon from him ? "

"Yes my child. But you must compose yourself. Try and keep from weeping or you will spoil your pretty face."

Then he added aside :—"But there is no doubt this look of sadness makes her very attractive. What a refinement of pleasure it would be to see those pale lips red and quivered once more by a sunshine of smile ; what joy to be implored by such a pretty mouth ; really, she has almost fascinated me. A pretty face like hers is a morsel, not for a king as they would say elsewhere, but for a Pope as we say here. And this reminds me that I have no pretensions in that direction. What a pity ! " During this soliloquy the chamberlain fixed his sly gaze upon the softly sad face of the young girl ; who blushed uncomfortably under that peculiar gaze. " Follow me my pretty one, " he at length said loudly, " I shall conduct you to the proper place. Remember my caution. Be as sweet and composed, as you can, and you will I have not the least doubt succeed obtaining your desire."

She dropped her veil and prepared to follow the chamberlain. As she passed by those footmen, the young girl could see a wicked smile on their faces while they bowed to her ; and she thought that this ironical attempt to be deferential and respectful concealed a mental reservation, which gave rise within her to a vague sense of fear. But a sacred duty was before her, and she resolved to brave anything.

In silence, and repressing her tears she then followed him of the velvet Cassock, who ascended and descended flights of steps, lobbies and private passages like a man who was thoroughly acquainted with every nook and corner of the Vatican, that immense pandemonium.

She proceeded unconsciously, not even looking to the right or to the left. To a series of almost dilapidated apartments throuhg

which they passed, there succeeded now others of a rich and sumptuous description, all of that whimsical character which distinguishes the palace of the Pope.

The whole presented a compound of luxury and austerity as if to order. Here were marble walls in sparkling mosaic covering the floors of spacious rooms, with painted and decorated ceilings, but which were destitute of seats, rather furniture ; there, *retiro* carpets and richly hanging curtains which led to narrow and perfumed passages, containing a thousand objects of elegant life, with sacred pictures of ideal sensuality and softness.

One set of apartments, set apart for receptions, were magnificent but not very convenient ; other, apartments reserved for private retirement, were unknown to the profane but destined for the luxury and enjoyments of life.

Presently the chamberlain drew up at a small circular room, containing a large but low divan, covered with silk. The walls disappeared under a light silk dressing lined in silver-ware. From the ceiling, in the form of a cupola, hung a large crystal murano candlestand with rose colored candles, which shed a brilliant light, for the light of day never penetrated here.

The chamberlain pulled a bell, and a servant dressed in red and black appeared; "*It is done*", said he to the domestic.

With a low inclination, the servant retired, whereupon the young girl, in astonishment demanded in a terrified voice :—

"Where am I, great God" ! "You are, where you wished to come answered the man with the velvet Cassock. In a moment you will stand before a great person. He can be everything for or against you. A word, a simple word from him, and your wish is at once consummated. Take care that you do not displease him and do what he asks of you."

"What am I to do, will you please to explain" ?

"He himself will tell you, I have nothing to do here, and I must leave you. "

"No, no ; do not go I entreat of you, your presence reassures me, see I am trembling.....I do not know.....oh ! I am afraid" ! "You are a fool" !

Having said which the chamberlain disappeared. The leaf of the half-open door closed after him and adjusted itself in such an art behind the tapestry that the young girl could not find even the joints of separation.

She stood stricken with an indefinite fear. The silence was profound. The air seemed warmer and heavier than before. A

strange perfume diffused itself through the atmosphere; thick odours floated about which began to affect Clélia's brain, who staggering, fell on the large divan. Everything seemed confused before her sight; she put her hands on her heart and sank back, half-fainting. She had not, meanwhile, lost all consciousness; she could vaguely perceive a curtain door, out of which there stepped forth a man. He took her up in his arms, tore aside the veil from her beautiful face and contemplated her earnestly enough.

The girl by the touch of this stranger gradually came to herself and instinctively disengaged her from his embrace.

He tried to seize her again; but she escaped him and gliding from off the divan, threw herself at his feet. In the midst of her sobbings she constrained to stammer out—

"Pardon, pardon.....in the name of God!"

There was nothing ferocious or wild in the appearance of the unknown. On the contrary, his face beamed forth intelligence and kindness. Apart from the restless and sly expression of the eyes and disdain and mistrust which could be read in the wrinkled face, the general appearance was rather engaging than repulsive.

This person was dressed in a costume half ecclesiastical and half lay. His hair almost grey, escaped from under a black silk Calote. He was between five and fifty or sixty years old. From his short fat and soft hands and the diamonds ornamenting the buckles of his slippers and garters, one could at once recognise the rich, easy-going man.

He endeavoured to raise the young girl, saying, "Pardon from whom, my child?" "Oh! monsigneur," she answered, "pardon for myself first of all; pity for my youth, you see me trembling at your feet. I forsee danger—of what, I cannot tell.....But I am afraid. This strange room in the dwelling of St. Peter; your sudden arrival.....all this has terrified me.....oh! Why did I come?"

"You forget the sacred duty which has brought you hither."

"Thanks, monseigneur, for reminding me of that duty. Since you are all powerful, pray, save my father; see, I embrace your knees. I shall bless you all my days, I shall pray for you, monseigneur, you hear the voice of a daughter who implores you for her father's life."

"Clélia, you are charmingly delicate!"

"One word, one only monseigneur: Give me at least one ray of hope."

"Know this, Clélia, that you can rival every one with impunity, even the daughters of the noble and proud. All must bow down before your refulgent beauty."

"My father is so good, monseigneur: he has been carried away by an abuse of the words "*Liberty*" and "*Independence*" which he was accustomed to hear shouted round and about him."

"He must be happy to have such a loving daughter."

"Monseigneur, I must tell you my father is an honest man, the crime he is accused of is not a great one; he has uttered the words as others did: a spy accidently overhead him and he was arrested and dragged here to face death, my poor father!"

"Clélia, do you wish him live?"

"Do I wish it?"

"Would you love him, who saves your father?"

"With all the force of my soul; I am ready to die for him even if it be necessary."

"If his saviour wills you to live, on the contrary; that you should live and share existence with him to be, whole world to him in short."

"No, no monsigneur, I don't understand you, is it not so?—Don't you propose a shameful, a dishonorable condition. Undeceive me; no, I cannot believe it, ah! it is too infamous."

"A dishonorable condition? Take care Clelia, you are pronouncing the death warrant of your father."

Oh! it is too odious! Do you know that my father would be dishonored? His first thought would be to seek out my seducer and plunge a dagger into his heart. A thousand times he has told me so, and I have known him to be a man of his word."

Silenced by the vehemence of the young girl, the unknown remained quiet for a few seconds. In a dry and harsh voice, which almost waved through anger and annoyance, he then spoke—"These are threats against me, eh? I despise them. Either thou art mine Clelia, or thy father will be led to his doom, his bones and members being previously crushed by tortures."

"By torture! ah! heavens..." "Trembled now, you foolish toy. You have put your feet in this place; have you any idea how you are going to leave it?"

"Oh! as for myself, it is of no consequence!"

"Of more consequence than you may dream of. Do you know that you are a Republican's daughter, that you have taken part in his machinations, that you have prehaps encouraged him.

The Holy Council has before this condemned to death many who never committed as much as that."

"If my father must die, I prefer to die also."

"Remember, however, that the torture precedes the execution. Think of your soft bones crushed and scattered under the inexorable pressure of vices and levers. Think of the devouring flames leaping up and licking with its incisive kisses that beautifully white and nacreous skin. The torturers will seize you, cut off your long hair; they will strip you of your clothes, and you have to struggle and argue with them naked, without your veil, pulled about by rough and knotted fingers, while the pinchers are reddening that would bite into your flesh."

"Executioners, torturers of women, ministers of religion, of peace, I spit in your face with disgust. Come! have me arrested, or else let me depart hence that I may denounce the infamies of St. Peter."

"Do you know His Holyness?" "Do you believe it possible to do all you like so easily?" "Also! no, I am feeble, thus armed; therefore it is that I am at your feet,"

"I wish I could forget your fault and your crime; but it is necessary that you be mine. The tortures with which I have threatened you, you will see applied to your father; when you think, he has suffered enough, that he has blasphemed enough in his pain and anguish, you have to make a sign only, and all will be stopped; but you know the price of it." Clelia fell back without replying.

The unknown rung a bell. Two chambarlains appeared. "Take this female," said he in a tone of command, "and conduct her by the subteranean passage to the prison of the *Santo Uffizio.*"

## *THE SANTO UFFIZIO.*

### II.

THE palace of the vatican is the residence of the Pope during winter. Situated near the bacilic of St. Peter, its enormous mass covers a considerable extent of ground.

It is more an agglomeration of heterogeneous constructions than an edifice erected at one stroke. Every Pope has added, following his own fancy, one a wing, another a wall or pile, to this gigantic palace which contains the population of a town.

According to an author who has recently published a monograph on the Vatican, it contains 13000 Chambers in which of

course, are included the subterranean passages, two hundred staircases leading to different storeys, and 40 ventilations to facilitate the interior circulation of air.

Here live that motley population of soldiers, monks, sacristans, footmen, guards, priests, sbirri, bullis, &c. Heavy gilded carriages, painted with curious devices, encumbered by domestics adorned in lace and gold, may be seen drawn by four plumed horses in the public drives, dragging about, in his indolence and pride, some cardinal dressed in silk and precious stuffs, with a constellation of diamonds and jewelry about his person. Gaily dashes he on to pay his court to St. Peter, splashing with dirt ragged village cure of the sordid monk as he passes them by.

Swiss soldiers, harnessed in the yellow and red costume of the sixteenth century, are posted here and there as sentinels, with cuiras and helmet, and halberd in hand.

The number of people who play their respective parts in the Papal palace is considerable. There is no other sovereign prince who—supports so many idlers under the most spacious and grotesque pretexts.

The burlesque is carried to the point of doubling functions. The holder of one office is somehow in exact correspondence with the holder of another. There are private scavengers, private cooks, and private scullions besides ordinary scullions ; everything is in keeping with this idea.

We easily understand why the Papal government is so eager for pray when we remember that the army of idlers she has to maintain exceeds by a great deal any similar class in the whole of Christendom.

Between the vatican and the fort of the Holy Angel is an immense convent founded by the Dominicans at the period when the Inquisition was at the height of its power: this is called the palace of the Santo Uffizio.

The events which we are relating took place in May 1850, two years previously the French Revolution of 1848 had given an impetus to the Republicans of Italy. Rome followed the movement under the energetic impulse of Mazzini. The power of the Pope gave way before the legitimate aspirations of the people, and the Romans for a moment believed that the dawn of liberty was about to break.

At this period the new government had erected, in the convent of the Dominicans, the appliances and engines of the national artillery. Then were to be observed, in the subterranean prisons

of this hortible dwelling, scattered human bones, giving the place more the air of a cemetery than that of a prison. The instruments of torture were all hung round and looked eloquent in their mute horror.

Later, thanks to the intervention of Louis Napolean, General Oudinot at the head of the French army, entered Rome and re-established the pontifical authority.

France has been made to pay bitterly for this crime. Her chastiser is known as Sedan.

The presence of the Holy Office, or Santo Uffizio, are situated close to the vatican. A subterranean passage connect them with the palace of the Popes.

Through this passage the two chamberlains hurried Clelia. She proceeded mechanically without the aid of the two men, stumbling every now and then.

A few faces behind her followed the unknown conducted by two torch-bearers in scarlet gowns. His gait, the way he carried his head, everything indicated the man accustomed to command and to be obeyed. He wore with grace and elegance his black silk costume, consisting of a coat *a la francaise* and ample vest, and short breeches. A large mantle of black satin with broad cape covered his shoulders.

After passing through several iron doors that grated on their hinges, they penetrated a vast hall with lofty arches and walls of hewn stone.

The torch-bearers halted at the threshold, the two chamberlains deposited Clelia on a leather-seated chair and retired with a low salutation.

The man with the black satin-mantle assured himself that the door was well closed after which he approached Clelia seizing her by the hand.

The latter made a gesture of horror. The man retired without remonstrating ; he waited.

Obscurity and silence reigned in the vast hall.

Right in front a square room was visible, through which the hellish flames could be discerned. They increased and dispelled the previous darkness.

Presently the hum of voices could be heard in the same direction ; gradually they developed into a psalmody or plaintive chant.

Almost maddened, with eyes preternaturally wide from fright, Clelia looked at the flames which were ever increasing, she shuddered. Ignorance added to her terror.

The voices became more and more distinct. Prayers for the dead were being chanted in the room before her.

Suddenly, a strident, heart-rending cry arose and was echoed.

The mortuary hymns continued. The same cry was repeated, and perhaps with greater anguish.

"This is too dreadful," she cried, "what does it mean?"

Clelia could bear it no longer; she rose from her seat.

The cry became a shriek, unmistakeably a human shriek, which resounded throughout.

"Do you wish to look?" demanded the man at her side with a sardonic laugh; "well, look there before you." Her eyes followed the direction indicated, and in a vast crypt situated just below was the dread tribunal. Her attention was arrested by a blazing brazier that stood in a corner, from which the flames leaped with activity as if from a furnace. From the roof hung a lamp with seven candles, which threw a lurid light through the room.

White-robed penetents with the monks and cowl stood in a row these spectral figures contrasting with the blacken walls. These were the chanters, and their voices were funeral in the extreme.

An immense silhowetté of Christ, larger than natural, bony, fleshless, and terrible, dominated the scene.

Shortly after, Clelia perceived the figure of a man perfectly nude, who was chained to a massive bench, with his feet resting on an iron stool. Everything was ready. The feet of the martyr is now exposed to the action of the burning brazier. The other engines of torture, blocks, screws, and vices, are brought forward by a strong monk. They are adjusted.

The man gives vent to a succession of horrible shrieks. A dreadful odour of candle-grease and singed flesh pervades the place.

A priest in surplice, with crucifix in hand, bends over the martyr, and in a hypocritical voice, conjures him to denounce his accomplices of the crimes with which he is charged.

The result not being satisfactory, the torture is recommenced and there is a savage look of satisfaction in the eyes of the monk as the man emits a last, a supreme shriek of anguish and pain. His bones are now broken, the blood flows freely, and all is over. The man is dead.

In spite of her terror, Clelia did not lose a single incident of the spectacle—suddenly she raised a piercing cry, which caused tormentors, priests, and penitents look up.

"Oh! God have pity" she exclaimed "it is my father's brother, it is my uncle Geronimo Maddi whom these assassins have tortured to death."

The man with the black satin-cloak approaches her—

"You have not seen all as yet?"

The blocks and screws removed and the insensible form of Geronimo Maddi is taken away to make room for another unfortunate.

A new victim was next stretched on the fatal block; his limbs are squeezed, the screws are gradually tightened. The apparatus is being slowly adjusted.

Clelia, gasping, almost suffocated, is unable to speak; but the terrible presentiment which threatens to oppress her. She doubts, she hesitates....." Is it him?" The lamp throws its reflection on the man's face, the half-bald head from the sights of which hang patches of silver-hair. This time Clelia has had a good view of the man; she tries to cry aloud, but some obstruction in the throat prevents her. Her limbs tremble under her; She drops on her knees. The chief of the tormentors turns to the executioners. "Be very careful, and let the flames gradually reach him."

Turning to the victim he addresses him—

"Name your accomplices, Tomaso Maddi! "denounce those infamous liberals, the enemies of our Holy religion; otherwise you will die impenitent." "Think of the flames of hell which await you, and, in order that you may have a foretaste of the punishment that God has reserved for you in eternity, the Holy office will first apply the test ordeal by fire, so that you may have an opportunity of not persisting in your sin and confessing all at the last moment."

Tomaso did not answer. Already the pallor of death overspread his features; but his look was firm and full of energy.

"In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, commence!" shouted the head of the tribunal as a signal.

"The tormentors added solemnly Amen."

The penitents' feet were brought near the firy brazier, and the flames leaped about them joyfully; with eyes dim from the sight before her, Clelia seized her throat with one of her hands as if to remove the obstruction that held her mute—yes! there was no mistake; it was her father. How was she to put a stop to this inhuman procedure, these devilish hangman! Alas! she could not utter sound.

A groan at last came from her father.

"Say Clelia! broke in her tempter, shall your father perish?"

"Remember how the others have already suffered."

"No, enough! pardon!" murmurred Clelia in a broken voice.

"Then you accept the condition!"

"Oh! it is too odious!"

"Answer me quickly. Do you hear your father's groans?"

"You will have to decide whether these are to become agonised shrieks." I accept all, everything—provided he may live, and is spared the cruel torture.

The man with the black satin-mantle stepped forward and addresses the chief of the tribunal:—

"*Christus Regnat*" he exclaims in a sonorous tone.

At the sound of that voice, tormentors, monks, and penitents, inclined themselves with an expression of profound respect. The block is removed. Tomaso is released from his dreadful position, and quietly taken away. The man seizes Clelia in his arms, and, intoxicated with passion, presses his sensuous lips to those of the young girl, who swoons away from mingled shame and disgust.

U. G.

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*N. B.*—The Editor is not responsible for the facts contained in this article.

# *FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.*

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

II.

IT is not possible for us to touch lightly on such an important subject as the physical education of our women. Speaking of the Bengalees, the most intellectually advanced nation in India, and whose active co-operation is needed for the regeneration of our fatherland, general weakness of the race and the premature deaths of many of our reformers, orators and authors, have forced this subject into the attention of our leading men. Cut off at a comparatively early period of their career Michael Madoo Sudun Dutt, Keshub Chander Sen, Kristo Das Paul, Harish Chander Mukherji, Akshoy Coomar Dutt and some others, have left behind them a lesson which is replete with warnings to the present and future generations. Their glorious lives suddenly ended, prove what fearful risks we run by systematically neglecting our bodily welfare and giving too much employment to the brain. Each of them was great in his own sphere and would have done greater service to his country had they been spared. These warnings have not been given in vain. Of late, an attempt has been made to impart physical education to our boys. But in spite of this education, in spite of the growing belief that no sound natural advancement is possible without strengthening the natural sinews, very little progress has been made to make our men and women strong. In Bengal, we commence to lose our manhood at an age, when in Europe one enters that period. As soon as we reach the fortieth year of our existence, some wasting malady begins to prey on our vitals and diverts our attention from the good of our country—the very object of our existence—to our own failing health.

At this stage of national upheaving, a full blast of warning may be sounded that it is the strength of body alone that can support the nation in the arduous struggle for advancement in which they have manfully entered. Thought requires action to propagate and feed it, and a sound desire followed by a healthy satisfaction,

promotes the health of man. The reverse holds true. Disappointment and despair produce a condition in the human constitution which bodily strength can alone dispel. A nation, which has commenced to catch the first glimpse of national glory, can alone appreciate the tortures of a soul attempting to tear asunder the veil of darkness which enshrouds him. In these exertions, strength of body is the main resource.

With the advance of civilization, means are being invented to relieve the body of much of its exertions which in days of old developed and invigorated it. The railways and other easy means of communication have relieved the body of these exercises, which our ancestors were compelled to undertake when those means were not in existence. In accomplishing distant journeys they had mainly to trust to their heels which supplied not a small measure of bodily exercise to our women.

Before the whole country was pacified under the bayonets of England, the conditions of life made our men and women strong. Nearly every house of a substantial Zemindar was a small fortress fairly well equipped with arms and men. The disturbed state of the country kept him always prepared for a defensive and offensive struggle. The house itself was so constructed as to enable its master to successfully resist the attack of a band of dacoits or other hostile force. The men and the women living in the house, were required to possess considerable strength of body to defend when needed, their person or other houses. Every important village was the nucleus of a strong body of men called *lattials* who were ever ready to follow their leader in all sorts of hazardous undertakings. The women imitated their husbands and fathers in the strength of body they displayed and instances of feminine courage were not unfrequent. This picture if true in Bengal, was truer in other parts of India where effiminacy or bodily weakness was unknown. I can in this short article, only refer my readers to those instances of female heroism which have immortalized the history of Rajasthan. But under the *pax Britannica*, the whole country has quieted itself down to the peaceful avocations of a rustic nature and feats of strength and valour are now unknown. These changed conditions in life have made our women the very reverse of what they should be.

With this national emasculation have come even superstitious fears, prejudices and cowardice which have been the chief cause of our national decadence. It has often been urged that the climate of Bengal plays an important part in weakening the physique

of the people and that no amount of physical education can neutralize the enervating influences of the climate. The theory, which is one of the inevitables for our national ruin, has gained many a supporter. And it is no wonder when we yield to all sorts of imaginary influences from those of a stone to a star. The aborigines *viz.*, the Sonthals and others, who inhabit the hilly tracts of the Chutea-Nagpur plateau and where females are free, persons remarkably well-built—and strong women. These live and grow under a more scorching sun and face a more enervating climate.

The first condition of our becoming a strong nation is to make our women free. If we are determined to make our nation strong by giving a physical training to our boys alone, leaving our girls in the back-ground, our exertions will resemble those of a man who would become a swimmer without immersing his whole body into water. Packed up within the four walls of the zenana, at a time when her physical development attains a ripeness, her limbs can never acquire that robust healthiness which exercise and free play can alone bestow. The custom which consigns her whole life to restraints resembling those of a man in a convent, in regard to her intercourse with other men, has made her fearful and nervous to a degree which sadly interferes with the proper management of her household duties. She is perfectly helpless in the absence of the males on whom she entirely depends for her subsistence. She loses the equanimity of her mind on the approach of danger and her helplessness spreads dismay through the household. Instead of becoming the support of the husband in seasons of war and wailing, she, in consequence of her physical weakness and ignorance, becomes a burden to him, and on him devolves the twofold duties of tiding the disaster and of consoling his life. There can be no real happiness in a family like this.

The most important cause which has made our women physically weak, is early marriage. This pernicious system which has made the Hindus a weak nation, and which has accelerated their downfall, is more or less adopted by nearly all the races in India. If origin may be traced to the middle-age, by which we mean the period which intervened between the Vedic and the Pouranic eras. They were first inculcated by the ordinances of Manu which formed at a later period the basis of the Smriti. Verse 88 chap. IX ordinances of Inam says.

"To an excellent and handsome youth of the same class, let every man give his daughter in mariage according to law, even though she has not attained her age of eight years."

The above doctrine formed the foundation-stone on which the fabric of the early marriage system with its various ramifications—the creations of the subsequent development of the caste system was reared up. If that great law-giver and instructor of the Hindu nation had the faintest idea of the evil consequences which this doctrine would produce on his generations, he would not have framed this law. Marriage was considered a holy and religious union, and a twofold object was kept in view—(1) the continuance of progeny and (2) the social and religious happiness of the couple. It was considered eternal and indissoluble even by death. The idea of a civil contract never entered into the brain of our forefathers and they could not accept a graver view of the marriage covenant. Hence the idea very naturally came into the mind, that the father should perform a religious act by making his daughter a free gift to an excellent bridegroom. In the later ages this doctrine of early marriage was emphasised in the *Smrite* and the giver of this gift was extolled in proportion as his gift was made betimes. In adult marriage, this idea of gift could not be carried out, as the girl would not be guided by her father's selection, we find in verse 92 of the same chapter the following.

" He, who takes to wife a damsel of full age, shall not give a nuptial present to her father ; since the father lost his dominion over her, by detaining her at a time when she might have been a parent."

The only provision for adult-marriages which occur in the whole ordinances, is contained in verse 94 which says !

" A man, aged thirty years may marry a girl of twelve, if he find one dear to his heart : or a man of twenty-four years, a damsel of eight ; but if he finish his studentship earlier, and the duties of his next order would otherwise be impeded let him marry immediately."

K. P. SIRKAR.

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THE

# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

NEW SERIES.

No. 8—AUGUST 1888.

## *THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.*

THE National Congress has been a stock-theme of discourse and declamation during specially the last two years; and so much has been written and said on it that we cannot help in our attempt to unfold its principles and set forth its utility treading on what may justly be called beaten path. Very little can be said on what has already become a hackneyed topic, and all that can be attempted with any degree of success is a *resume* of the varieties of thought to which it has given rise, or their clear exposition under distinct heads.

That the National Congress is an important institution, pregnant with issues of the most momentous character, goes without saying. It is indeed a great movement, and its greatness may be proved by the greatness of the interests it represents, and the greatness of its scope and object. But another line of argument may be adopted to set forth its real greatness, the line of argument which turns upon the hinge of the greatness of the opposition it has succeeded in stirring up,—succeeded we mean, not by its own efforts, but by virtue of what may be called its momentum. It is the fashion in some quarters to represent the National Congress as a very insignificant movement initiated by a coterie of grievance-mongers and place-hunters, and likely therefore to perish as soon as the craziness of its foundations is exposed. If this is a correct representation, if the institution is un-

worthy of notice or simply contemptible, why make so great a fuss about it. Why raise a tempest in a tea-pot? Why get up gigantic meetings and monster demonstrations against it? Why move heaven and earth to crush a worm or throw the Indian ocean into commotion to drown a fly? The truth is the opponents of the National Congress are wiser in their day and generation than they appear or ostensibly are. They have an uneasy sense of its importance, and the massiveness of the opposition they are leaving no stone unturned to stir up is a proof of the ill-concealed fear with which they contemplate its rise and growth and its growth has been marvellous indeed. It began its career only about four years ago in the great city of Bombay with considerably less than a hundred Delegates, but the number increased to over three hundred and fifty when the Congress was held in Calcutta a year after, and to about six hundred when it was recently held in Madras. And this year arrangements are being made for the entertainment at Allahabad of at least a thousand Delegates! Indeed so rapid has been its growth that restrictive rules fitted to check its devlopments into unmanageable proportions are demanded and under consideration.

Besides had the National Congress been so insignificant as it is fashionable in some quarters to represent it, it would have been crushed by this time. Some men of great influence are distinguishing themselves in various parts of the country by avowed hostility to it; and it is a well-known fact that a very large class of gentlemen of even greater influence are secretly opposed to it. All that could have been done to quash a movement like the Congress in its incipient stages of development or to nip it in the bud has been done both ostensibly and surreptitiously. What is the result? Opposition is only strengthening the movement. Like the sapling shaken by storms, it is growing in vitality, in consistency, in strength of cont xture or hardness of fibre; and to-day it is all things considered, stronger than it was when its opponents began their career of vehement opposition. The increase of life and vigor it is receiving from the storm of opposition avowedly raised to paralyze it or bring on its utter collapse is a proof of its germinal, if not fully developed greatness.

What is the source of the vitality it has shown or the abiding vitality it bids fair to show? What is the fountain of the life-blood that flows through the veins of the institution? Justice, that sacred principle which is inherently fitted to triumph, which goes forth in all the magnitude of its innate energy conquering

and to conquer. It is true that we live in a world which may justly be described as anomalous to the very core ; and we at times, see in the course of providence justice overcome or neutralized, by injustice, Israel fleeing before Ai. But its defeat or collapse is apparent, not real, and so long as God reigns its ultimate victory is only a question of time. Justice in the long run prevails and cannot but prevail, and so long as the claims of the Congress are characterised, as they undoubtedly now are, by justice and equity, the Association will and cannot but triumph. Its life is evolved so to speak, from, or rather intimately connected with the sacred principle of justice it embodies, and illustrates in its deliberations and prayers ; and as the latter is permanent and all-conquering, the former cannot but be so.

The National Congress is not merely invincible but positively indestructible. What is after all the National Congress but the visibly tangible embodiment of current, or rather prevalent aspirations ? It has not created these aspirations, has not added to or subtracted from them. Glance over its prayers, and you will recognize nothing new in them. For instance it prays for a fair share in the administration of the country, and the prayer used to be offered up with importunity and persistency before it sprang into existence. Some reform in the constitution of the Indian Legislatures is another of its prayers and it was advocated with warmth and enthusiasm when the institution was in the womb of time. The obliteration of invidious race distinctions, such as are brought to the front in the Arms' Act, is one of the objects it has in view ; and it is not necessary to repeat that these were vehemently denounced and decried long before the idea of the Congress flashed on the minds of its originators. The truth is that the National Congress is an organic outgrowth from the aspirations created and matured within the precincts of our country by Western culture under the fostering care of the British Government. Suppose the National Congress is destroyed, what then ? Are the aspirations from which it has sprung, and to which it gives definiteness of shape and vividness of color, extinguished along with it ? If not, they will spontaneously, nay irresistibly, embody themselves in or develop into other organizations similar to it. These is no killing the National Congress. The literature of the country—the legendary portion of it brings forward a hero whose name is Rakta-bij, which is being interpreted Blood-seed. Why has this hero such a name ? He is so called, or designated by this name

because his blood, like the blood of martyrs which is said to be the seed of the Church, is the seed of heroes. Every drop of his blood that falls on the ground gives birth to a hundred heroes like himself! The National Congress is Rakta-bij, or is what the fabulous giant is said to have been. Slash it, chop it, mince it, drive your sword through its bare bosom, but remember that every drop of its blood shed by you will give birth to a hundred Congresses like itself!

It is not at all difficult to prove that the National Congress is in perfect harmony with the genius of the age, and the spirit of progressive development ushered in and matured by our Rulers themselves. That it meets the requirements of the time and at the same time indicates progress of the genuine type the following considerations will make manifest:—

1. The Congress is the cohesive principle, or one of the principles of cohesion which the country under its present circumstances peremptorily demands, and the spirit of the age calls into vigorous play. One of its avowed objects is to weld the heterogeneous elements of the vast population of the country into a unity, a homogeneous whole, a nationality; and an attempt to realize such a consummation is by no means too soon made. The past history of the country is fraught with the dire consequences of what may in an important sense be called *universal disunion*. What it gives prominence to is anarchy resulting from race set against race, nation against nation, people against people, and from clans and septs, orders and classes, professions and guilds at loggerheads with one another. Who can describe the fury with which race antagonisms and class hatreds have raged in the country for ages untold or enumerate the feuds and fights the tumults and turmoils, the commotions and convulsions, the wars, the depredations, the calamities and the all but endless train of troubles to which they have given birth. They only who have gone through the mazes of internecine warfare of which the history of our unfortunate country mainly consists,—they only who have traced, as it were, the rivers of fratricidal blood shed by Indian races at war with one another can adequately appreciate the rest we experience under the shade of the British Government. Now the inflammatory elements of our national life are held under proper restraint, its underlying vein of disunion is prevented from displaying its bitter fruits by a power by which it has been made to conceal itself, as it were, in the caves and dens of the earth. The race antagonisms and class animosities have not

been extinguished, but their development into disturbances and disasters is effectively checked. But the external check has yet to be converted into an internal principle, the adventitious constraints and restraints into an indwelling motive power;—or in plainer terms what is a mere accident has to be changed into an essential feature of our national life. And this gigantic task has been begun by the National Congress. It is very easy to laugh at its root-principle of our national unification, at the idea of Hindus and Mussulmans, Moguls, Pathans, Eusufzaess, Sikhs and Marhattas in fraternal union and communion with the despised Bengali; and the apparent impracticability of the fusion contemplated may be expatiated upon with merriment and mirth. But none but idiots can deny that the consummation is *desirable*; and the fusion already realized or rather indicated by the National Congress proves to a demonstration that it is *realizable*.

Who can read the history of the country, and notice the dire consequence of the *incubus* of disunion under which it has groaned for ages untold, if not since the beginning of days, without recognising the desirability of the union contemplated by the National Congress? The aim of the British Government, guided as it is by the loftiest of principles, cannot but be such union, but it cannot possibly effect it without the aid of the children of the soil, or that of the foremost amongst them. Dread of power may bring about, an apparent if not mock union; but a real amalgamation of races and nations separated by broad lines of ethnological distinction, and passing through varied stages of culture, cannot be effected by flashing swords and bristling bayonets. An inner principle of cohesion is needed—a chord of sympathy thrilling or vibrating through the framework, so to speak, of the entire population can do what bullets and bombshells miserably fail to accomplish. A movement towards our national unification originated by ourselves, insignificant it may be at the start but susceptible of expansion till it becomes co-extensive with the country is the only thing fitted to foreshadow the complete realization of an integration to which the disintegrating forces at work will thoroughly succumb. And such a movement has been inaugurated by the National Congress, and those who are not hostile to the interests of the country cannot but sympathise in it; while its true friends of all nationalities hail it with unmistakable demonstrations of joy.

Nor does the Congress fall into the egregious mistake of supposing or representing the boon sought as *instantaneously* attainable. Sir Herbert Edwards related a very amusing story

amid tremendous outbursts of laughter in the grand Missionary Meeting with which the first Missionary Conference ever held in England was crowned. When the telegraphic wires were mounted in the Punjab, a number of men sat in solemn conclave to ascertain what their meaning was. Various opinions were expressed, but they did not satisfy the assembled enquirers. One of them, however, wiser than the rest, volunteered the following satisfactory explanation :—" When this wire-system is completed Government will pull the wire and the whole country will be Christianized ! " The Congress is not characterized by such exuberance of wisdom, and it does not believe that as soon as one of the great orators of the country, a Surendra or a Kali charan has delivered an oration on the desirability of union, our national unification will be an accomplished fact. It knows that great events flow from small beginnings ; and all that it boasts of having accomplished is what may be called laying the foundation-stone of a small beginning ! Its lips quiver, its hands tremble, its knees totter as it contemplates the gigantic proportions of the task before it ; but its faith is strong, and that sustains it amid the criticisms and sarcasms which are pouring in torrents on its devoted head.

Again is not the idea of unification in accord with the genius of the age ? The unification of races is in fact the order of the day in the civilized world. During the last few years we have seen realized a United Italy, a United Germany, and a United France ; and indeed schemes of territorial aggrandisement are in these days justified by an appeal to the principle of national unification ; and our countrymen are, in agitating for its introduction into the country and gradual expansion, simply bowing to the prevalent sentiments of the age. And they notice in the signs of the times what is eminently fitted to animate them with hope. The first steps towards our national unification have been taken. In the civilized world there are subjections of all the scattered branches of a nation to one Government, and their training under a uniform system of laws, and specially under a uniform system of education. The country has already been brought under the *umbrella*, to adopt a well-known native phrase and is being fast unified under a scheme of legislation, more or less uniform and under a system of education uniform in its essential features, if not in its details. And certain ideas are afloat, which cannot but exercise a unifying influence, such as the essential unity of the great human family, the brotherhood of man, the necessity of coal-

escence and co-operation, or that of subordinating individual or local interests to the requirements of broad patriotism. But even if these lofty ideas were set aside, the scheme of unification would by no means prove abortive. Even the principle of self-love or self-interest would facilitate its development or expansion. The varied races are slowly but surely perceiving that their varied political interests are inseparably bound up, and that union on their part is essential to success in all their attempts to raise themselves from a lower to a higher platform of privilege or political life Union in religious or social matters, however necessary, is under present circumstances an impossibility in their case ; but community of interest renders their political amalgamation practicable. And they are being united in proportion as education advances in conjunction with the civilization associated with it ; and the union in their case will prove a stepping-stone to higher and more glorious unions.

But not only are the breaches by which the National Body is furrowed to be closed up, but the all but impassable gulf between the rulers and the ruled must be bridged ; and therefore the National Congress is not afraid to call European and Eurasian gentlemen to cordially join it, and aid its deliberations with their superior wisdom and larger experience. But these favored classes have to make a sacrifice before they begin a move towards it. The National Congress has raised the banner of political equality, and cannot stultify itself by standing up for class distinctions, exclusive privileges, partial legislation or one-sided development. The favoured classes must bow to its principles, and sacrifice whatever is calculated to perpetuate galling distinctions. But fortunately they are not called upon to sacrifice anything fitted to endanger their position in the country or circumscribe prestige. They are only called upon to shake off that which tends to demoralize them. Nothing demoralizes a community so much as the possession of exclusive privileges ; and those possessed by them have tended to develope as was again and again affirmed with emphasis by Bishop Cotton and has often been affirmed by many persons as liberal-minded as he was, "the tyrannical elements" of their character. Slavery in America did a twofold mischief,—it demoralized those by whom it was perpetrated, the owners of slaves, as well as those who were its victims, the slaves themselves. And the principle of demoralization slavery embodies, differ in degree, not in kind, from that embodied in partial legislation or exclusive rights and privileges ;

and deterioration of character, more or less complete, is the result of the latter as well as of the former.

But will a united India be a source of weakness or strength to the Government? It may be either the one or the other. If our Government were based on injustice, as it is not, if it were determined at all cost to live for a class, to maintain monopolies, class legislation and invidious distinctions, or to perpetuate our national degradation by artificial means, its best policy would certainly be—Divide and Conquer; as a United people would only shake it to its foundations and smash it to atoms! But the principles of our Government are of the highest order, and as it has made up its mind first to secure to the country the glorious fruits of progress, and then to make progress only with it, to expand as its intelligence unfolds, and to rise from lower to higher stages of revolution as it does, it need not be afraid of the complete success aimed at by the National Congress. Such union will be the nation's strength, and the nation's strength will be its strength. The Government has only to complete what may be called its work of self-domestication, to identify itself thoroughly with the people, and to lay aside its foreign garb and character, or in simpler terms the Government has only to allow its lofty principles, the most glorious principles of the age, to guide it, and the political regeneration of the country will be its crown of triumph, not an ignominious defeat!

Secondly the Congress is a source of beneficent not revolutionary changes. Its guiding principle or avowed object is in phraseology canonized in these days *evolution* not *revolution*. The remedies it suggests for the diseases of the body politic are by no means violent,—a fact clearly brought out by the nature of the Resolutions it has passed and scattered broadcast in the country. It is not a socialistic or communistic organisation, and it does not agitate for the annihilation of religion, the extinction of monarchies and aristocracies, the abolition of the laws of property, the degeneration of marriage into promiscuous intercourse, and the re-construction of society on the basis of an equality as unjust as it is unattainable. Nor does the Congress stand up for Fenian methods of accomplishing its objects, such as boy-cotting, moon-lighting, defiance of law and order, illegal meetings, street affrays, secret associations and murders perpetrated in broad daylight. The storm of opposition raised might lead the public to look upon its advocates and supporters as a hand of rioters whom it is the duty of every well-organised Government to immure in dungeons, if not to hang,

draw and quarter! Its demands, however, are reasonable, and its *modus operandi* thoroughly constitutional. Its resolutions are characterised by a moderation which even its enemies cannot help commending. The area of reform they embrace is by no means broader than the altered circumstances of the country justify, and petitions and memorials are the only weapons the Congress utilizes and recommends. Why then this outburst of opposition? Are the opponents of the Congress prepared to deny the reasonableness of its prayer for a little reform in the constitution of the Legislative Councils, for a little share in the administration of the country, for a little change in the procedure which is admittedly fitted to make the Police an engine of oppression in the hands of unscrupulous people, for a little relaxation of an Act which affixes the stigma of disloyalty to a loyal people and perpetuates moreover invidious race distinctions? That they are not, may be proved by one circumstance. They never bring forward arguments to set forth the unreasonableness of its demands. They leave this short and easy way behind, and content themselves with declamations and denunciations. They stir up religious animosities, race antagonisms, and prejudices and hatreds, and they think that they have succeeded in demonstrating the righteousness of their cause if they have moved heaven and earth to render the poor Bengalee odious! Let us repeat that the changes advocated by the growing institution are reasonable and peremptorily demanded by the altered circumstances of the country.

Is it difficult to prove that some change in the machinery of state is peremptorily demanded by the altered conditions of life in India? Herbert Spencer's definition of Life, slightly modified, is applicable to political as well as physical life. Why we say *slightly modified* an analysis of the definition will make manifest. Life according to it is the adjustment of internal to external conditions. Here the adaptiveness is in the organism, and mutability in the environment. The environment changes owing to causes immanent in it, and all that the organism does is to adapt itself to its modifications. Or, in plainer terms, the changes in the shifting environment produce corresponding changes in the organism, not *vice versa*. In political life the reverse of this may be realized, and changes in the organism may demand and necessitate changes in the environments, or the internal conditions may be so modified as to render some modification in the external conditions absolutely necessary. The country or the portion of it

influenced or rather revolutionized by Western culture has had its internal conditions noticeably changed. The educated natives have not studied the history of the world in vain. Their knowledge of Grecian history with its arts, sciences and philosophy flour shing under the shade of Governments more or less popular ; of Roman history with its series of Plebeian fights against Patrician exclusiveness crowned with an equality as complete as is attainable in this world ; of English history and its thrilling and by no means bloodless struggles between liberty and prerogative terminating in the preponderance of the one over the other ———their knowledge of the tendency of modern history to territorial enlargement, unification of nationalities, centralization of power and resource, limitation—may we not say *extinction* ?—of absolute power by constitutional checks and representative institutions, elevation of the despised demos, is not fruitless. The great scenes of history and the greater scenes now being enacted under their eyes have revolutionised their political convictions, enkindled in them the flame of large desires and lofty ambitions, and made them anxious to enhance the welfare of their country by devoting their undivided energies to the great work of its political emancipation, or rather by facilitating by their individual exertions the work of emancipation initiated by the Government itself. If a marked change is noticeable anywhere on the surface of the globe, it is noticeable in their internal conditions ; and all that the Government is respectfully and constitutionally requested to do is to adapt itself to the mental revolution accomplished by the intellectual forces it has itself most generously brought in.

The Congress in the third place is a lever fitted to raise the country on one side and the Government on the other. This is a bold assertion, but it is unexceptionably accurate. The ruling classes are scarcely aware of the virtue which goes out of their presence in the country. They are, consciously or unconsciously, willingly or in spite of themselves, exercising a civilising influence over us, as a people. Their intelligence and pluck together with their improved modes of thought and habits of life constitute them in a semi-civilized country like India an uplifting power, and they cannot but attract us towards that fusion with them which many of them contemplate with a shudder. They have already detached a huge block from the population of the country and brought it up nearly to the level of the civilization they themselves occupy ; and *it* has proved an uplifting power. Before long it will draw up another block to its prominence of position,

and then another block, and then another, till the whole country will stream up, so to speak, to the lofty platform occupied by the National Congress. It ought not to be forgotten that the Congress is associated with a political propaganda, not like what has more than once sent war and devastation through the fair provinces of Europe, not like what is now making Ireland a scene of riotous extravagance, but a propaganda which in ways peaceful and by methods slow but sure is spreading knowledge such as is sure to lead to a proper appreciation of the blessings conferred on the country by the Government, and a desire to make them the basis of its gradual political regeneration. The whole country is being divided into districts under the auspices of the Congress and Missionaries are being sent abroad to indoctrinate the popular mind in the ideas and principles by which it is animated. And these ideas and principles are moral levers which will and cannot but lift up the masses of our countrymen to the degree of intelligence and refinement attained by the educated classes in general. In this way civilization has advanced in Christendom, and in this way progress is to be made in this country also. The downward filtration theory of progress may be laughed at, but the history of civilisation in the world proves to a demonstration that it has passed from the region of provisional hypotheses into that of proved generalization.

But how is the Congress to raise the Government also from lower to higher stages of development? The idea of a puny institution like the Congress proving a source of improvement to a Government based on the loftiest of principles, and guided by intelligence and culture of the broadest type may at first sight appear preposterous. But in this, as in many other cases, our first thoughts are not the best. The progressive development of a nation means the progressive development of its government, our enemies themselves being our witnesses. What after all is the gist of their objection to the National Congress? They cannot deny that its aims are praiseworthy, that its methods are constitutional, and that its petitions are reasonable or legitimate in the abstract. Their cry against it, barring of course the charges of sedition which though even in their own opinion false they bandy backwards and forwards only with a view to bring it into disrepute, is—the country is not ripe for it! But the spread of intelligence, a work which the Congress is doing zealously and bids fair to do with even greater zeal and enthusiasm, will even in their opinion make the country ripe for the institution and the political

changes it prays for. And these changes will not only improve the country but bring up the Government from a lower to a higher stage of development. The present form of our Government is not a finality,—the Government is only passing through its incipient stages of evolution. A military despotism may be a crown of glory to Great Britain so long as we continue in a state of tutelage; but if it does not contemplate self-reform or expand into higher forms in proportion as the nation grows into mature manhood, it will be a lasting blot on the escutcheon of that great land. Its own history has been that of an evolution from military despotism into the fairest of constitutions the world has seen, and this evolution has partly grown out of and partly helped forward the expansion of its national mind, or the growth of its intellectual life. And the Indian Government will under its guidance lay aside its despotic garb, and put on the robe of constitutional excellence in proportion as the advancement of knowledge in the country renders such self-reform on its part absolutely necessary. And therefore if the Congress succeed, as it certainly bids fair to do, in raising the country, or rather in helping the Government to raise the country in intelligence and knowledge, it will necessarily raise the Government—what appears preposterous at first sight becomes reasonable when deeply pondered!

As our object is to emphasize the broad, salient points, one more remark will suffice, viz that the Congress is a centre of patriotic enthusiasm, such as has never been witnessed in this land. The patriotic meetings that are now being held over the country, the preparations made, the subscriptions raised, the committees organized and the Missionaries sent abroad,—these all bespeak a unity of purpose, a firmness of determination and an ardour of zeal, the growth of which no friend of India can contemplate without satisfaction. Confining our attention to one city, Lucknow, of which we can speak as eye-witnesses, the ferment which has pervaded all ranks of its people during the last two or three months, may be compared to the excitement which prevails in England during a general election or in America when a President and his Assistant have to be nominated and elected. The excitement of the Madras meetings had scarcely subsided ere Sir Syud Ahmad's now notorious speech was delivered at Lucknow in a crowded meeting. The object the Great Syud had in view was to quash the Congress, create a disunion between Hindus and Mahomedans, and advocate the rights of those who "dined with Dukes and Earls." But if he had foreseen the results which have since been displayed

he would not, we believe, have so rashly jumped into the troubled waters. The friends of the Congress, both Hindu and Mahomedan, rose up as one man, and monster meetings and monster demonstrations have been the order of the day. Two open-air meetings of gigantic proportions have been held on the premises of Mr. Hamid Ali, Barrister-at-Law,—the first with an attendance of about fifteen hundred and the second of two thousand and both representing fairly the nobility, wealth, respectability and intelligence of the town—and Resolutions in favor of Congress have been adopted with acclamation. A special meeting of the Bankers of Lucknow, and one of Mahomedans under the presidency of a Prince of Oudh with an attendance of about fifteen hundred have also been convened with a similar object. The meetings held by the opposite party have with one exception been miserably small and insignificant, and whatever has been realized in these meetings, perfect unanimity or community of sentiment and feeling has not. The exception is a monster meeting of butchers, tailors and domestics got up by designing men by means of false religious alarms, and its intelligence may be gauged by the fact that one of these worthies said in the hearing of the writer, when questioned about Congress, "the Congress is Hamid Ali" and another expressed his wonder that the Pandit whose name was Congress was not present. The enthusiasm originally flowed into Lucknow from Allahabad, and it is moving on in an ever broadening stream to bless and fertilize other cities and towns. There is no killing the Congress!

Numerous objections have been advanced against the Congress, but we will content ourselves with taking notice of a couple of them, the first based on the name it has assumed and the second on its exclusiveness and the enthusiasm noticeable within the range of subjects it has fixed for discussion. Why, it has been said, call it a National Congress when the masses of our countrymen are not even aware of its existence. That the Congress represents the educated classes, not the masses, may be admitted; but the admission does not militate against the august name by which it is designated. Surely a movement which has succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the thinking portion of the population of the country, and which is being rendered more and more popular day by day, and which moreover is sure to be upheld by the masses as soon as their eyes are opened to the benefits it is calculated to confer, has a right to be called national. Add to this the fact that its aims are national in the strictest sense of the

term. Its Resolutions contemplate the welfare of the whole country, not of a race, nation, clan or community. One of them is eminently fitted to set forth its disinterestedness, we mean the one which prays for the exemption from the vexatious Income Tax of all those whose income falls short of a thousand rupees a year. It is clear as noonday that the incomes of almost all the Delegates present were above the line of exemption marked out; and the anxiety shown proceeded from a desire on their part to subordinate their individual interests to those of the people at large. This may also be said of their prayer for exemption under particular conditions from the operation of the Arms' Act, a prayer avowedly offered for the benefit of the masses, who living as they do in districts infested by wild beasts, need arms for purposes of self-defence.

Why, again it has been said, exclude social subjects from its deliberations and discussions. On the same principle on which doctrinal questions and those appertaining to ecclesiastical shibboleths are excluded from union meetings among Christians. Why exclude these topics of interest from Christian reunions? Simply because they would, if introduced, form apples of discord and thereby defeat the very object these meetings have in view. In a similar manner social questions prematurely introduced into the Congress meetings would only create discord and defeat their object. But are not the sores on the social body even more festering than those on the body politic? Yes—but it is a sound principle to begin where cure is practicable, believing that when the curative process is begun and carried on *no* diseased spot will be left intact. Progress, it should not be forgotten, is a unity or what may be called an ubiquitous force; and when progress is realized in one department its healthy influence in others also is and cannot but be felt. The nation cannot make true progress in politics without being dragged, as it were, forward in the direction of social and even religious development; as political life cannot be separated by impassable lines of demarcation from social and religious life.

Before we conclude it is desirable to raise the question—what should be the attitude of Missionaries towards the National Congress? So far as Native Preachers and Native Christians in general are concerned it is too late to raise such a question. They have chosen their side and cast in their lot with the Congress. The Madras meetings represented their community as fairly (perhaps more than fairly) as any community in the country. Between thirty

or forty of the Delegates present were Native Christians elected not by their own community, but by Hindus and Mussulmans, who in this matter have shown a breadth of sentiment worthy of the highest praise. One of the Resolutions adopted was moved by Mr. Subramania, a Native Christian Barrister-at-Law, and seconded by our own Mr. Bannerji ; while Mr. Das of Orissa was one of those who appeared on the platform with appropriate and stirring speeches. Two of the foremost members of the Native Christian Community were unanimously elected as Members of the Standing Committee organized to frame rules for the future election and guidance of Delegates. And Native Christians have been pressed into service at Allahabad, at Lucknow, at Goruckpore and other places. Native Preachers and Native Christian laymen have identified themselves, heart and soul, with the movement, and they have acted, we believe, wisely. If they keep aloof from movements so eminently fitted to raise the country from lower to higher stages of development as the National Congress, their Missionary influence will be crippled ; while the current belief that they have been isolated from their countrymen by an outlandish system of education will receive all the confirmation it is capable of.

It is also too late to raise the above-mentioned question with reference to some Missionaries, the gentlemen who by their presence encouraged the Madras meetings and those who like Mr. Hacket of Allahabad and Mr. Stern of Goruckpore are helping the friends of the Congress by active co-operation. With reference to the body of foreign Missionaries, the attitude maintained may be indicated by the term *immobility*, the complete absence of a move either in its favour or against it. It is not for the writer to affirm rashly that their neutrality ought to be converted into sympathy and co-operation ; and all that he can do is to point to what appears to him *a danger* ahead of us. It is a well known fact that socialism, commission, and nihilism are making capital of what is regarded as ministerial indifference to the trials and struggles of the depressed and impoverished masses in Christendom. A reaction against Christianity leading to various forms of infidelity, if not to daring atheism and antitheism, has been realized in its fair provinces by the unwillingness of Ministers of the Gospel to help the poor in their political and social struggles. And if the green tree has borne such fruits, what will not the dry do ? If in Christendom Christianity is at a discount in some quarters on account of what is construed into an indifference to popular rights on the part of those who expected to be deeply

interested in them, what will be the effect of such indifference in a non-Christian land? It is neither safe nor dignified on the part of Christian teachers to rush into politics; but the fact should not be ignored or overlooked that the Great Master first laid his hands lovingly on the bodies and then on the souls of those who needed His help. It is moreover possible for them to extend their moral support to political movements of a beneficial character without being entangled in the meshes of political agitations.

The Roman Empire is said to have developed the idea of universality in the ancient world. But whether its success was so far-reaching or not, one thing is certain, viz, that broader ideas of unity than had previously been realized, it did succeed in realizing. The idea of universality, or of common humanity needing a common religion adumbrated in the political amalgamation effected by ancient Rome, is now one of the recognized moral forces of the age. That like every other great idea it has a history of its own;—it first appeared in a germinal type after the disruption occasioned by sin, and then gradually developed into maturity, symmetry and completeness; but it has yet to pass from the region of abstractions into that of concrete realities. The changes now in progress throughout the civilized world are eminently fitted to animate us with hope and even to lead us to anticipate its complete realization and among these the political unification of the scattered elements of nations and races, now a universal fact within its environs, occupies the most prominent place, There is not a man with any pretension to breadth of thought who does not contemplate the onward march of the spirit of amalgamation in Christendom with serene satisfaction; and the satisfaction is enhanced when partial unifications are regarded as harbingers of the complete fusion of races, languages and tongues into a holy brotherhood united or knit together by a common religion or a community of beliefs, sentiments, emotions and hopes. And all who are praying for this glorious consummation towards the realization of which all the courts of the world, both great and small, are tending, cannot but rejoice that the educated natives of the country, few and far between though they be, are agitating for the only type of union realizable under present circumstances, and to hope that the apparently fragile foundation they have laid will in time be crowned with a glorious superstructure of union, such as will add a United India to a United Germany and a United Italy and foreshadow the still greater unification of the entire family of man!

R. C. BOSE.

## *FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.*

No. II.

IN the Pouranic age—the brightest epoch in our national history —this system of early marriage seems to have been condemned by the kings and heroes who found it unsuitable to the development of the physique which was considered a *sine qua non* in that age. The system of *Shaiymbara* by which the damsel who had attained full age, had the complete liberty of choosing a bridegroom, was introduced, and the man who succeeded in taking her away from the place of *Shaiymbara* became her legal lord and was respected as one who had won a victory. The hard and fast rules which the doctrine of Manu had imposed on the caste system were much relaxed in the age and inter-marriage prevailed amongst the principal four sects of the nation. So much liberty was given to the girls in this respect, that the issues before marriage, were considered as legal and eligible to inherit property as those which were born after marriage. These habits and customs are similar to those which prevailed amongst primitive men and the aborigines ; and are therefore more congenial to the proper development of the physique of a nation. Amongst the Southals the only aborigines who have yet retained their primitive manners and customs, the system of adult marriage and intermarriage prevail ;— and the consequence is that the nation though wild possesses a physique which is remarkable for strength and endurance.

When the sun of Hindu glory set and the nation lost their independence, the martial habits and customs of the nation fast faded away, and with the darkness of the dungeon and the clanking of fetters, came the Zenana system of the Musalmans, the early marriage of Manu and his rigid classification of castes.

Nature clearly indicates that the marriageable ages of men and women are 30 and 20 years respectively. In colder climates these ages are ordinarily followed, but in India, specially in Bengal, the supporters of early marriage, attribute their necessity to climatic condition which they maintain, render it im-

possible to follow the above named ages. It is unreasonable to attribute our inability to climatic conditions which do not seem to have any effect on the Mahrattas or other nations amongst whom adult marriages still prevail and who nearly follow the ages I have indicated above. It must have struck a very superficial observer that our ladies are becoming smaller in stature and it is difficult to find out a tall woman of the by-gone times. Manu while ordaining early marriages had prescribed two different states in the married life, viz, the marriage which was the irrevocable betrothal, and the second marriage. It was the custom for the couple to live separated during the period which intervened between these two stages, and after the betrothal, years elapsed before the parties met together. These few years were very critical in the lives of the couple who devoted them to the task of self-culture. But this salutary custom seems to be rapidly passing away, and our child-wives now begin to bring forth children at such an early age as 11 or 12 years.

Natural puberty amongst the Hindu girls will not come before the age of 14, as is often practically illustrated from the unmarried girls of Kulin Brahmans with whom it is difficult to dispose of their daughters in suitable matches, according to the hard and fast rules of their caste.

There can be no doubt that the Mahomedans, as a race, are stronger than the Hindus, and they are seen to lead the van in every undertaking which requires physical strength. This is mainly owing to a comparatively less prevalence of early marriage amongst them. Their Holy Koran and other religious books ordain adult marriages, and recognise as a principle that the bride should herself be a major capable of expressing her consent to the marriage. Although polygamy and other causes have degenerated the Mahomedans in India, the prevalence of late marriages amongst them, has yet enabled them to preserve their physical strength. Living as neighbours with the Hindus for a long time, the Mahomedans have adopted the system of early marriage and it is the duty of the leaders of that nation to stop its further progress amongst them.

K. P. SIRCAR.

## *ROISTER DOISTER.*

RALPH ROISTER DOISTER is the principal character of the earliest extant English comedy, whose author, Nicholas Udal, is called by Hallam the "Father of English Comedy. Udal, whose name occurs also in the forms Udall, Woddall, Woodall and Vuedale, was born during the reign of Henry VII, and died two years before Elizabeth became Queen. His attainments were considerable. He is described as a teacher, dramatist, translator, and preacher. The known facts of his life may be briefly summarized thus :— In 1520 A. D. he was admitted a Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford ; in 1824, he took his degree and was elected Probationer Fellow of the College. When Anne Boleyn rode through London from the Tower, to be present at "her most glorious coronation" verses in Latin and in English—the compositions of Udal and John Leland—were read to her. Udal afterwards became Master of Eton College, with a salary of £10 and "extras." If we allow £5 for these "extras," and multiply by 13 (to represent the higher purchasing power of money in those times) Udal's annual salary was about £195, or somewhere about Rs. 200 a month. In 1534, he took his M. A. degree, and about nine months after lost his place because his servant connived at a robbery of plate by two Eton scholars. In Udal's time there did not exist any sentimental objections to the use of the birch. One of his pupils thus apostrophizes his old master :

" From Powles I went, to Eton sent,
To learn straightways the Latin phrase.
Where fifty-three stripes given to me,
At once I had ;
For fault but small, or none at all,
It came to pass thus beat I was ;
See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee
To me, poor lad."

In 1544 he resigned the vicarage of Braintree, to which he had been appointed seven years previously. Meanwhile, from 1542, he

had been engaged with the Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary and others in translating into English a work by Erasmus on the New Testament. His acquaintance with the Princess saved him when she became Queen, and the ascendancy of the Roman Catholics begun; for Udal was a staunch Protestant. In 1555, he became Master of Westminster School, and in December of the next year he died, and was buried in St. Margaret's Westminster.

Such are the facts as given by Mr. Arber in his reprint of *Roister Doister*. Of this play, I propose now to give a slight sketch in the hope that it may induce others to examine the whole work themselves. The old English spelling is not strictly adhered to in the extracts that follow, in order that there may be no unnecessary confusion. The old spelling is something of a hindrance and a stumbling-block to those unaccustomed to it. And this, it would seem, is not the only difficulty. Mr. Arber directs that the play "should be read a first time to learn the plot; a second time to imagine the action: and a third to combine and enjoy the two." But if any reader cares to avail himself of the privilege, now so easily obtained, of reading the first English Comedy, he will certainly "enjoy" it. There is plenty of fun and wit, though, as Hallan remarks, "the wit may seem designed for the purpose of natural merriment rather than critical glory." In the five acts there is not a dull scene. Formed after the Latin models there is a sort of stiffness about the jests which will probably not suit modern tastes quite so much as the uproarious farces of the day. But a change from the "critical glory" of elaborate puns and ingeniously-contrived situations may be not unwelcome.

Before *Roister Doister's* claims to precedence were established, the critics took *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, a play by Bishop Still of Bath and Wells, as the earliest English Comedy. The authorship and Priority of *Roister Doister* was the first literary discovery came upon an old *Logic*, where a letter given in *Roister Doister* was quoted as an instance of Grammatical Ambiguity. In this *Logic*, Udal is expressly named, and thus *Gammer Gurton's Needle* had to be content with a subordinate place. It is interesting to observe that the older play—older by 20 years—is said to be much superior to the other. Exact dates are, however, not obtainable for either play. *Roister Doister* was printed about 1565, but it must have been written during the reign of Henry VII.

The Prologue of the play is first a defence of Comedy, of Modest Mirth as distinguished from scurrility; then, pointing

out how Plantus and Terence wrote their Comedies to convey "Virtuous lore" to the people of their time, the author states that his intention is a similar one. His Comedy is to serve a moral purpose as well as to give food for modest mirth; and this moral purpose is to inveigh against the vainglorious, whose humour is constantly fed by the roysting sort. This moral purpose does not obtrude itself; one hardly thinks of it while reading the play. So that those worthy people who dislike scientific and moral lectures in the guise of fairy tales will have no occasion for alarm.

The curtain rises on Matthew Merygreke, who makes a considerable figure in the play. Matthew is one of those clever hangers-on who are often found with men of means, and who gain a livelihood by practising on the ignorance and folly which frequently accompany wealth. He is a man who is seldom or never depressed by ill-fortune, who is always *merry*. He is improvident, but shrewd and busy. To-day, Matthew is in doubt where he should get his dinner, and decides to fleece Roister Doister, whom he calls his "chief banker both for meat and money," and his "chief shootanker" (sheet-anchor).

Ralph Roister Doister is the personification of vain-glory that Udal proposes to inveigh against, and certainly, if vain-glory can be put down by ridicule, Udal must have now a great triumph. For a more ridiculous object it is hard to find. Roister is a man of small means; he has a small property which he describes to others in the most exaggerated terms. We may picture him as somewhat bulky in appearance; but he is boastful, though at heart timid even to cowardice. Having no useful employment he is always in love, or thinks he is; and he is generally distracted until the object of his caprice becomes his wife, or rather, until he discovers that she will not be his wife. So vain is he of his possessions and his person that he construes the smile and the glance of every woman into a sign of her admiration of him—utterly failing to discern that the smile is one of ridicule and the glance one of curiousity. "Why did God make me such a goodly person?" asks the silly fellow; and Matthew is not slow to feed this burning conceit. He is not ashamed, nay, he glories in being compared to Lancelot, to Hercules, to Hector, to Goliath, Samson, and a host of other worthies. But a petty scrivener insults him with impunity, and the threats of Matthew, his dependent, reduce him to unconditional submission.

Whom should Matthew meet this day but Roister himself, and Roister in one of his moods,—despetate, weary of life, and in-

different to all its comforts? Matthew knows he is in luck, and knows that his dinner is now provided; for Roister's looks tell their own tale. He asks aftily if want of money, or fear of imprisonment, or a threat of a beating has made Roister so disconsolate. No, it is none of these; "*Of love I make my moan*", says Roister. Further enquiry reveals that Roister has been fascinated by the charms of Christian Custance, a widow with a fortune of over a thousand pounds. Matthew points out that she is already promised in marriage to another man, Gawyn Goodluck, and he urges other objections. Finding these of no avail he promises to do what he can on Roister's behalf.

The next scene is a delightful one. Outside the lady's house her muse, Margery Mumblecrust, and her two maids are at work. Old Margery is spinning, Tibet Talkapace sewing, and Annot Alyface knitting. Their names sufficiently indicate their respective dispositions, and indeed all the *dramatis personæ* are "moralities" in disguise. Roister watches the servants unobserved, and listens to their gossip, for it is of their mistress they speak. Tibet is a romp; she hates work, but she hates silence more. Her chatter, and her retorts on Margery who chides her, are admirably conceived. Roister is quite charmed with her readiness and spirit, and rejoices that she will come to dwell in his house——when, of course, he is married to her mistress. Meanwhile they sing, and he listens to their song, It will amply repay quotation :—

"Pipe, merry Annot, &c.
Trilla, Trilla, Trillarie.
What Tibet, what Annot, work Margerie.
Sew Tibet, knit Annot, spin Margerie.
Let us see who shall win the Victorie.

*Tib Talk.*— This sleve is not willing to be sewed I trow,
A small thing might make me all in the ground to throw.

*Then they sing again.*

Pipe, merry Annot, &c.
Trilla, Trilla, Trillarie.
What Tibet, what Annot, what Margerie.
Ye sleep, but we do not, that shall we try.
Your fingers be numbed, our work will not lie.

*Tib Talk.*— If ye do so again, well I would advise you nay.
In good sooth one stop more, and I make holiday.

*They sing the third time.*

Pipe, merry Annot, &c.

Trilla, Trilla, Trillarie.
Now Tibet, now Annot, now Margerie.
Now whippet apace for the masterie,
But it will not be, our mouth is so dry.

*Tib. Talk.*— Ah, each finger is a thumb to-day methink,
I care not to let all alone; choose it swim or sink.

*They sing the fourth time.*

Pipe, merry Annot, &c.
Trilla, Trilla, Trillarie.
When Tibet, when Annot, when Margerie,
I will not, I can not, no more can I.
Then give we all over, and there let it lie.

[*Casts down her work.*]

*Tib Talk.*— There it lieth, the worst is but a curried cote,
Tut, I am used thereto, I care not a groat."

By this time Roister is discovered, and he comes forward. Tibet is not slow to blame his eaves-dropping, which he excuses on the ground of his great love for Christian. "Faith," says Tib contemptuously. "I would our dame Christian saw this gear!" Roister, however, wins over the old muse, who consents to carry a letter from him to her mistress, and to help him in winning her. Yet so infatuated is our "hero" with the delusion of his own surpassing merits, that he loftily requires Christian to "*sue to him*," to "*resort to him for marriage*," in other words, that if she will beseech him to marry her, he will generously condescend to be her husband! The nurse, however, performs her commission faithfully; but Christian summarily forbids any discussion. This closes the first Act.

The second act opens with an address by Dobinet Doughtie, the leader of a band of ragged musicians, something like those, perhaps, who may now be seen wandering about the larger towns of India. Doughtie is now in Roister's service; he has been entrusted with some gifts for Christian Custance, of whose love for him, and of whose willing obedience to his commands, Roister has no doubt. Like Matthew Merygreke, Doughtie indulges in sarcastic allusions to his master's caprices and extravagances. He meets the old nurse, but she, remembering the rebuke she has received from her mistress, refuses pointblank to convey the ring and "the token in a cloute." Doughtie, however, is determined to perform his errand at any cost. Fortunately for him, he meets another servant of the house, Tom Truepeny. Tom is just now in a sulky mood, because he cannot agree with the maids, who

are overbearing in their disposition, and always directing their shafts of wit and raillery against his honest dulness. Doughtie, with judicious reserve, represents himself to these as the servant of Christian's future husband. By this clever stratagem—for while Doughtie thinks of Roister, Tom is thinking of Goodluck—induces Tibet Talkapace (rash girl!) to take the ring and token to her mistress. The other servants accompany her to get their share of thanks. Doughtie returns home.

As might be expected, the servants receive, instead of thanks, a very severe scolding, and they in turn threaten their deceiver with exemplary punishment.

In the next act the laugh is entirely against poor Roister. Matthew has, of course, never accepted Roister's conceited assurance of Christian's love for him, but meeting her, he affects to do so, and ironically reproaches her with her coldness towards so deserving a lover. However, he soon ceases, and forms with her assistance a plot to bring Roister to ridicule. He then returns to Roister, and assures him that Christian had spoken in the most outrageous terms against him. Roister vows a terrible vengeance, but instantly changing his plans, decides to die. The scene is too good to be omitted :—

*Roister*—I will go home and die.

*Merygreke*—Then shall I bid toll the bell?

R.—No.

M.—God have mercy on your soul, ah good gentleman,
That e'er ye should thus die for an unkind woman,
Will ye drink once ere ye go?

R.—No, no, I will none.

M.—How feel your soul to God?

R.—I am nigh gone.

M.—And shall we hence straight?

R.—Yea.

M.—*Placebo dilexi.*

Master Roister Doister will straight go home and die.
Our Lord Jesus Christ his soul have mercy upon :
Thus you see to-day a man, to-morrow John.
Yet saving for a woman's extreme cruelty,
He might have lived yet a month or two or three ;
But in spite of Custance which hath him wearied,
His mastership shall be worshipfully buried.
And while some piece of his soul is yet him within,
Some part of his funerals let us here begin.

*Dirige.* He will go darkling to his grave.
*Neque lux, neque crux, nisi solum* clink,
Never gentleman so went toward heaven I think.

* * *

R.—Heigh ho, alas, the pangs of death my heart do break.
M.—Hold your peace for shame, Sir, a dead man may not speak.
*Nequando* what mourners and what torches shall we have?
R —None.
M —*Dirige.* He will go darkling to his grave.
*Neque lux, neque crux, neque* mourners, *neque* clink,
He will steal to heaven, unknowing to God I think.
*A porta inferi*, who shall your goods possess?
R —Thou shalt be my sectour, and have all more or less.
M —*Requiem æternam* Now God reward your mastership.
And I will cry half-penny dole for your worship.
Come forth, Sirs, hear the doleful news I shall you tell,
Our good master here will no longer with us dwell.
But in spite of Custance, which hath him wearied,
Let us see his mastership solemnly buried.
And while some piece of his soul is yet him within,
Some part of his funerals let us here begin.
*Audivi vocem*, all men take heed by this one gentleman,
How you set your love upon an unkind woman.
For these women be all such mad peevish elves
They will not be won except it please themselves
But in faith Custance, if ever ye come in hell,
Master Roister Doister shall serve you as well.
And will ye needs go from us thus in very deed?
R —Yea, in good sadness
M.—Now Jesus Christ be your speed
Good-night, Roger, old knave, farewell, Roger, old knave,
Good-night, Roger, old knave, knave knap,
Pray for the late master Roister Doister's soul,
And come forth, parish clerk, let the passing bell toll.
Pray for your master, Sirs, and for ring a peal,
He was your right good master, while he was in heal.
*Qui lazarum.*
R.—Heigh ho.
M.—Dead men go not so fast
*In Paradisum.*
R.—Heigh ho.
M.—Soft, hear what I have cast.

R.—I will hear nothing, I am past.

M.—Whough, well away.

Ye may tarry one hour, and hear what I shall say.
Ye were best, Sir, for a while revive again,
And quit them ere ye go.

R.—Trowest thou so?

M.—Yea, plain.

R.—How many I revive being now so far past?

M.—I will rub your temples, and set you again at last.

R.—It will not be possible.

M.—Yes, for twenty pound.

Matthew now incites Roister to a more dignified behaviour. He urges him to play the man, to hold his head erect, and to strut about with a lordly air such as was becoming to a person of his importance. In this way he would meet Christian with better success. When these parties do meet, Matthew pretends to be Roister's friend and spokesman, and upbraids Christian for not accepting his offer of marriage. Then the famous letter is produced, the letter by which Collier discovered the authorship of the play. It is ingeniously written, evidently without any marks of punctuation, and is capable of two opposite meanings, according as it is read. Matthew reads it aloud, and, of course, in the way prejudicial to Roister's interest; thus:—

"Sweet mistress, whereas I love you nothing at all,
Regarding your substance and riches chief of all,
For your personage, beauty, demeanour and wit,
I commend me unto you never a whit.
Sorry to hear report of your good welfare.
For (as I hear say) such your conditions are,
That ye be worthy favour of no living man,
To be abhorred of every honest man.
Nothing at all to virtue giving her due price.
Wherefore concerning marriage, ye are thought
Such a fine Paragon, as ne'er honest man bought.
And now by these presents I do you advertise
That I am minded to marry you in nowise.
For your goods and substance, I could be content
To take you as ye are. If ye mind to be my wife,
Ye shall be assured for the time of my life,
I will keep ye right well, from good raiment and fare,
Ye shall not be kept but in sorrow and care.
Ye shall in nowise live at your own liberty,

Do and say what ye lust, ye shall never please me,
But when ye are merry, I will be all sad.
When ye are sorry, I will be very glad.
When ye seek your heart's ease, I will be unkind.
At no time, in me shall ye much gentleness find
But all things contrary to your will and mind,
Shall be done: otherwise I will not be behind
To speak. And as for all them that would do you wrong
I will so help and maintain, ye shall not live long;
Nor any foolish dolt, shall cumber you but I.
I, who ere say nay, will stick by you till I die.
Thus good mistress Custance, the Lord you save and keep,
From me Roister Doister, whether I wake or sleep.
Who favoureth you no less, (ye may be bold)
Than this letter purporteth, which ye have unfold."

"By the arms of Calais," protests Roister, "it is none of mine"; and if any reader should care to take the trouble, he may so punctuate the letter as to bring out a very different reading. Christian, however, will not hear of any further talk of marriage. She is already promised to another. When she goes away, Roister is disconsolate until Matthew proposes vengeance.

The next two acts show the mischief caused by Roister's foolish love. Goodluck's servant comes to Christian with news of his master's coming. Unluckily, he meets Roister and his company marching to destroy Christian and to pull down her house. Hearing a ring and a letter mentioned, and noticing the impudently familiar manner of Roister's talk with Christian, he returns to his master full of suspicion and mistrust. But Christian has a friend on whose help and counsel she can always rely; and he, Tristram Trusty, engages to bear witness of her constancy, and also, to protect her from any future annoyance from Roister and his crew.

Meanwhile this silly company advance against the house in true battle array. Roister is great in the art of war, and once, at a critical moment, he orders his men to retire, lest they should be utterly undone! The reason is, he, as commander, lacks a headpiece? this is readily supplied by substituting "the kitchen collocavit" for the usual armour, and the war begins with drums beating and banners waving. The defending garrison consists mainly of women, but they are equal to the emergency. No one of them shows fear. Tibet indeed talks of setting the goose against the Captain. And after a short engagement in which Roister fares badly, the besiegers are totally routed.

Goodluck arrives shortly after, and everything is set right. His affianced wife is proved to be a "pearl of perfect honesty." Matthew patches up the quarrel, still feeding Roister's vanity by the most audacious inventions, and the play ends with a supper and a prayer for the welfare of Her Majesty the Queen Elizabeth.

Some apology is owing to the readers of this magazine for the length of this article but it is difficult to conclude without an expression of sympathy for poor, foolish Roister! He is perhaps only the personification of a vice or fault that is only too common. And yet, we forget that in the truth and closeness with which the author has represented him. The lighthearted Tibet talk-apace will to many appear the most attractive character of the play. Christian is the ideal of a constant and devout woman. Matthew is a knave whom we laugh with, and at the same time despise. But Roister, after all, claims our sympathy. He is as much sinned against as sinning. If we laugh at his egregious vanity, we feel that the fault is not wholly his own, but mainly that of his flatterers. He commands the lady to "sue to" him; but when he meets her he is completely subdued and suppliant. It is to be hoped this affair of his taught him wisdom for the future. There are not wanting indications of a change in this respect. "No, I am a poor homely man as God made me," he says when Matthew urges him on, and flatters his goodly person. And we may also hope that, later on, he found some more willing dame, whose affections were not previously engaged, and who had tact and influence enough to teach him that self-knowledge is the best corrective to vanity. We part from him with some feeling of goodwill.

"Good-night, Roger, old knave; farewell, Roger, old knave.
Good-night, Roger, old knave, knave, knap."

L. E. BLAZE.

## *EXCHANGE.—ENGLAND'S SUICIDAL POLICY PRODUCING ITS OWN RUIN.*

Why has silver fallen? What makes it fall? These are questions we hear every day, but do we ever stop to think whether silver has really fallen or whether it is that gold has become more valuable and has thus depreciated silver. Is England gaining or losing by it? Which country is the gainer, the silver-working country or the gold-working country? To people in general it wou'd appear that the gold working-country is the gainer. Is this really so? England is a gold working-country because gold is its legal tender, its coinage is in sovereigns and shillings and the law has laid it down that 20 shillings equal a sovereign, but a sovereign will now buy nearly 30 shillings weight of silver. What are 20 shillings really worth? Are they as silver really worth a sovereign? Now they are not. To test this take 20 shillings out of the country, melt them down and have them recoined in some other coin of another realm, and then try and purchase a sovereign; you will undoubtedly be much surprised to find that your 20 shillings worth of silver will not really buy a sovereign. If you had told this to the ordinary Britisher he would laugh at you, he knows that his shilling is worth 1-20th part of a sovereign in the country, and he can't and wont see that it can be worth less when it is recoined out of the country. The shilling as regards its value is a mere token now and not the 1-20th part of a sovereign.

How does this affect England generally?

The wealth of England is in the hands of men of many classes—landed proprietors, men living on retired incomes derived from professional or trading work, and those who earn incomes by producing manufactured articles and selling the same by exportation to other countries. The wealth of England was originally brought to its present high standard and position by manufacture and trade in manufactured articles—by importing raw produce and exporting

manufactured articles. At present its vast income is more largely derived in consequence of its great name and its having become a place of resort and residence of a large number of the wealthy men of the world who take their incomes to England and spend them there; consequently the settled wealth in the country now far exceeds that of the wealth derived from manufacture, trade and sale of manufactured articles. Nevertheless the manufacturer is the backbone of the wealth of the country, and if you ruin him you will eventually ruin England. Now if the manufacturer is really one of the main supports of the country—let us see how this question of exchange affects him. We will call him the gold-working manufacturer in contradistinction to the silver-working manufacturer, or the manufacturer who works in silver—let us say an American manufacturer, as his is a silver coinage.

Taking the English manufacturer first, he comes to this country and buys raw produce. Gold being appreciated he is enabled to buy nearly £3 worth of raw produce for £2, say with the rupee at its present value 1s. 4d. As his 2 sovereigns will buy Rs. 30 worth of raw produce he certainly gains here. He takes his raw produce home, and in his factory, he pays his working hands in gold and silver below par and in value compared with gold in the rates of 3 to 2; so he pays £3 for £2 worth of work; when his articles are manufactured he has then to pay freight and insurance still in the same ratio and consequently loses again; and finally he has to sell in a silver market and gets ½d less for every sovereign's worth of manufacture. When you come to consider that he has paid a third more than a silver-working country does for the labour and manufacture of the article, the only wonder is how he manages to carry on.

On the other hand, the American manufacturer comes to this country, buys raw produce, he pays in silver at its market value so neither gains nor loses. Here you may say England has the advantage, as she gains in buying raw produce, but you must remember that the raw produce is nothing in value compared to the manufactured article. He then takes his raw produce to America, and has it manufactured, and pays his men in silver at its market value, and so gets his money's worth and labour. Then the freight and insurance are paid in silver again at the same rate and he finally sells in the silver market which is his own market; all through he has been the gainer, except as regards the raw produce, and he sells at a considerable advantage compared with England, because the exchange does not affect him. The

American can manufacture an article much cheaper than the Englishman can, and can so afford to sell at a less price.

What has been the inevitable result of this? The result is that English manufactured articles have been almost crushed out of the market here. The competition is so keen, that one country undersells the other, and America has driven us as far as we can go, and she still has us in hand as she can manufacture cheaper than we can. With all this before its eyes, England will not or cannot see where the root of the evil is; she jumps at all sorts of conclusions, one of the most brilliant being, that if she got rid of the import duties in India it would help to set things right. Manchester insisted on having them removed urging that it was ruining the trade of England. They have been removed. England has gained nothing more by it than any other nation as it benefitted all. India on the other hand was deprived of a large portion of her revenue which she wanted badly enough and has had an income tax put on her—all to gratify the selfishness of Manchester. The only result of this move is that India has another burden thrust on her back which was formerly borne by other nations, and English trade is none the better for it.

Not only is English trade affected here, but in England itself, as foreign countries crowd our markets with their goods and undersell us in our own ground, the Englishman cannot make out how they can do this. The reason they can do so is that their cost of manufacture is much less than ours.

The trade of England is being ruined by the fall of silver. It also works a great hardship on people in India having to send remittances home.

Why has the rupee fallen in value? The first answer is because England will persist in calling a shilling the $\frac{1}{20}$ th of a sovereign and using it as such, when it is not so, the shilling now being merely a token.

The second is in trying to work a dependency by two distinct sets of coinage, one at home and one here, by Government paying its servants in gold when they ought to be paid in rupees; and forcing foreign coined silver into the British market when it has no currency to purchase British coined gold, by the Secretary of State for India selling Indian Bills, to the highest bidder.

How can the rupee be raised?

To raise the rupee, silver must be given its proper value in England, and must not be used as a token. The sovereign will buy 30 shillings worth of silver. English gold is 3: 2 in relative value to silver;

silver in England, being now a token, is 2 : 3 in its relative value to gold. This being so, why does England persist in continuing to use silver in this absurd way when it is ruining its trade and commerce. The reason is obvious. The wealthy classes in power in England will not or cannot see, and it is against their interest to see the injury that England will derive by this false currency in coin ; for being men of wealth they find the value of gold, bring foreign articles and generally to a large profit to themselves, naturally they cannot see any fault in the coinage.

Now, as the sovereign is really worth considerably more than 20 shillings, why don't the Government make it so? There are two methods which would at once suggest themselves, either make 30 shillings equal the sovereign or reduce the size of the sovereign. The latter course is the best to adopt as it would not interfere with tables, book-keeping, etc. Let Government buy in all the old sovereigns at their real value, let us say 30 shillings in the sovereign. Government can do it—as they can buy silver at its market value, and as well not lose; having bought in all the old sovereigns let them declare a new and reduced sovereign to be current coin for all th British territories in the world—the rupee and florin a legal tender at 10 for the sovereign and the shilling and eight annas a legal tender at 20 for the sovereign, and this will keep the present sovereign while current at £ 1, 10 and the half sovereign at 15 shillings. To make this also work in India call in all the rupees and eight annas and circulate in lieu thereof florins and shillings designating them as rupees and 8 annas. This will be an advantage to all England ; for it would realize the value of every man's property in coin to one-third more ; it will benefit the manufacturer; he will then be paying actual value for the cost of manufacture, instead of paying ⅔rds more as he does now, and it will enable him to compete on a par with other countries. It will not injure commerce or the keeping of books and will do good to all.

The method is simple enough—merely reduce the weight of gold and issue a sovereign of a less weight than the present one. It may be said that giving 30 shillings for every sovereign would create a plethora of silver currency in shillings, but this would soon right itself as the shillings would be paid in for the purchase of new sovereign and gold would still be the currency. Surely it is suicidal policy to coin sovereigns of the present standard weight—when gold is the current coin, and thereby virtually lose 1 in every 3, and to insist that 20 shillings go to a sovereign when the sovereign is really worth 30 shillings, and thus to fancy that you possess all the

power of the world in gold when you do not turn that power rising out of appreciation of gold by purchasing it in and attaining the profit which it is now able to yield.

It seems simply ridiculous that now England has the chance of working such good use of her gold that she does not do so. England's present policy is not unlike the man, who possesses a quantity of valuable diamonds which he is unable to sell at their value and keeping them stored up in a box, and then boasting that he is enormously wealthy; when he cannot and does not apply his wealth to any advantage.

That the policy of England is suicidal, you have only to turn to America, a country worked by silver, and see its flourishing state by means of its almighty dollar; it still retains its value in America, though the Britisher thinks it less in value than his coined gold.

It will be impossible to restore equlibrium by keeping the sovereign at its present value with regard to its own silver in the country and trying to bi-metalise it with other nations: silver will continue to fall in value so long as the country offers foreign coined silver which has no currency in the British market, to purchase in England British coined gold, by the Secretary of State for India selling Indian bills. Money of both countries must be of equal currency value to keep the market steady. England has in itself power over the exchange of the world in its own wealth and has only to set the lead and restore gold to an equilibrium value, and on her doing this, the rest of the world must follow suit.

ZŒTA.

## *REFORM OF THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.*

The partisans of the National Congress, are demanding the same reform for the Bengal Legislative Council as they do for the Allahabad Council, compared with which the National Congress is a time-honoured institution. They demand the same reform for the Supreme Council as they do for the Provincial Councils.

The difference between the Supreme Council and the Provincial Council is as great as that between the Provincial Council and the urban Municipalities. So the National Congress shall have to modify this part of their creed. If we have two-thirds of the members elected by the rate-payers, and the Chairmen elected by members for the Municipalities, the National Congress has wisely asked for one-half of the members elected, and the President and the remaining members officials and nominated for the Provincial Councils. On reflection they may further reduce their demand of reform of the Supreme Council and be satisfied with asking one-third of the members elected, one-third nominated officials, or non-officials, and the remaining third *ex-officio*.

I do not see any signs of a demand for Legislative Council for the Punjab *by our Punjabi friends* ; so I shall drop the consideration of that question.

If Sir Syad Ahmed cannot venture to be elected by the Musalman Members of the Municipalities and District Boards, or the Maharaja of Benares and the Raja of Bhinga by the Hindu Members of the same Corporations, and if this be the opinion of the bulk of the well-to-do people in the N. W. Provinces and Oude, I do not think that question need be considered further. After 25 years of trial of the nomination system, such as the Bengal Council has passed through, the Allahabad Council may be reformed on the basis on which it is proposed to reform the Bengal Council.

Madras and Bombay are so far away, and we know so little of them, that I need not discuss whether their Legislative Councils are fit to receive half a dozen of elected members.

It cannot be denied that the National Congress is profiting by public criticism. The foremost resolution of the Congress is the reform of the Legislative Councils. In a few meetings that were held in the Mofussil, the demand was put forth for having two-thirds of the members elected, so that Government might be in a permanent minority. The proposal was so absurd that in the meetings held lately, the demand has been for having not less than half of the members elected.

Now who are to be the persons that will elect these members? The Anglo-Indians who have invested capital in Tea-gardens, Indigo-factories, Cotton, Jute and Paper Mills, and Steam Navigation, and are generally engaged in Commerce and Trade, are as important a class of people as the Musulmans or even the Hindus. This may not be easily conceded by those who cannot imagine what the country would be without them. These Anglo-Indians would like to elect their own members.

The Musalmans form nearly a third of the entire community in Bengal. So they want that they should elect half as many members as may be elected by the Hindus. This demand is founded upon the highest justice We have already Dr. Amir Ali issuing a manifesto in which he has demanded a fair representation of the Mahomedan Community in the Legislative Councils. In Bengal this must be done either by Government or on behalf of the Mahomedan Community or by the Musulman Members of the Municipalities and District Boards.

As to the Hindus the demand is general that one half of the members should be elected by the people.

We have now 12 members in the Bengal Legislative Council. We shall say that the number has been increased to 16, and it has been decided to have 8 members elected by the people.

Now, if two members be elected by the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades' Association, which non-official Anglo-Indians accept as their representatives, two members by the Musalman members of the Municipalities and District Boards, and four members by the non-Musulman and non-European members of the same Corporations, will the partisans of the National Congress be satisfied?

The 9 Revenue Divisions may be divided into 4 circles for the Hindu Members, and into two circles for the Musulman

Members. The Bhagulpore and Patna Divisions with Chota Nagpore may form one circle, Burdwan and Presidency Divisions with Orissa may form a second circle; Dacca and Rajshahye Divisions with Chittagong may form a third circle, and Calcutta a fourth circle.

Hitherto Calcutta had practically a monopoly of the membership of the Legislative Councils. Let the leading and guiding spirits of Calcutta realise what the effect of the election system will be upon them. If Calcutta alone were to elect as many members as may be elected by three Divisions of Rajshahye, Dacca and Chittagong, or by the three Divisions of Presidency, Burdwan and Orissa, or by the three Divisions of Patna, Bhagulpore and Chota Nagpore, the residents at Calcutta cannot reasonably complain that their interests will not be sufficiently represented. Hitherto be it remembered, that Calcutta has ruled Bengal, just as Paris rules France. The election system will materially change this position. If the leading men of Calcutta advocate election, let them do so intelligently. Let them take no leap in the dark, break their legs, and then curse the *Bangals*, Uriahs and *Chhatu-Khors* (Beharis) when these people will fully exercise the privilege which the franchise, will confer upon them. During the first few years the Mofussilites may elect the leading men of Calcutta, but it is perfectly certain when they have appreciated the value of the right they will elect their own countrymen.

I strongly recommend the partisans of the National Congress to carefully peruse the discussion which followed the introduction of the Reform Bill by Mr. Disraeli. They will be informed that it is possible to manipulate the constitution in such a way as to neutralise the good effects which the reform is expected to bring out. We have no opposition here which will be able to combat the introduction of what one called fancy votes or faggot votes.

The National Congress should have clearer notion about the constituency that will elect these members. The mere graduates, as such, shall have no qualification of votes. A University degree is no test of moral character and of property. The number of persons who became graduates by begging, that is to say, who meet their educational expenses by begging and borrowing is not small. So graduates, as such, should have no qualification as voters.

The voluntary associations like the Indian Association, and the Zemindar's Association, the Central Mahomedan or Mahomedan Literary Association, the National Chamber of Commerce, Health

Society, the Anglo Indian Defence Association, Bengali Ladies' Society &c. &c. should have no voting power.

They may disappear in a short time ; rival Associations may rise side by side of them ; they may not represent the people they profess to do.

The only people that Government may accept as constituents would be those in whom they have confidence themselves, or who may shew by tangible and unmistakable proofs that the people have confidence in them. Such people are the members of the Municipalities and Districts, nominated by Government and elected by the rate-payers.

The Raja of Bhinga, a landed proprietor himself, says that, "the landed aristocrat form the natural leaders of the people." The intellectual aristocracy and the mercantile aristocracy may not admit this proposition without qualification. Whether the proposition be correct or not, the British Government has made a strong effort, through the creation of Bengali Zemindars and Oude Talukdars and by giving them both property and titles, so that the landed aristocracy may become the natural leaders of the people. With this belief Government have given the membership of Legislative Councils to any landed proprietor who has a modicum of education. If the list of the members of the Legislative Councils for the last 20 years be scrutinized, it will be found that nearly 75 per cent of the native members were landed proprietors with a moderate amount of education. They are nicknamed, and I think ui justly, " aristocratic noodles " who are said to represent nobody but themselves. Let this class fully bear in mind that any membership of the Legislative Councils will not be so easily obtained under the election system as it is now. The Raja of Bhinga and the Maharaja of Benares have fully realised the position. But do the Zemindars of Bengal fully appreciate their position in future?

The election system will bring about a thorough displacement of the political power. In times gone by the Brahmins had the monopoly of it. Under the English Government the landed aristocrats (creation of the English Government) have had the monopoly of it. Under the election system, the class of people who combine wealth and education shall have the lion's share to this political power.

If the prayer of the National Congress be granted that is to say if the member of the Bengal Council be raised to 16, and two members be elected by the European community, two by the Mahomedan community, and four by the Hindu community, can any body point out what material difference will the change

make in the actual result? Shall we have better members than Kristo Das Pal, Anand Mohun Bose, Mohendra Lal Sarcar, and Ganga Das Banerjee under the election system? Is it not quite possible that we may have worse men?

The educated middle class, that is persons who have property as well as education, should carefully examine into this question. Will the efforts they are making now for a partially elected council be justified by the result?

The partisans of the Congress would have one-fourth of the members *ex-officio*, and they would allow Government to nominate another fourth. It is perfectly certain that Government will take care to nominate such officials who are certain of supporting them through thick and thin, so that they (Government) may successfuly meet any combination of the elected members. This result of Government nominating persons who are to give them an invariable support has not, it seems, entered the head of Mr. Hume or Mr. Bonnerjee, as they talk on behalf of the elected members, of having a majority and appealing to the Governor-General in Council, if the decision be not accepted by Government.

In all matters which will concern the prestige of the British Government and of the Indian Civil Service, it is certain that the elected European members will give their support to Government. It may be equally certain that they will support Government, when such support does not affect their own community.

If this be so, Government shall have a majority of 10 against 6. But is it certain that the elected members shall have even such a large majority?

Here I came to discuss a question which is touchy. It is urged that the nomination system makes people servile to Government, who nominate them, and that if members were elected by the people, they would faithfully represent the latter.

I am afraid this expectation will not be realised. What the Natives generally care are titles and honours. Provided they have got these with the addition of private entré to Governor General's levee, they do not care, as a rule, how the interests of their country fare. If this has been the case under the nomination system, this will continue under the election system.

There will be always a number of elected members supporting Government just as the nominated members have done on matters which according to their constituents they should oppose. There is no remedy to this. An elected member will give his support to the Press Gagging Act, or to the Salt Duties, get his title and retire.

Accepting—I had almost said, Bengali nature—but I shall say, human nature what it is, it is within the range of probability that two elected members, and it is perfectly certain that one elected member, will in average support Government even on those questions on which the feelings of the people are well-known.

So you shall have 11 members siding with Government while 5 members will side with the opposition.

But the Mahomedan leaders have already sounded their war-note in an unmistakable way. They will vote solid with Government, so that they may deserve the special favour which Government is shewing to them. The present generation of the Mahomedan leaders is pledged to the divine right of Government to the invariable support of the Mahomedan members.

Now if the Mahomedan members will follow the example of Raja Rampal Sing's cousin, raising their thumbs, when Sir Steuart Bayley raises his, and lowering them when he lowers his, let the partisans of the Congress imagine what the result of the election system will come to.

I have clearly shewn how certain it is that Government will be always in the majority, and the elected minority will be as weak and unreliable as the nominated minority has been.

If Government be ever in the minority it will be by the Government members voting against themselves. But with the constitutional opposition to face on every question, the nominated and official members shall have no longer the privilege of voting against Government. Their choice will be between resignation of memberships and supporting Government. This will be one invariable of the election system.

If then Government will be ever in the minority, it must be by their own permission and Sir Steuart Bayle's successor may then, as Mr. Disraeli professed to do often, guide himself by the "unerring instincts of the House of Commons."

Let nobody think I am putting the official view. I write this not to please my superior officer, who is a Tory of Sir Richard Garth's type, and who, if he were appointed the Secretary of State, would reduce the India Office to the scale of the Colonial Office, would stop the Hill exodus and make Government and their councillors work as hard as he works himself, would buy Government stores and stationary from Indian mills and the Anglo-Indian merchants, and who in spite of all these opinions calls himself Tory, the term Conservative being not sufficiently expressive of the depth of his feelings.

A BENGALEE OFFICIAL.

# *ACKNOWLEDGMENT.*

## NANDA-BIDAYA.

"NANDA-BIDAYA, a scenic play by the author of *Adarsha-Sati*, intended for representation on the stage of the Emerald Theatre, is a little production of exquisite dramatic genius, conceived in the right spirit to produce the most beautiful effects by an appeal to the eye, the ear and the mind. The story is taken from Hindu mythology, and the title of the play hinges on the farewell of Srikrishna to Nanda, when after the death of Kangsa, Krishna expresses his desire to stop at Mathura with his brother Balaram to the great mortification of Nanda, and begs him to return to Brojodham with his retinue. The author cannot lay any claim to originality as regards the plot, nor can he come in for much praise for the development of the characters, inasmuch as the plot as well as the characters are familiar ; but yet the author is entitled to great encomiums for the happy selection of the subject, the delightful conception of Krishna as the embodiment of infinite love and infinite goodness, the loving God and the playful shepherd boy, for the exquisitely musical songs full of the outpourings of the heart, and the charming pastoral scenes, which in their combined effects have filled the book with all that is simple yet sublime, with love, faith, refinement and idyllic picturesqueness. The love of Nanda and Joshoda for Krishna and Balaram is highly pathetic and instructive, the piety of Akrur is a golden vein running through the whole. The youthful frolics and innocence of the shepherd boys, their strong and ardent attachment to *Kanai* and *Balai* are indeed very happy pictures. The character of Krishna is many-sided and yet harmonious; few can fathom its deep meaning and exact significance, its philosophy surpasses the comprehension of ordinary mortals. We give the book our most cordial welcome and congratulate the *Emerald Theatre* on the production of this on its board.

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# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

NEW SERIES.

No. 9.—SEPTEMBER 1888.

## *AMATEUR ACTING IN INDIA.*

"THE amateurs of the Presidency" so writes the correspondent of an up country paper "are about to break out again, and the play they have chosen is a most unfortunate one."

In this damaging strain by means of a short paragraph in its local news, did a leading Presidency newspaper once herald the representation of a piece almost unprecedented in its success on the Indian amateur stage. For the management of amateur plays generally no doubt the lines contain a wholesome moral, but in the case in question the reminder was unnecessary and undeserved.

The suggestion intended to be conveyed was that the amateurs for their own amusement and exhibition were once more to emerge from a modest and suitable obscurity, and place themselves in evidence in the glare of the gas floats and the foot lights and when there to bore a good natural audience in the stalls and boxes consisting chiefly of their friends. The piece would be a financial failure, and with the usual perversity of amateur management it had even been hastily and unfortunately chosen. The criticism of course implied that if the piece did happen to be a success, the taste of the audience might reasonably come under suspicion. Taking the hasty and unfulfilled prophecy above noted as my text, I propose to say a little concerning amateur acting in India.

The choice of a piece depends on two main considerations. Those are the taste of the audience, and the *métier* and capacity of the actors. In up country stations indeed where the

number of people able and willing to act is small, the piece depends almost entirely on the latter. But in a presidency town or a large hill station, the taste of the playgoing public comes in prominently. Of this I will give an example. At present both in Calcutta and Simla while the best acted play, meaning comedy, cannot expect a run, burlesque and opera bouffe are certain to draw. Gilbert and Sullivan's operas have had a most successful career in Calcutta, and burlesque finds a sympathetic home in Simla. The Sorcerer, Pinafore, Mikado and Patience have all been put on the Calcutta boards by amateur companies in the last few years and all with marked success. Simla enjoys itself with Blue Beard, Alladdin, and Villikins and his Dinah. At both places Comedy is out of fashion, and most unfortunately so, for there is much talent left unemployed that while able to act very well indeed in comedy, is not gifted with a voice and ear for music. But there is the fact. Though Calcutta for example has unequalled advantages for comedy, comedy does not draw, and opera does. Burlesque will no doubt very soon be played in Calcutta by amateurs, but in face of the advantages to be found there for a more legitimate business it is not likely permanently to take the place of opera. A burlesque of "*She*" by a clever local musician and play-wright is talked of, and if produced, with the strong cast at his command, will certainly be a success. At the same time the *Cloches de Corneville* is in preparation, and will no doubt shortly be announced. Judging from the past, if the latter is only properly cast and managed, as there is every reason to believe it will be, the *Cloches* should be a greater success in Calcutta than *She*. Calcutta audiences are fully able to appreciate good music, and this being the case they are more likely to go again and again to hear original music, than the applied second-hand music of burlesque. "*Patience*," an opera based on a craze long since died away, and its best parts incorporated into daily life, owed its success in Calcutta to its musical rendering before every thing. There are a large number of play goers in Calcutta who are musical and who like music. And opera in Calcutta will therefore always draw and there being much musical talent is sure of being well rendered. I mention these matters as instances of what should guide a management in selecting a piece. In Calcutta where besides plenty of good voices there is a distinct liking and taste for music in the pit and cheaper parts of the house, and moreover a large proportion of ladies in the stalls and boxes, *opera* is the thing to amuse, to draw. Simla's naive taste for burlesque is somewhat incomprehensible except it be explainable

by want of space and musical direction for opera. For burlesque is to opera what farce is to comedy.

Upcountry where means are limited all round comedy may find a home, or, failing much talent, farce.

The general taste of the play going public being duly considered and the locality providing talent to meet it, the actors come next in order. The piece being selected, has to be cast. I presume either that a stage manager has been appointed, or that he is himself the management. In the latter case his numerous duties will prevent him taking a part. As he is probably a leading actor this is unfortunate, and for heavy pieces a separate business management is desirable. The Stage Manager can then act with a clear conscience if he wishes to do so. If there is no *Impressario* or *Beneficiaire* whom the acting or business manager directly represents, a Committee may take the place, but they will do well to place all their powers in one man's hands. The *Impressario, Beneficiaire* or Committee should invite the proposed players to join; the Stage Manager casting the piece, and the management issuing invitations accordingly. And by the time the right people have got into the right places and all is ready to start rehearsals, some considerable time has elapsed, and the piece itself not improbably changed.

Casting a piece entirely depends on foreknowledge of people's capacities, and in the case of those making their first appearance, on the intuitive perceptions of the Managers. Some Managers are noted for their judgment in this respect, and their nominees are always successful. Of course they must have been acquainted with the *débutants* or *débutantes* socially for some time before. Managers will do well never to take people entirely at their own valuation; but on the other hand, to cast the piece strictly for the business to be done without fear or favour.

There is no more delicate and wholly disturbing task than to have to pass over one pretty woman for another better qualified. If the former is a friend, and keenly expectant of the coveted part, the duty is especially dispiriting. The lady, whom you admire extremely, turns up her pretty nose at the part selected for her, is sure it will never suit her, and hints that you do not know much either about her capacity or that of the lady preferred. It is well if she does not say her husband does not much care about her acting at all. There is however sometimes a really distressing thing to be done. It is when a charming woman has by accident or misapprehension been cast for a good part for which she is not suited. The musical director, a practical

man, will have none of her. The rest of the company murmurs, gently at first, but more and more loudly as time goes on. The Stage Manager gives her up, and the management has to do its duty. Well for you then, if you do not lose a friend for life. She will not wait of course to be asked to go. She knows what is coming and graciously withdraws, but she will not forgive the mistake for a long time.

But at last the piece is cast, the chorus, if it is a musical piece, arranged, the voices equalized as much as may be to the requirements of the score. And rehearsing begins in earnest. One matter only need be mentioned in respect to the business aspect of rehearsing. It is that in musical pieces once the music is thoroughly mastered, and in all plays as soon as the players are letter perfect, with amateurs the less rehearsing there is the better. And during rehearsals, as soon as the Stage Manager has given as much instruction as should in his private opinion be enough, it is far best to leave the actors for the last two or three rehearsals alone, and to their own devices. I speak of amateurs only. I have found them easily bothered by too much teaching, and tired by too much rehearsing. A great deal can be left to their intelligence. It is a great mistake also I think to teach them too much mechanical stage action. They are not likely to be ungraceful, and if they are it cannot be helped; while a graceful amateur whether lady or gentleman is all the more so if natural. I know excellent stage managers who will not agree with me in this, but go on placing people's hands and feet and eyes and head up to the last minute of rehearsal. But with all diffidence, I venture to say this over-anxiety is a mistake. Allowing for exceptions, a few simple rules of position, comportment and voice, and the places required by the play can be taught, and the rest left to native grace and intelligence.

Music is different. That must be correct; and I am aware that particular exceptions can be pointed out to what I say above even for comedy. Allowing for exceptions I beg to claim the rule as a good one.

The stage capacities of a place for acting plays must ordinarily largely control the choice of a piece. Opera, burlesque in a less degree, and large pieces of the legitimate drama, without going as far as Shakespeare, but including such famous plays as "She Stoops to Conquer" and the "School for Scandal" both eminently suited to amateurs, require large stages, and room for scenic effect and change. Out of door scenes, exteriors as they are called, on a small stage especially have a very poor effect. Opera

requires more than this again. A musical direction of high skill and experience is an essential to successful opera. There must be a good orchestra of six or seven instruments. You must have your band parts all ready, and there must be an accomplished *pianiste* who can accompany all the rehearsals. The full band is required only for a few days before the dress rehearsal. But a patient, painstaking, and faultlessly accurate accompaniment on the piano, is from the very beginning of the preparation a *sine qua non.* Opera then requires other things which make it more difficult to put on than comedy. A long time is required for preparation. Two months is not too much for a management to reckon on for a faultless representation, and even then the stage manager and musical director may be in despair a week before the day advertised. But that is of little consequence if the training has been good. Amateurs improve rapidly at the last. A large expenditure must be faced with the best management, no good opera having to pay all dressing and band charges, and to hire a theatre, can expect to escape under Rs. 4000 for a 6 or 7 days run. A theatre has to be hired for a month, for once the choruses are trained, rehearsals progress much more rapidly on the actual boards than elsewhere. The actors get to know the stage early, a great point.

Burlesque is in all respects easier than Opera, the music is better known, more commonplace, and more catching, and there is more dancing. Regarding dancing it should be said that operas with dancing go better than those without it. And Burlesque has a great advantage in this respect. Audiences thoroughly appreciate pretty amateur dancing, which can be introduced *ad lib* into burlesque.

Comedies, except in one vital respect, are the easiest to put on the stage. But this one respect is of the first importance, and when very high class plays are proposed sometimes presents insuperable difficulties. Whenever a run is necessary to meet high expenditure, and always before critical audiences (and what good amateur actor cares to play before any other) high class acting, and what is very difficult to get in India in a large company, a level cast, are required. No amateur play should be badly mounted. The scenery should be fresh and appropriate. The dresses pretty and new: not necessarily expensive but they should look so. The make-up should have strict care and attention, and amateur make-up avoided. Too much attention cannot be given to the comforts of amateur actors behind the scenes. Usually these matters are sadly neglected. The ladies should

always have a separate and comfortably furnished green room of their own, with their dressing rooms adjoining. None of the Calcutta theatres provide this, and temporary arrangements have to be made as may be possible. Expenditure in all these directions is well laid out. Ladies are very grateful to a management that considers them in this respect.

'A management in considering the play has to look closely to results, and first it has to look to financial results. Great cost may ensure some success, but extravagance generally means bad management, and loss means grief. Civil as theatre lessees and others ministering to theatricals are, they would not stand not being paid. They will give credit, but every account should be paid up within a week of the last performance. Over-economy, parsimony, on the other hand. may tell in the opposite direction to profit by failing to get good work done. From Rs. 4000 to Rs. 4500 should be estimated for and should be spent on an opera, and perhaps half as much upon a comedy. Dress pieces of course cost a little more than plays of Robertson's school. This expenditure should include everything, and a few things it does not include like furniture for a Governor's box, or European assistance in the dressing rooms, can be secured by complimentary tickets to the firms concerned. The expenditure includes the theatre, lighting, dresses, wigs and make-up, box office, ticket check and inspection, ushers, prompter, scenery, machinists, musical direction, piano, band parts and band, theatre bearer's account for punkahs and cleaning, refreshments behind the scenes during the piece, properties, advertizing and bill posting and a number of sundries from play books to cab fares, and green room furniture to property sunflowers. Notwithstanding this heavy outlay the profits should be at least Rs. 2,500 in the hot and Rs. 1,000 more in the cold weather.

And as a management works on credit, and has to pay up everything immediately, so no credit should be allowed to the audience. There should be no bad debts. The box office may be placed at the theatre with a clerk, or better with a respectable firm, a music seller, or perruquier, who should have instructions to issue no tickets without cash, or if they care to give credit, on the strict understanding that they are themselves responsible for the money owing. It is curious how many respectable people will try to get in without paying. And some succeed. Early advertizing is essential and it is well to let the piece be thoroughly posted with the names of the principal actors and actresses. To the dress rehearsal every body who takes an interest in theatrical

matters may well be asked to attend to provide an audience. For the first night the actors' own friends should be induced to attend in force. The play must do the rest.

There is a practical difficulty of some magnitude to be fought against in Calcutta in the cold weather. At that time though audiences and actors are more plentiful, there is also more going on. Other amusements and social engagements take away from the audiences, and hinder the preparation of the piece by making attendance at rehearsals irregular. Even in the hot weather rehearsals are a great tax on the time and good nature of the players, and the intense heat on a stage makes them sometimes positively painful. But people are not so much engaged. The success of a piece in the cold weather in Calcutta would greatly depend on the popularity and qualities of the management as regards its powers to obtain proper rehearsals. People who act are most kind and obliging but they are not always masters and mistresses of their own time.

Business and Stage management in heavy pieces had as suggested above much better be disconnected. The stage manager can then act. The business manager should see to finance, to the getting together of the company, to the engaging of the theatre, advertising, properties, engagement of musical direction if any, to the keeping of the box offices, and to accounts and outside business generally. With a view to inviting the company he should advise with the Stage Manager as to the casting of the piece. The Stage Manager's fiat in this respect is final, also as regards scenery. The business manager should bring and keep the people together, and place them in the hands of the stage manager, or if the piece is a musical one, of the stage manager and musical director jointly. He has to meet all difficulties, soothe all rivalries, foresee all dangers, and on him will devolve all blame if the piece is a failure. Yet while business managers are ordinary people, a stage manager or musical director *nascitur non fit*. The proper persons to ask or appoint to these premier positions are generally marked out by circumstances. The Amateur Stage Manager is always an amateur and an actor of renown, is often himself acting in the piece. The musical director, is generally a professor of music, is perhaps the director of a local band, regimental or otherwise. He is paid for his services either by a fixed sum or a special benefit. If there are rival claimants for the high honour of being the best stage manager and musical director in a place, the business manager has to select, sometimes to entreat, and on that selection or entreaty depends half the success of the piece. There is

nothing more annoying to a good actor or singer than inefficient stage or musical direction. Actors talk freely of what goes on behind the scenes, and a piece hampered with incompetency in these departments is damned before-hand.

On the other hand efficient teaching engenders confidence in the company, trust in themselves and in each other, and a sense of security that of itself goes far to secure crowded houses.

Into that strange land behind the scenes I do not propose to penetrate. I must not reveal the secrets of the prison house, and sometimes a veritable prison house it is. There are troubles, disappointments, jealousies, heart-burnings, and mistakes, there, as elsewhere in this imperfect world. Actors are like other people, only brighter and often cleverer in many charming ways, and very sensitive. They are also singularly jealous. But where everything is personal, and success is the effect of personality, the individual is naturally every one's first thought. Yet, although occasionally sulks there will be ; good humour, kindness of heart, willingness to do hard work, and to learn, willingness even to help a rival though this less often, jollity, freedom from conventionality, and when a piece is being well put on, invariable and unflagging high spirits, these are the characteristics of amateurs behind the scenes.

The hint of the up country critic that amateurs usually seek to amuse themselves rather than their audiences may apply to highly subsidized plays in some places. But when the piece has to run to pay, amateurs go to work with a business-like intention that would make the fortune of many a professional. Subsidies engender carelessness, but acting under subsidy is not so far as I know the rule in India. On the contrary one of the spurs to excellence of the Indian amateur stage, as I have known it, is the feeling that if the play be financially unsuccessful some one who cannot afford to do so will have to pay the deficiency.

The lines that stand at the head of this paper were no doubt owing to one oversight of the management. There is the critic to be considered besides the audience and the players, and in this case perhaps the critics had not been conciliated by the

ACTING MANAGER.

## A BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

THE proceedings before a Committee of the House of Commons inquiring into the circumstances of the formation of the Deccan Mining Company, have thrown a strong side-light on a very weak point in the promotion and management of public Companies having for their object the development of Indian resources. The revelations are of use mainly to India, inasmuch as except in the case of an Indian Company, there could hardly have been the necessary conditions all tending to the success of one colossal blunder. This weak point is the Board of Direction.

There has been the most remarkable unanimity of omission to place blame for the Deccan mining scandal in the proper place, and yet the proper place is as clearly introduced by the Committee as it is possible to frame sentences.

Newspapers have blamed everybody. They have blamed the Nizam's advisers. They have blamed even Colonel Marshall. They have blamed the Hyderabad Residency; the Government of India; the Secretary of State and his Council. They have blamed individuals among the Concessionaires, and they have blamed Mr. George Batten, one of the Directors of the Company. But the Board of the Company, that body whom the indignant shareholders called shame upon, has escaped as such with the lightest of criticism and the slightest of notice. It may be that Mr. Watson's personality carries off all the criticism that is not centred on Abdul Huq, and that with a passing shot at Mr. George Batten the original Board escapes further notice. But upon no one other than the three first Directors of the Company can the shareholders, or the British public cast any lawful blame whatever. H. H. the Nizam has his account to settle with Abdul Huq for representing his interests in a way that handed over a splendid concession to a Company not possessed of the means of working it adequately. The British public in general and the *bona fide* shareholders in particular have their account to settle with the Company's original Board of Direction.

And it is not a moral question, but a plain matter of business, of the exercise of discretion, due care, vigilance, the proper examination of facts and documents and of the conduct of correspondence. Here it is not primarily if at all a question of clean hands. It is a question of efficiency, and it is also a serious question whether speculative Indian Companies will ever get efficient Boards in London. So that the system of Boards may fail, where most needed to protect the public.

To go a little into particulars. H. H. the Nizam probably believes with justice that he has great mineral wealth in his possessions. Diamond mines have been worked of old. Coal is also known to exist. Gold is worked in Madras and Mysore close by. There may be other minerals but these stand at the head of the list, and foremost, because certainly accessible is coal. The State constructs a railway branching from the trunk line of the G. I P. and Madras railways connecting the east and west coasts at Madras and Bombay, with the chief city of the State at Hyderabad. To recover the capital sunk the Administration sells this railway under a guarantee of interest and with power to extend, to a Railway Company. The transaction is completed, and the railway is extended to a district where coal is known to exist. The promoters of the Railway Company keep open an alleged grievance of not being sufficiently remunerated for this successful transaction. Abdul Huq, a state officer, who negociated with the promoters on behalf of His Highness the Nizam obtained by permission a commission of over £80,000 for the railway. His London friends while themselves complaining that they had really made nothing by it, no doubt congratulated Abdul Huq on the better consideration his services had received. He would no doubt communicate with them again if circumstances arose. He did.

His Highness' Government having placed the railway, now went on with the mining rights. These if properly worked would pay the treasury a handsome royalty, would afford traffic for the railway, and cheap fuel for its locomotives, and besides generally developing the State, decrease if not annihilate the railway guaranteed interest. The project was a business-like and comprehensive project, worthy of the great minister who planned it. Sir Salar Jung, Minister and Regent, must turn in his grave at the sequel, and the young Nizam, the chief of the most enterprizing State in India, was never more sincerely to be pitied in the loss he sustained by the death of the first Indian minister of modern times, than in the wreck of the mining rights concession.

*"The best laid plans o' mice and men gang aft agley."*

There is no doubt that English investors look shyly on an Indian enterprize unless guaranteed by the Government of India. There are many reasons for this. Indian undertakings do not pay often under five or six years, not always then. There is the great depreciation of capital due to the falling of silver. There is the uncertainty attending management at a great distance. There are all the usual terrors to which capital is subject when it travels Eastward. There are the Russians. There is the National Congress. Financiers in London are unapproachable except by means of heavy commissions by way of promotion, and other advantages in the Construction account.

But all these considerations while they tell heavily against a loan of a million or more, do not concern a petty capital of £150,000. The Nizam's ministers could have got that much in Calcutta, if not in Bombay, if not indeed locally. And the coal mines, as experts told them, though incorrectly, could be developed on £150,000 at the low rate of exchange of silver of the day. But they had faith in Abdul Huq and they commissioned him to raise a Company that would not only work the coal fields which was the business Sir Salar Jung no doubt had mainly in mind, but also the gold and diamond fields. These enterprizes have an effect quite distinct on the investing mind to mere coal. Coal, the unpretending useful drudge of railways, factories and the household, appeals to a few who know its worth, but it has not the power on the imagination of the more general investor, such as attaches to diamonds and gold. A clever promoter, as distinct from a disinterested state official, would see this at once, and the diamonds and gold were put in, and Abdul Huq went to London, when as it turned out for the best interests of the Nizam's dominions, he might in every way have better stayed at home and begun with the coal But for good or evil he went to London and a modest and safe enterprize requiring perhaps £200,000 became a brilliant speculation that could carry a million. He had the concessions in his pocket. They had been passed by the Government of India who would have been very glad to see a million of money put into Hyderabad, and had taken all reasonable precautions to see that if raised it was economically spent. Unfortunately no one seems to have thought of binding Abdul Huq explicitly to the amount he was to pay the London financial world for raising the capital. There being no direct guarantee of interest this promotion money was bound to be heavy: £200,000 might well have been expected to be the least the

City would look at for the service. But no sum was stated and City moderation was hastily assumed. At the same time it was laid down that £150,000 was to be the least first issue for the coal. The Governments of Hyderabad and India shewed themselves aware of the course the financing and development of the concern should take. Only they did not know the City: or if they knew it, they omitted to safeguard the sale of the concessions against its possible views of adequate remuneration. Abdul Huq went to the Council of the Secretary of State. The Council approved of the suggestions regarding the opening up of the mineral wealth of the Hyderabad State, as the plans had come from India. General Strachey has been blamed for the manner and matter of the evidence he gave before the Committee, but he was quite right in what he said. Only he also committed the error of not introducing a minimum capital for working the concern and a maximum for promoter's remuneration into the concession itself. He, as he said, trusted Abdul Huq the accredited agent of the Nizam to communicate to his Government the terms at which he found he could place the concession in the London money market. It may be said too that he should have stipulated that the Company to be formed to take over the concessions from the concessionaires should regularly be placed on the Stock Exchange. A business man like General Strachey must have known that this could do no harm, and might by securing some amount of publicity have done good. But the stipulation is not a usual one. The decision is usually left to the Company itself.

Abdul Huq unhampered by a maximum clause for cost of promotion, or rather a minimum clause for the amount of *bonâ fide* working capital to be spent on the entire block of the concern as eventually to be constructed, went to Mr. Watson. The concessionaires' terms for promotion so far as is known to the public were not communicated explicitly to India. If they were, they were not understood. The concessionaires took over the concessions for which they paid nothing. They made a favour of taking them, because when they had formed a company of one million sterling capital, they sold the concessions to the Company for 85000 shares fully paid up of a nominal value of £850,000 to cover their trouble and risk. Mr. Watson explains this in his evidence. The Company so formed subscribed £150,000 cash and there was at once the whole capital fully paid up. With Abdul Huq's concern in this transaction, and his subsequent dealings in shares I have nothing to do. That is a matter for His Highness' Government whose paid

servant he is or was. Whether he also had the right to hand over the concessions in his charge without securing an adequate capital to work the whole of them without further financing, is the question, I presume, before the legal advisers of the Hyderabad state. If the answer be in the negative, and Abdul Huq is proved to have acted *ultra vires* in not referring to Hyderabad before making his terms with the Concessionaires irrevocable, the decision may be of great concern to the Company's shareholders. The Nizam's representative before the Committee however was careful to say that the legal rights of the shareholders should have the utmost respect from the Nizam: and there the matter rests for the present in the eyes of the outside public. Abdul Huq as the Nizam's agent here disappears. He has become a shareholder in the new company. He has I hope to give an account of his stewardship to the Nizam.

But what are we to say of a Board of Direction of a new formed company that will pay 85000 fully paid up shares, I do not say £850,000 because that would not be correct, the shares at the time having no market value, but ⅙ of the capital to the promoters. The promoters as the Board must have known by looking at the share list had themselves subscribed the £150,000 cash, and for them to lose any part of this money payment the stock of the Company must fall very low indeed. If it fell to £2 a share, then the 85000 shares fully paid up plus the 15000 shares subscribed, *i.e.*, the entire stock, would be worth only £200,000; but the promoters who at first held the whole stock, would even then make £50,000, less charges, whereas the shares might sell much higher in the first days of issue of a diamond, gold and coal company sponsored by the Government of India. On this lowest of grounds the risk was not so great as to justify so high a price. The value of the shares must have fallen to an average of £1 before the promoters sold for them to lose. Did the Board really and seriously contemplate that possibility?

On the other hand did the Board think so wonderfully well of the concessions that a Company could afford to pay £850,000 straight off for them, and then raise such a revenue on £150,000 working capital, that not only would a dividend be payable on the whole million, but a debenture stock be made possible besides. A debenture stock there will have to be no doubt. For such an expectation as this the Board must have figured to themselves the coal mines as paying 50 per cent on their capital account of £150,000. That would have been 7½ per cent on the whole stock; and debentures then could have been profitably raised at 5 per

cent for the extension of the workings to diamonds and gold. But though coal companies when well financed pay large returns in India on the capital put into the field, they do not pay 50 per cent. They pay 10 or 12 per cent, the best of them perhaps 15 per cent.

Which of these possibilities did the Board think of, or did they think at all? If they thought they must sacrifice 85000 shares or disappoint the Nizam of his company, that they had to issue five bonus shares for every one paid in cash to float the concern, they knew very little of the undertaking they were directing. The coal mines are an undisputed fact. The coal is said on authority to be good, and it is much wanted in a part of the country still dependent on importations of English coal, and on wood. The directors, had they reflected, must have known they could get better terms than to surrender ⅚ of their capital with all its prospective advantages, and to incur the certainty of a debenture debt or a preference stock at ruinous loss to the original stock. If they thought no better terms were obtainable their duty to their prospective shareholders was not to proceed to allotment.

On the other hand if they thought so well of the concern that any price was worth paying for the concession, what becomes of the *risk* run by the concessionaires, promoters and the first subscribers of the £150,000?

I have carefully tried to keep away from suggesting the idea that the concessionaires, promoters and first subscribers were the directors, and to suggest on the contrary that they were quite different people acting independently for a company. I have written on the latter supposition which is the only right and proper one in effect if not in fact. The directors of a company have to initiate and control its finance in accordance with what they know of the prospects of the undertaking. They have so far to satisfy promoters as to start the Company. These directors sacrificed finance altogether either ignorantly to mistaken sympathy with the Nizam's aspirations, or to an extravagant and unwarrantable and no less ignorant estimate of the value of the concessions. Either they should have stopped altogether, or should have made more inquiries. By what they did they sacrificed the stock in their charge. They proved themselves inefficient directors, and it would seem only likely that on those grounds shareholders may have a claim on them.

As the original shareholders were the promoters and they are unlikely to complain, the Board may escape scot free. It is here

that if the Company had been put on the stock exchange the blunder might have been avoided.

The task of pointing out the blame attaching to gentlemen trying to do their duty is always unpleasant; but so much unfair obloquy has been heaped on individuals both in India and England throughout this unfortunate affair that to shift that obloquy, if deserved at all, to the right place becomes a duty. The moral appears to be that a new Limited Company Act is needed for India, and that no Company whether intending to operate in British India or in native states shall have any status until it has complied with its provisions. One provision must be a Board or an office in India to allot shares and that shall not proceed to allotment until the price to be paid to concessionaires and promoters is published to the investing public in the newspapers for a certain time beforehand. And another that a prospectus shall be published that will enable a buyer to judge for himself whether the capital he is subscribing to is enough at par value to meet the cost of the undertaking. Such an Act would be a hindrance only to bogus concerns. It would assure the performance of their duties by Boards of Directors. The Indian public debts are subscribed to in India itself and there is no reason why Indian companies also should not be subscribed to in the Indian presidency towns. Nor that in all cases they should not be compelled to publish a full prospectus of their intended proceedings.

The additional financial leading strings for Native States advised by the Committee will be galling; and they are unnecessary while law is able easily to make gentlemen assuming the responsibilities of directors do their duty with some regard to fact, decency, and common sense.

F. BEAUCLERK.

## *TO KATE.*

There is a charm in life's evening
To turn aside from the busy street
From the bank and the mart
And give to the heart
A glimpse of green meadows sweet.

Come sweet and linger with me awhile
Where the voice of the town is still
Where the streamlet glides
And the violet hides
In the dell of a purple hill.

We will wander beside a silver lake
By the swift flood of waters in spate
While the moon-beams glance
And the wavelets dance
Their murmur being ever of Kate.

My Kate's eyes rival the morning sky
Like the grey dawn of morning their beam
Her bosom is warm
With the day god's charm
And her voice is the hush of the stream.

ZAM.

# A TRIP TO MAHÁSTHÁN IN THE BOGRA DISTRICT.

MAHASTHAN, a place famous in the earliest Hindu traditions of this part of the country and of interest in later times, as having a Mahomedan shrine of great sanctity, is situated on the west bank of the Karatoyá river, about 7 miles to the north of Bogra Town. To this spot, the Mahomedans come in honor of a Musulman saint—Pir Sultan—and the Hindu devotees to perform their own religious ablutions and rites; it forms a nucleus around which many legends both Hindu and Mahomedan origin has gathered. The place however is undoubtedly of Hindu origin. In the *Padmá Purána*, Mahasthan on the Karatoya is mentioned as a spot of great holiness. Even now, inscriptions in Nagri character, "*Sri Nara Sinha Dasasya*, can be seen on the two jambs of the entrance-door of the shrine of the Mahomedan saint.

The ruins of Mahasthan are enclosed within an oblong mound, rising from 15 feet to 35 feet above the level of the surrounding country, and measuring about 4,500 feet in length from north to south, by about 3,000 feet in breadth. The shrine is situated on a high mound on the south-west corner, and is reached from the east by a flight of stairs recently made and an old brick-paved circuitous road on the north.

The most interesting spots within the quadrangular enclosure (which at one time was unmistakably a fort) are (1) a mound believed to be the ruins of the Palace of Parasuram, said to be the last Hindu king of the place and a well near it, called *Jivat kund*, the "well of life." (2). *Sila ghat* made of massive pieces of granite and said to have been named after *Silá*, the daughter of Parasurám, and (3) another mound, said to be the ruins of a temple built by Rajá Mánsing and a well at its foot called *Mán-kali-ka-kund*.

There are several pieces of stone lying about the place. An overseer of the District Board, in cutting a drain at the north-east

corner came across the remains of a brick-wall resting on solid pieces of stone, and during the last rains, a hole appeared on a cart-road about the middle of the east side of the fort, in which a large-sized stone and a small carved one were visible. There can be no doubt, that Mahasthan is a promising field for archæological exploration.

In the courtyard of the shrine, there is a naked statue, which General Cunningham thinks to be the figure of one of the twenty-four Jain pontiffs. There is also the *yoni* of a Siva *lingam*—a large round-shaped stone with a spout, and also a figure of a *Nágini* holding one of the feet of a statue which is broken off. General Cunningham collected from *Mankali-kund*, a number of carved bricks and several *terra-cotta* altro-relievos, such as are always found in the ruins of old Hindu temples.

As we have stated above, *Mahasthan* is situated on the west bank of the Karatoya. The river is now a sluggish narrow and tortuous stream, fordable for about 8 months in the year. But it was once a river of considerable size. In Rennel's map and in that of Van-den Bröuck, it is marked as a great river but the vagaries of the Teesta (Trisrota) have now reduced it to a small and meandering stream. In the *Skanda Purana*, it is stated that the Karatoya used to flood the red land on the west.

It is a river of great sanctity to the Hindus. In the *Mahabharata*, it is mentioned as one of the *Tirthas* (holy places) in old India. Lomas Rishi, after describing to Yudisthira the several *tirthas* in Rajagriha (in Magadha,) on the Visalá (Gandak) in Champá (Bhagulpur) and on the Nandá (Mahánandá), speaks of Karatoya as follows :—

"Proceeding next to the river Karatoyá and fasting there for three nights, a man acquireth the merit of the horse-sacrifice. Even this is the injunction of the Creator himself." *

The country on the west of Karatoya was called *Paundra*, in days of yore. Anga, Paundra, Vanga, Suhma and Kalinga formed the five outlying kingdoms of ancient India; and it has been all but settled that *Paundra Desh* extended from the Bhagirathi on the west and the Karatoyá in the East. During the *Rajasuya Jagna* (Imperial assemblage) of Yudisthira, Bhima conquered the eastern regions. The description given in the Mahabharata of Bhimá's conquests from Magadha to the sea-coast is given below :

"And accompanied by those monarchs, the son of Pandu marched against Giribraja (the capital of Magadha). And bringing the son of Jarasandha under his sway, the hero then marched

* Mahábhárat, Vana Parba. Sec. LXXXV.

against Karna (the king of Anga). And having subjugated Karna, the mighty hero vanquished the powerful kings of the mountainous regions. And the son of Pându then slew in a fierce encounter, the mighty king who dwelt in Modagiri (Monghyr). And the Pandava, then, O king, subjugated in battle, those strong and brave heroes of fierce prowess, *viz*:—the king Mahaujasa, who reigned in *Kausika-kachcha* and the heroic and mighty *Vásudeva, the king of Paundra*. And having defeated both these monarchs the son of Prithá then attacked the king of Vanga."*

If we follow the travels of the celebrated Chinese traveller, Hwen Thsang in 637-638 A. D. we find the kingdoms he passed through, mentioned nearly in the same order as given in the Mahabharata.

"Hwen Thsang, after crossing the Ganges, to the ancient city of Pataliputra (Patna), proceeded to Budha Gaya and next visited the ancient city of Rájagriha (in Magadha) and the great monastery of Nalanda, where he studied the Sanskrit language. Towards the end of 638, he resumed his easterly route, following the course of the Ganges to Modagiri and Champá (capital of Anga). On leaving Champá the pilgrim travelled to a place called by him *Kie-chu-u-khi-lo* and crossing the river, he went to *Paundra Vardhana*. Thence he proceeded for 150 miles to the East and *crossing a great river* entered Kamrup." †

It will be observed that Bhima taking an easterly route, came to *Paundra* and then proceeded to Vanga which was south-east of Paundra, while Hwen Thsang, taking about the same route, came to Paundra and then crossed over to Kamrup on the north-east.

General Cunningham considers Mahásthan to be the site of the old capital of *Paundra-desh*. He at first identified Pubná with the capital of Paundra. In his Ancient Geography of India vol I. p. 480 he says :—

"In the spoken dialects, the name would be shortened to *Pan-bardhan* to *Pobadhan*, from which it is an easy step to Pubna or Pabna, as some of the people now pronounce it." General Cunningham has himself given up this theory as untenable.

Mr. Westmacott, C. S., proposed Bardhan Kuti, 12 miles to the north of Mahasthan as the probable representative of Paundra

* Mahabharat, Sabhá Parba, Sec. XXX.

† Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, preface.

Vardhana but General Cunningham and Mr. Beveridge, C. S., (no mean authority) do not agree with Mr. Westmacott.

As regards Cunningham's identification of Mahasthan with the ancient capital of Paundra, the proof rests, according to him, partly on the agreement of the distance and bearing from the neighbourhood of Rajmehal and partly on the immediate vicinity of Basu Bihar—which is said to correspond with Hwen Thsang's account of a Buddhist monastery called *Po-shi-po*, 4 miles to the west of the capital.

It is inherently improbable that the kings of Paundra should build their capital at the easternmost limits of their kingdom, when they had had to fear aggressions more from the west than from the east. The so-called proofs are based on the identification of Hwen Thsang's *kie-chu-u-khi-lo* with kankjole and of his *po-shi-po* with Basu Bihar.

Now Julien and Cunningham adopt two different readings of the word *ku-chu-u-khi-lo*. Cunningham goes further and says that Hwen Thsang mistook it for *kie-ku-chu-lo*, which is a literal transcript of kánkjol. All this is very unsatisfactory. Is it not possible that *ku-chu-u-khi-lo* of Hwen Thsang is the same as *kausiki-kachcha* mentioned in the Mahabharat? Chinese scholars must decide this.

Then again, it is stated that the Chinese pilgrim proceeded from Paundra Vardhana for 150 miles towards the east, crossed a great river and then entered Kamrup. If, according, to Cunningham, the Chinese pilgrim places the capital of Paundra 100 miles east of Kankjole near Rajmehal, then Paundra Vardhan must have extended towards the east, 150 miles from it to a great river. This river must be either the Karatoya or the Brahmaputra. Now Mahasthan is on the Karatoya and is not more than 50 miles from the old Brahmaputra.

It seems to us that Pánduah about 6 miles to the north of Maldah and 20 miles from Gaur has far better claims to be the representative of the old capital of Paundra. It is centrically situated and contains ruins which are decidedly of Hindu origin. It was for some time the capital of the Mahomedan kings and it is scarcely likely that the Mahomedan kings should transfer their capital from Gour to that place unless it was an old city consisting of Hindu temples which they plundered to build their public structures. Then again, from Paundrya, it is an easy step to Panduah, as the common people are in the habit of dropping *r* in their conversation. Not protending, however, to be an archæologist we offer the suggestion for what it is worth. At all events

it appears to us, very probable that Mahasthan-gurh formed one of the many defences of the Paundra country, guarding it from the incursions of the Koch and other aboriginal tribes on the east and north.

Let us now ascertain, as far as possible, who were the kings that reigned over this extensive territory. We have already seen that in the days of the Pandavás—Vásudeva was the king of Paundrá. He was a Kshatriya and this would go to show that at that time, the Aryan immigrants had already settled themselves in the country. Among the kings who came to the Imperial Assemblage and paid tribute to Yudisthira, we find the names of the following :—

"And that great Charioteer, king Bhagadatta of Pragyotisha (Kámrup) accompanied by all the *Mlechha* tribes inhabiting the marshy regions on the sea-shore and Vásudeva, the king of the Paundras, &c."*

And again :—

"The Angas, Vangas and Paundras—those good and well-born Kshetrias distributed into regular clans and trained to the use of arms, brought tribute unto king Yudisthira."†

We do not find any further mention of the kings of Paundra till we come to the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era, when the celebrated Hwen Thsang visited India, but his account of Paundra is very meagre. General Cunningham says :—

"The pilgrim mentions no king and his silence on this point may be taken as evidence that Barendra (Paundra) was in his time one of the dependent provinces of the vast dominions of Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj. The king of the neighbouring country of Kámrup or Assam, named Bháskara Varmma, is duly noticed but as he was certainly tributary to Harsa Vardhan I conclude that the intervening province of Barendra had been annexed to the kingdom of Kanauj."‡

The next mention of Paundra we find in *Raj Tarangini*, whence we learn that at the end of the eight century, Jayapida, Raja of Kashmere (A. D. 779—813) conquered six "kings of Gaud," one of whom was Jayanta whose capital was Paundra.§

* Mahabharat, Sabha Parba—Sec. XXXIV,

† Mahabharat Sabha Parba. Sec. LII.

‡ Archæological survey of India Vol. XV. p 112

§ Archæological survey of India Vol XV. p 111.

In the middle of the ninth century Devapala of the Pál Dynasty conquered Gauda.

The inscription on the celebrated Buddal Pillar, (which is situated in Mangalbari, a village in the District of Dinagepur, just on the frontier of the Bogra District and about 5 miles west of Jeypur) makes mention of a Brahmin King of Gauda whose name was *Darbha pani* of the Sandilya race, and who was conquered by Sri Deva Pál. We quote from the translation of the inscription by Wilkins :—

"There was a Brahmin named Sri Darbha Pani of the Sandilya race whose country, * * * *, Sri Deva Pala rendered tributary."

"At whose gates stood, scarce visible amongst the vast concourse of nobles flocking to his standard from every quarter, *Sri Deva Pala*, in expectation of his submission.

"Whose throne that Prince *(i.e., Sri Deva Pala.)*—who was the image of Indra and the dust of whose feet was impressed with the diadems of sundry potentates, himself ascended with a flash of glory, although he had formerly been wont to offer him large sums of *pitas*, bright as the lunar rays."

It is also stated in the Inscription that Kedára Misra the grandson of Darbhapani was prime Minister of Sura Pala ; and that Gaurava Misra, the son of Kedara Misra, was the prime Minister of Sri Narayaná Pal. The Pillar was erected by Gaurava Misra. The inscription says :—"By him, was recorded here upon this lasting column, the superior beauty of whose shaft catcheth the eye of the beholder, whose aspiring height is as boundless as his own ideas which is, as it were, a stake planted in the breast of *Kál* (time) and on whose top sits *Tárkshya* (Garuda) the foe of serpents and favourite bird of Hari, the line of his own descent.

"Garuda, like his fame, having wandered to the extremity of the world and descended even into its foundation, was exalted here with a serpent in his mouth."

The pillar, according to Cunningham, was erected about 900 A.D., so, Darbhapani must have flourished between 800 A.D. and 900 A.D. The King appears to have been a follower of Vishnu, whose favourite bird, overtopped the Pillar. The figure of Garuda, however, is now not to be found on it.

The Pal dynasty reigned in Gour till the middle of the eleventh century, when Ballal Sen, the King of Vanga, subjugated the territory. His successors reigned there till 1198 A.D. when Baktiar Khiliji conquered the country. All this is matter of history. As we have already stated, Parasuram was perhaps the

last Hindu chieftain of Mahasthán, before it fell into the hands of the Mahomedans.

In the north-western portion of the Bogra District and in the Dinagepore District adjoining it—are to be found ruins of places which were evidently extensive towns. Ruins of old houses and temples abound, from several of which bricks were excavated for the Railway.

The Mahomedans conquered Gaur in 1198 A.D. and Mahasthan must have been occupied soon after. Three coins were found in Mahasthan by Mr. O'Donnel C.S., on which the name of Máhmud Shah is inscribed. They are dated Hegira 852, 858 and 862 corresponding to A.D. 1448, 1454, and 1458. Of the three coins obtained by General Cunningham one belonged to Jelaluddin Mahommed and the other two to Mahmud I. One of them is dated Hegira 848 (A.D. 1442) and the other A.H. 848. We may state here that some gold coins were found in Bámanpárá near Mahasthan, two of which (obtained by Mr. Beveridge) were Gupta coins—one of Chandra Gupta II and the other of Kumara Gupta.

Raja Mán Sing, one of the commanders of Akbar, came to Lower Bengal in the year 1589 and remained there for about 17 years. In the Am-i-Akbari it is stated that he built the fort of Sherpúr Meercha (called Salimnagar.) It is said that he wanted to rebuild the fort at Mahásthan, but fearing the ire of the gods, if he gave it a Mahomedan name, and the vengeance of the Emperor, if he retained the Hindu name, he relinquished the idea and built the fort near Sherpúr. The tank and the temple in Mahasthan—called Mankali-ka-kund—were probably the work of Rájá Mán Sing.

There is a ruined *Masjid* called Khema Masjid, two miles South of Sherpúr Town, the inscription in which shows that it was built in Hegira 989 (1585 A.D.) during the reign of Subadar Murádkhan. There are two slabs of stone in it, about 4½ feet by 2½ feet, which were originally images of Hindu gods. The gods have been turned round and the inscriptions cut on their backs. This sort of misappropriation may be seen in several old mosques.

We now come to speak of the people and their religion. In olden days previous to Aryan conquest, the people were Non-Aryan aborigines. In the battle between Vasista and Viswamitra which is said to typify the contest between the priesthood and the nobility for political supremacy, the Paundras, described as Mlechhas, took a part. The legend says that several *Mlechha* tribes came out of Nandini, Vasista's milch-cow.

"From her tail, she brought forth an array of Pahlavas, and from her udders of Dravidas and Shakas, and from her womb, the Yavans, and from her dung of Shavars; and from the froth of her mouth came out hosts *of Paundras* and Kiratas, Yavans and Singhalas."

There is no record of the Aryan's first struggle with the people of the land, the first sharp collision of Aryan civilization with the aboriginal barbarism. During the time of the Pandavas we find the Aryans firmly established in the country. There is little doubt that the two stocks representing very different stages of civilization, thus brought closely and permanently into contact, evolved the mixed castes that people the country. These mixed castes and tribes—all began to gravitate towards Brahmanism and many of them, as they rose in the scale of civilization were absorbed into the Hindu community and thus lost their separate identity. The process of Hinduization which is still observable among the semi-aboriginal tribes of Lower Bengal, was then evidently in full swing. But the higher class Hindus always asserted their superiority and established certain social barriers between them and the low castes.

Then came Buddhism with all its levelling tendencies. Driven from Aryabarta, where it had had to meet a solid phalanx of high religious beliefs, it obtained a fair hearing from the semi-Hinduized tribes of Lower Bengal. Buddha addressed himself to all classes but he addressed himself to the poor and the degraded rather than to the high and the rich. To quote from Dr. Hunter, "Driven forth from the Sanskrit kingdom of Oudh, Buddhism conquered for itself the mountains and valleys of the Lower Provinces; won the hearts of their semi-aboriginal population; and found shrines or holy cities in every district, from Sarnath (near modern Benares) beyond the northern boundary of Bengal Proper, to Jaggarnat, which is washed by the ocean on the extreme south. It consolidated scattered tribes into a powerful confederacy, under a religious dynasty (of the Pal Rajahs) which waged not unsuccessful war upon the kingdom whence the reformation had been expelled and which, in the ruins of Gaur, has left monuments of its greatness that neither time nor the change in the course of the Ganges can efface."*

The higher classes, as a body, however did not accept Buddhism. When Hwen Thsang visited the Lower Provinces, he observed a conflict that was going on between Buddhism and

* Annals of Rural Bengal p. 194.

Brahminic faith, in their competition for the suffrages of the people. It was only when the Pal Dynasty conquered Gaur, that Buddhism obtained the upper hand. There are still to be found Buddhistic relics in the Bogra District, which neither the intolerance of the Brahmins nor the iconoclastic fury of Islam, has succeeded altogether to obliterate. In Mahasthan itself, as yet, no Buddhistic remains have been found, but the place has not been explored. Only a few miles off it General Cunningham has discovered the remains of a Buddhist monastery in Bhasu Bihar and near Khetlal (about 16 miles west of Mahasthan) there is a small sitting stone figure of Buddha, the broken pedestal of which bears a part of the well-known Buddhist formula in mediæval Nágri character, "Ye Dharmma hetu prabhavá hetu teshán."* North of Gaburchapa (which is about 4 miles west of Nawabgunj a station on N. B. S. Railway) is a high brick structure crowned with the shrine of a Mahomedan hermit. It is believed to be the only Buddhist temple extant in these parts.

It is a curious circumstance that the Buddhist figure near Khetlal is found side by side with the images of Brahminical gods. General Cunningham describes these figures as follows :—

First, a female figure lying on a bed with a child beside her and two female attendants, one at the head of the bed with a *Chauri* and the other at the foot, shampooing the lady's feet. Above these, there is the *lingam* and a small figure of Ganesh and another small figure; 2nd, a group of Hara-Gauri; and 3rd, a fourarmed figure of Vishnu with two female attendants carrying a lute *(Vina)* and fly-whisk (Chámar.)

The first figure, Cunningham identifies as Devaki and Krishna. But there can be no doubt that the figures represent Umá (Siva's wife) her two attendants, Jayá and Bijayá and her son Kartikeya, playing in front of her. The *lingam* typifies Siva; Ganesh is her second son and the third figure possibly represents Narad. In the third figure, two female attendants are Saraswati and Laksmi.

These figures indicate the prevalence of worship of Siva and Vishnu. In those days, Vishnu was worshipped not as he is worshipped now but as Vishnu Chaturbhuj. Several stone images of Vishnu are, no doubt, to be found in the District, but the temples are so over grown with jungle that few people care to search for them. A very fine figure has however been rescued and has been placed in the Bogra Collectorate.

* Archæological Survey Vol. XV. P. 102

Besides Brahmanism and Buddhaism, there is every reason to believe that Jainism once prevailed in this part of the country. Hwen Thsang noted in Paundra Vardhana about 20 Buddhist monasteries containing about 3,000 monks and about 100 Brahminic temples but he went on to say that the greater number of the people were "Nirgranthas" who went about naked. It is well known that the Jains are divided into two sects—"Swetàmbars (the white-robed) and the Digambaras (the naked). The Digambaras are also called Nirgranthas (*i. e.* those who have relinquished every tie). The identification by Cunningham of a statue in Mahasthan, with one of the twenty-four Jain pontiffs corroborates the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim.

On the decline and fall of Buddhism and Jainism, the star of Hinduism was again in the ascendant. The people under the old Aryan Kings were Hindus in a fashion; the Brahminism of the Aryans never accomplished a complete subjugation of the masses. The Buddhist religion did much to take the pre-Aryan tribes into its fold but when Buddhism was driven across the sea, they began to oscillate back to Hinduism during the supremacy of the Sen dynasty. The Hinduism under the Sens, however, did not manifest itself so much in a whole-sale conversion, as in an outburst of activity in building temples for the worship of Siva and his dread-wife, a worship, that to some extent, incorporated the spiritual Aryan doctrines with the bloody rites of the low castes and thus naturally enlisted the ignorant terrors of the mixed populace. Parasuram of Mahasthan whom the Brahmin panegyrists in the Padma Purâna indentify with the sixth incarnation of Vishnu, but to whom the local traditions assign a much later date, is said to have built a crore of Siva *lingas* in and around Mahasthan.

But evên Sivaism, pandering, as it did, to the grossest superstitions, was too much for the lowest of the low. They could never get rid of their low origin; they could not overstep the social barriers existing between them and the higher classes; they were unwilling to give up their flesh-eating and liquor-drinking propensities. To them Islam, declaring equality between man and man came as a veritable godsend. It was not to the sword chiefly that Mahomedanism owed its success among these low castes. It was not exactly from conscientious religious conviction that they embraced the creed of Mahomet. Of these low people—the hewers of wood and drawers of water—whom Hinduism had barely admitted into its precincts, Islam preaching the equality of man, quickly obtained a willing allegiance. It was the faith of the conquerors and it offered to these teeming masses of

pre-aryan origin who had *cc* sat for ages abject on the outermost pale of Hinduism," a free entrance into genteel society. They obtained a more equal social organization and at the same time retained their flesh-eating and liquor-drinking propensities by accepting the Mahomedan creed, but they were at first as much immersed in superstition as the semi-Hinduized tribes. Many of them would have certainly relapsed into Hinduism, if they could —but the initiatory rite of Islam rendered relapse impossible. Even now among the low-castes in the District of Backergunj, who have become Christians, several have relapsed into Hinduism and are called *firtis* (turn-back) but for those who embraced Mahomedanism there was no turning back. Once a Musulman, a Musulman for ever.

During the present century, there has been some improvement in religious matters among these low-class Mahomedans. They have to some extent, purged themselves of grosser forms of superstition and have altogether given up drinking.

N. K. BOSE.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

## THE COW MOVEMENT.

OUR readers are perhaps aware by this time what is meant by the 'Cow Movement,'—the subject of the present article. It is a movement that has been recently set on foot by Hindus in all parts of the country for the protection and preservation of kine—especially of diseased and disabled cattle. People of other religious persuasions such as Parsis and Christians have in some places joined and in an easy way sympathised with the Hindu movement. It would be wrong to suppose that this is a religious agitation. Those who are acquainted with the true scope and object of this new agitation know very well that its leaders are actuated by motives other than religious. They have proved by carefully collected statistics that in some parts of the country agricultural operations have actually come to a standstill in consequence of sheer want of the necessary cattle, and that in all respects, for want of proper care the bovine species has degenerated throughout the country. It has been therefore deemed necessary that some prompt and active steps should be taken to prevent what may be called a catastrophe— for in an agricultural country like India the extinction of cattle can only be regarded as nothing less than a catastrophe. Such being the real object of the present movement, far from finding anything objectionable in it, all right-minded Mahomedans and Christians should come forward and actively co-operate with its leaders. There is no reason whatever to suppose why religious or sectarian considerations should enter into the question at all. It is a matter in which, we think, people of all races and religious persuasions living in this country, and interested in the general well-being of agricultural India should take an active part.

A defence of a movement like this would not have been thought necessary a few years ago when the relations between Hindus and Mahomedans were happily not so strained as now. The economic aspect of the question, on which the agitation

seems to be based, would have been sufficient to convince everybody of the necessity of such a movement. The immense loss of milk and agricultural agency *per se* occasioned by the daily slaughter of 8817 head of cattle to supply the wants of European soldiers and the lower classes of Mahomedans would be a sufficient apology in the eye of every right-minded Mahomedan or Christian for the existence of such an agitation. But unfortunately the times are changed. Recent circumstances have tended to revive race-animosities between Hindus and Mahomedans which had been unheard of for many a day. It is not our present purpose to inquire into the causes which have brought about such an undesirable change in men's feelings. People who have watched the progress of recent political events in India know them well. It is sufficient to notice the fact that the present is not the time when one could expect a Mahomedan to heartily sympathise with a Hindu even in a movement like the present which has not the slightest political or religious tinge about it. The present is just the time when even the economic aspect of the question, strong as it is, will lose all its value in the eyes of the Mahomedans. Deeply therefore we regret the fact that a movement so important to the agricultural welfare of India has been set on foot at such a time. We think that even the staunchest advocate of the movement does not expect that the slaughter of cows should be absolutely stopped in India. The political circumstances of the country forbid such a result. It has to be defended by soldiers of whom beef is the staple food. Under such circumstances it would be sheer madness to expect that the slaughter of cows could be absolutely stopped. The political consequences of the present movement again will, we are afraid, prove to be very undesirable in the long run. Already there is every reason to think that it is thoroughly well-meant; and even right-minded Mahomedans and Christians, if disposed to regard it in a favourable light, and not blinded by any race consideration or prejudice will also be of the same opinion. But as we have already stated, circumstances have unfortunately rendered it extremely easy for Mahomedans to look with a jaundiced eye on every movement, however well-meant it may be originating with Hindus. It is therefore we apprehend that the present movement, innocent though it is, will be the cause of further estrangement of feelings between Hindus and Mahomedans. The leaders of the movement therefore cannot do better than avoid anything which may have the tendency to give it a religious or sectarian look. Preachings in public places, however well-meant they may be, may have

such a tendency. It is therefore we think the less we have of such preachings, the less are the chances of opposition from the Mahomedan community. Again, the lower and unintelligent classes of Hindus are apt to look upon it as a sort of 'crusade' against beef-eating races. This is a danger which has to be guarded against. They are not the men to be satisfied with the economic reasons of the movement; but are apt to be easily led away by religious considerations. Riots may be the consequence. It is therefore we say that public preachings on the subject had better be discontinued. A wrong impression of the object and scope of the movement may at the same time be caused in the minds of the officials. We know already of an instance in which a mistaken view of the real object of *Go-rakshini sabhas* has been actually taken by a high official in one of the districts of Behar. This widespread movement has already assumed an importance which the Government ought not to ignore, and all that we wish is that the agitation should be so conducted by its leaders as to secure it all chances of success, and that a real reform may be at last carried out by Government in this important matter.

K. L. H.

## *THE PROFESSION OF THE LAW IN BENGAL.*

LAW as a science is uncertain, as a profession precarious. The time is past when its uncertainty rendered practitioners secure in their enjoyment of its benefits: ignorance has disappeared except from the remotest corners of society, facilities of communication between the principal towns and the interior have increased, reducing long distances in a way which not many years ago would have been incredible, dependence upon middle-men, whose interest it might be to foster litigation has considerably decreased, and numerous other causes are at work that enable people to look after their business in Court more closely than before. There is in these days a greater degree of regularity in procedure than in old times, and the course of events is more correctly foreseen and anticipated; hence the fear of unexpected loss does not now so predominate in the minds of litigants as to induce them to make offers of munificent donations and presents in exchange for promises of success on the termination of suits. That day when the fees of a pleader came in cart-loads is gone: it is a story now told of fabulous interest to the youthful beginner in legal practice.

The country has improved but not the business of lawyers. The rights to land and other immovable properties have become clearly defined and indicated, the mutual relations of traders and merchants have become pretty fully known to those concerned, so as not to require them in most cases to have recourse to law for their settlement; that class therefore whose maintenance is derived from disputes and wrong-doing is in an awful predicament. Nor is a cause wanting in its very number to give rise to uneasy thoughts regarding the destiny that awaits it in the future. With the necessity for legal aid becoming less and less urgent, and the practitioners crowding the aisles and pathways of the Courts and their compounds, outnumbering by odds the suitors, their witnesses and their friends all together, a question arises: how to dispose of the lawyers.

The legal practitioners are of different grades: the advocates, vakils, and attornies, the pleaders of the higher and lower grades and the mukhtears. The advocate has got a monopoly of business on the original side of the High Court. The vakil conducts appeals on the appellate side, and the attorney instructs the advocate. All the three, however may appear and plead in all courts subordinate to the High Court and before the Revenue Courts. The Higher grade pleader practises in the District Courts and all lower Courts, while the lower grade practitioner is confined to the latter. The mukhtear acts and has liberty to appear in all criminal cases in the District and also in certain civil matters. There is besides a section of practitioners called the Committee-men, who may appear, plead and act in the same way as higher grade pleaders.

The justification for the system of having two forms of examination for the same purpose, *viz.*, that of recruiting the bar of the District Courts, is to be looked for, in the wants of the community; and therefore whatever reasons there might be in past years for continuing the committee examination, now that graduates are plentiful as blackberries, and every year coming out of the Senate House gates by hundreds, it does not appear desirable that a class of practitioners with lesser position in the University should be allowed to be in the field with them. In one way, no doubt, the Committee examination recommended itself to the authorities as useful by reason of its enabling a number of people to practise a profession and earn their livelihood; but that is as much a duty of the state, as to preserve a balance of justice in favour of men who have to arrive at the same goal by another and more tedious and circuitous route. When B.L.'s were allowed directly to join the High Court, there was no special occasion for this remark; the Committee-men might be a class specially intended for the higher grade. But the High Court has by a very judicious rule, disabled young men of no experience of the world, only with their knowledge of books, to enter into its arena, and has required them to undergo a process of training as articled clerks to pleaders, or to practise for a time in some District Court. The B. L.'s therefore, and the Committee-men are put on the same footing, and the objection to this arises not only upon the general considerations of justice to classes, but upon the much broader ground of discouraging scholastic education, for one of the great incentives to it being the prospect of being qualified for an honorable profession, few candidates for law examinations would take the trouble of undergoing the harrowing process of the Univer-

sity, to attain the object, when without this it was equally possible for them to succeed; the list of candidates for the Committee Examinations is proof of the preponderance of this feeling. Therefore it seems that the community requires that the Committee-men should be confined to the Moonsiff's Courts and the criminal Courts below the Sessions Courts of the District, unless it be thought wiser to abolish the class altogether.

The Mukhtears are a very useful body of men, and so are the Revenue agents. The Mukhtears appear, plead, and act in the Criminal Courts of the country, and in certain matters in the civil courts as well. It is a question worthy of consideration, now that the mukhtears are required to have passed the Entrance Examination of the University, and are men possessing some knowledge of the English language, whether their status ought not to be raised by the action and encouragement of mofussil tribunals. They are unfortunately in the bad graces of even the public, and are as a body looked upon with a keen eye both by those for whom they have to do business, and by those with whom their business lies. This is an invidious and most unenviable position indeed, although it must be admitted on all hands that even under present circumstances there are among them men who would do honor to the rank of pleaders of the District Courts. Probably it would be a relief to pleaders if it were ruled that their instructions must be derived from these trained men, whose services on the one hand are so acceptable, and may, on the other, be secured on the outlay of only a small sum of money. It might probably be considered desirable to allow the mukhtears who pass in the first grade or who enjoy a higher position in practice than the rest, to act in the High Court also. There is not the slightest doubt that business will be expedited and the public relieved.

One other benefit will be the result of this course, and that of a reforming character: the touters who crowd in the precincts of the Law Courts, and whom the Judges have often endeavoured to discourage in their objectionable work, but not very successfully, will find in the recognized and responsible body of mukhtears adversaries too strong to cope against in their struggle for existence. The touters will disappear; and the main cause of their existence being the support they get in their practices and that support becoming unsteady and insecure, the moment the mukhtears begin to work in right earnest, the abuse will decidedly be reduced to a minimum. The mukhtears will not in all probability, by reason of the lowness of their own fees, be able to lend the

touters such help as would sustain them and induce them to continue in their business.

But is it desirable to maintain the rule that mukhtears may plead in the Sessions Courts? As a matter of fact it is seldom that we find them actually conducting cases in such Court, except in the most backward districts of the country. The Sessions Court is presided over by an officer of experience and learning who probably would not like to be hampered in the trial with the rather too zealous help of this class of practitioners in the conduct of the proceedings, but the pleader no doubt would derive a great deal of help by being able to receive instructions from a qualified gentleman, and much of his time would be saved and employed to useful purposes in a case, if he has not to talk and jabber on with his client and his men, in trying to understand his real position in the prosecution and explaining to them what would be the best course to adopt under the real circumstances which appear to him so important, but to his client things of no moment, which could be got over or explained away, if only the pleader had the tact he thinks indispensable in such a being. In criminal cases, in which instructions have often to be taken from the client in jail or the Police lock-up, it is clear that it is exceedingly desirable that a pleader should be instructed by a mukhtear. This would increase the business of the mukhtear and would be also recommendable on the ground of facility, cheapness and convenience.

It may be pointed out as fatal to the proposition in favour of establishing a rule of practice that the pleaders should in all cases receive instructions through mukhtears, that the cost of litigation would increase; but it would require only a moment's reflection to see that as a general rule getting business done by mukhtears would be cheaper than getting the same done by pleaders, and as the mukhtears have already permission to act in civil Courts in certain matters detailed in the rules framed in February 1882, by the High Court under the Legal Practitioner's Act, it does not seem compatible with reason that they should be obliged to compete with pleaders in reference to those items of business. Let a pleader be a pleader and a mukhtear a mukhtear: the status of both will rise, and the public will get the best professional aid for the least amount of fee.

The Vakeels of the High Court have a positive grievance; and it is not merely for that, but for other and very grave reasons that the subject requires consideration. It is known perhaps to all that the Vakeels are not allowed to practise on the original

side of the Court, neither in civil nor in criminal cases. Whatever objections there may be to the Vakeels practising on the civil side of the Court,—and perhaps under the present state of things a great deal might be said against the proposition—in respect of the latter, however, there does not seem to be any reason, other than the mere bar of the law and practice, why the Vakeels should not be allowed to defend persons committed for trial, when even mukhtears enjoy the right to do so all over the Province outside the forbidden area. Is the life or liberty of a man of less consequence beyond the Mahratta ditch than within it? If not why allow the Vakeels, the pleaders and the mukhtears even, a host of incompetent pettifoggers to play with the law and people's rights there? Otherwise making due allowances for all surrounding circumstances, why not allow the Vakeels and attornies who are qualified as vakeels, to appear, plead and act in the Sessions Court of the Presidency? Would not the public find this a beneficent concession? Case after case might be cited to shew that poor people who were unable to retain attorney and counsel to defend, could not by reason of their inability to impress upon the Court the circumstances favourable to them, were either convicted when they should have been acquitted, or sentenced upon graver charges when they should have been punished upon the lesser sections of the criminal law. And what is the probability in the matter—the very fact of the legislature providing a machinery for the defence, not to speak of the prosecution, is argument in proof of the absolute necessity of such machinery being workable, if it is to be of any use. Tell a prisoner that he may defend himself if he chooses, and arrange that he may not be able to do so—this is scandalous, unjust and indefensible. Besides, why should even he who may have the means be compelled to expend more money in the Presidency in conducting his case through the Sessions Court than he would have to lay out for the same purpose in the Mofussil? It ought always to be within the discretion of a man to engage the services of particular practitioners, but that ought not to be a matter of compulsion, so long as it can be helped.

Next there is the civil side of the Court to be considered in relation to the profession. The middle class and poorer people of Calcutta are laboring, why groaning under a heavy load of woe by reason of the denial to them of the rights and liberties to which they certainly are justly entitled, namely, that they should be allowed to have their differences settled by some competent Civil Court. The Calcutta Small Cause Court, like its sister Courts of Madras and Bombay, has by its constitution no juris-

diction over very important classes of cases enumerated in the Act establishing it, and the High Court is beyond the reach of most people, by reason of the enormity of the costs incurred in the trial of cases there; practically therefore the remedy is not available to cure the disease, which is a far worse state of things than no remedy at all, as in that case no hopes would be encouraged, and no disappointment caused. This subject has so often been discussed that it is hardly necessary to say more than to indicate that a civil court with jurisdiction to try cases up to Rs. 10,000 in value ought to be established in Calcutta, where the vakeels may be permitted to plead and where the procedure will be the same as that in the District Courts in the Mofussil, if not simpler. It is likely that the advocates will raise a violent opposition to this proposal if it comes on for consideration before the Chief Justice, the Government or the Legislature; but there is one reply to it more than any other that the wants of the public ought to be alleviated first, and those of the gentlemen of the long robe afterwards.

It seems therefore necessary that the Legal Practitioners' Act and the Civil Procedure Code should be amended so as to bring about the desired results, and that the rules of the High Court regarding the examination of candidates for the pleadership examination be rescinded in view of the discontinuance of the Committee examination, and a special Act be passed for the establishment of a Civil Court in the Presidency, and the powers conferred upon the High Court for calling vakeels to the bar of the original side in so far as they may be enabled to appear in the Sessions Court, be liberally exerted to relieve the friendless prisoner in the dock. There was at one time a proposition to enrol some of the leading Vakeels of the High Court as Advocates, but nothing seems to have come of it, and the idea has been allowed to die away. The objection of the barristers to the proposed course would be great, and probably there is some justice in their disinclination to submit to interference in the matter wholesale; but the liberty of a poor citizen being as valuable as that of a rich neighbour, there does not seem to be any cogent reason in favour of disallowing vakeels to appear and defend their fellow subjects, in the Court of Session. The disqualification of vakeels to do either attorney's or barrister's business on the Original Side, in the face of the permission granted to attornies of a certain standing and barristers to do their business in all courts, does not appear to be fair, whereas the necessity imposed upon the people of Calcutta to come to the original side of the Court for the redress

of their grievances, is culpable and oppressive. Public discussion is going on in England—and it has found its way into India also—as to the desirability of getting about a fusion of the professions, with a view to reduce the expenses of litigation. In Calcutta and the other Presidency towns, some doubt is justly entertained regarding the feasibility of the proposition, and it is a matter for thought and reflection whether the combination of the business of the advocate and of the attorney in the same person will not result generally in lowering the prestige of the bar and preventing men of broad calibre from joining the profession. This certainly may to some extent be obviated by making it optional with a barrister to do attorney's work, and not allowing the attorney to appear in Court as a barrister; but this would meet the evil only half-way, whereas the inconvenience felt in going through one's business would be incalculable. The proposition, however, for the establishment of a Presidency Civil Court is complete in its character and operation, and the effect desired is sure of attainment. The legal profession—and more specially among them the junior barrister—will be benefited, and the public, to say the least of it, will be simply relieved. The cries and sobs of the poor, the wailings of the destitute, will cease, and the Government of Her Majesty will have the blessings of unbefriended widows and infants heaped upon it, to secure further prosperity and welfare.

BHARADWAJA.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

*Hindu Philosophy popularly explained. The Heterodox Systems, —by Ram Chandra Bose, A.M.,—Author of "The Truth of Christianity," "Brahmoism," &c. Published at the Methodist Publishing House, 6, Waterloo Street, Calcutta.*

THIS is a popular treatise on Hindu Theology as propounded by the different schools in India. The author, who has already established a high reputation in the world of letters, is a zealous and devout Christian, and the work is written professedly from a Christian stand-point. In the preface the author says :—

"I have to add that my object in these publications is two-fold, to counteract the growing tendency of the educated intellect of the country to an exaggerated admiration of Oriental thought, and to place within reach of my fellow-laborers in the Lord such books of reference as may help them in the prosecution of their work"

A large portion of the book treats of Buddhism and the modern Theosophist propagators and professors of that ancient creed. Out of the thirteen chapters into which the book is divided no less than five are devoted to this subject, the rest treating of "the characteristics of heterodox philosophy in India," "Jainism," "the Charvaka system," "the Theism of reaction," "Kabir and his creed," "Nanak, his successors and his creed." The author has waged open and uncompromising war against Buddhism, especially as it is taught by the Theosophists. He has ably met the arguments advanced by Mr. Sinnett in his "Esoteric Buddhism." There are, however, a few passages in the book which have somewhat taken us by surprise. We do not pretend to a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of Buddha, but we have always believed that the ground-work of the religion founded by him is the well-known doctrine of *ahinsa paramo dharma* or doing harm to no creature, which the preacher spared no pains to

inculcate as well by his life as by his teachings. But the author writes :—

"Once only we read of his (Buddha's) having partaken somewhat freely of a dish of pork and his death is said to have been hastened by what to a Hindu would scarcely be forbidden food, as the flesh was that of a wild boar, not of a filthy pig."

One more extract from this interesting work and we have done. Mr. Bose sums up the character of Buddha in the following words which will at once give an idea of his views on the subject, as well as of the terse but graceful and lucid style in which he writes :—

"That Buddha was a grand personality, perhaps the grandest raised in an atmosphere of imperfect knowledge and erroneous views, is readily admitted. But far from being a stainless example of moral perfection he was an example of defective moral consciousness, of one-sided development and monastic virtue ; and him we cannot help discerning an intellect majestic, but by no means sufficiently well-balanced, a spirit lofty, but not thoroughly emancipated from prevailing error, a heart inclined to some maxims of moral rectitude but separated from the vital principal of all true morality, and a character grand indeed in some respects, but sadly mutilated. And so far as a union of the varied elements of a well-balanced, or fully developed moral character is concerned, the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he !"

We would recommend this interesting volume to our educated countrymen. It will fully repay perusal and will give them an opportunity of learning what the other side has got to say on the religious questions which are now exercising the minds of the native public. The book is very neatly got up, the paper and type being excellent.

*Bijoy Chand,—an Indian tale, by H. Dutt,—Author of "The Library of Anecdotes," "Child's History of India." Published by H. C. Dutt and Co., 80 Sitaram Ghose's Street.*

This is a novelette somewhat resembling the English two-penny novels which are to be met with everywhere. It narrates the romantic adventures of the hero Bijoy Chand who kills a tiger "with a mighty blow of his stalwart arm," and thus saves a Rajah's lovely daughter whom he afterwards loves. The princess is subsequently carried off by the Sonthals, and is rescued by her lover after many hairbreadth escapes and thrilling adventures. The gallant Bijoy Chand, who ultimately proves to be Kumar Bijoy Sing of Bishengurh, succeeds in winning the lady of his love,

and the book concludes with the nuptials of the happy lovers. The story is told in a plain and simple style and ought to find favour with the young.

*The Library of Anecdotes,—by H. Dutt.*—This little pamphlet also comes from the pen of H. Dutt the author of the novelette noticed above. It is a collection of short, interesting and instructive anecdotes, especially intended for the young. Some of these seem to be original and the rest are extracts from different books. The author thinks that "this little book can very well be introduced in our schools," and we think so too, but there are some defects which must be remedied before this can be done. The following extracts will shew what we mean :—

"He then entered into conversation with the farmer, asking him several questions about his family, how many children and what was the age of each. His lordship then went into another room and on re-entering, gave the farmer a cheque for Rs. 120, saying, 'Take care of this and when your eldest son shall become of age, present it to him, and tell him the occasion which produced it.'

"This cup of water, so trifle in itself saved his life and he was thankful. A few nights after, when the terrible massacre began, the school, in which our young ladies were boarders, were attacked and every one save the young English lady, was massacred."

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# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

**NEW SERIES.**

No. 10.—October 1888.

## *ANGLO-INDIAN SOCIAL LIFE DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.*

The study of eighteenth century manners possesses attractions for minds of widely different calibres. Some there are who love to compare the civilisation of our own day, with its infinite appliances for embellishing life and abridging human toil, with the simplicity of the surroundings in which our ancestors were content to dwell. This self-complacence is apt to be disturbed by a closer acquaintance with the history of the epoch which is divided from our own by the great gulf of the French Revolution; and a glance at the high-bred features which grace the canvasses of Reynolds and Gainsborough inspires uncomfortable doubts as to the universal application of Darwinian theories. To the smaller class which can appraise the mechanical arts and merchandize of these latter days at their true value the peculiar charm of the eighteenth century lies in the fact that, while near us chronologically, it is immeasurably distant in spirit. There are still amongst us those who have seen and conversed with survivors of the vanished age; and, thanks to the love of letters cherished by our ancestors, we are able to clothe its dead bones with vigorous life. On the other hand it is scarcely an exaggeration to affirm that Cicero and Horace had more in common with ourselves than the men who listened awestruck to Johnson's rolling apophthegms, or basked in the light of Devonshire's bewitching eyes. If the home-staying Briton of the eighteenth century is an interesting study to his descendants, not less so are his contemporaries to whose efforts we owe the foundation of our Indian empire. Lord Erskine, indeed,

declared, that they brought the knavery, as well as the strength of civilization to bear on the congeries of races, amongst whom their lot was cast. The reproach is not undeserved; but it should be remembered, that they were plunged at an age, when habits and principles are still unformed, into a medium charged with temptation and giving the freest play to degrading impulses. But for the saving virtues of their stock, they must have sunk to the level of their predecessors, who found it an easier task to conquer India than to avoid the insidious influences which victory brought in its train. Facts which shed a light upon the lives of men such as these possess a peculiar interest to their successors; but unhappily for the student of human nature, such details are by no means abundant. In the pages of Orme and a host of minor chroniclers the course of public events may be laboriously followed. Every crisis of Indian affairs produced its crop of pamphlets which handled the situation with vigour and acrimony. Native laws and archæology were studied in a desultory fashion by a coterie which clustered round Sir William Jones. But poetry and fiction were untrodden fields, and the periodical press in its veriest infancy. Anglo-Indians of the day were, in fact, too deeply engrossed in the congenial task of shaking the pagoda-tree, still bending beneath its golden fruit, to find leisure for that which they were wont to style "belles lettres." "The libraries," writes the future Lord Teignmouth in 1771 "brought out by the captains and mates of Indiamen into the country for sale, though very voluminous, consist mostly of novels, and such books as are termed by the London shopkeepers 'light summer reading,' and such as are sent at stated seasons in large cargoes to 'Bath' 'Tunbridge Wells' and such places. Their surplus energy diverted from legitimate outlets, found vent, in base intrigue, and foul invective. Mr. Barwell, the typical nabob of English comedy, is declared by a colleague in council, to possess "all the bad qualities, common to the climate and country of which he is in every sense a native. . . . . He is rapacious without industry, ambitious without an exertion of his faculties or steady application to affairs." Sir Eyre Coote, whose services to his country found record in Westminster Abbey, was, if we may believe Sir P. Francis, "an abandoned scoundrel of . . . . . a character, to which, your English ideas of dirt and meanness do not reach." Even here it excites execration and contempt. Such flowers of rhetoric could only flourish in a soil teeming with morbid influences; and the keynote to the intellectual barrenness of this strange epoch, is to be found in the effects of climate, aggra-

vated by social usages, incompatible with bodily and mental vigour. The lower Provinces of Bengal albeit the cradle of a world-shadowing empire, are for nine months of the year, cursed with the temperature of a superheated green house, yet when John Shore landed in 1767, he found the future City of Palaces, an ill-built congeries of houses, few of which were furnished with venetian blinds, or glass windows. Solid shutters and rattan cane-work like that which now adorns the seats of our chairs was all that intervened between the scorching sun, and the effluvia from countless festering rivers. "It is impossible" writes Sir W. W. Hunter, in a very interesting disquisition on "India graves" contributed to the Calcutta *Englishman*, "to restrain some retrospective pity, for the inmates of these squalid tenements, for their hard, hot lives, mitigated by none of the alleviations which have become necessary to us, with few if any verandahs or lofty ceilings, without punkahs, without ice, without the possibility of change to the hills, or any respite to their exile by visits home. At the trial of Nuncoomar in 1775, the judges of the High Court retired 3 or 4 times a day to shift their linen, and Calcutta was for long taken to be a corruption of Golgotha, a place of skulls. The mental stagnation of a community given to arrack, punch, and heavy dinner in the heat of the tropical day, destitute of the external interest, which the telegraph and the press now bring to us every morning, and dependant, for their news from England, on 3 or 4 shipments a year, produced a *tædium vitæ* even harder to bear." It affected the brass-browed Francis himself, who declaims against "the waste of spirits in this cursed country a disease unconquerable—a misery unutterable." The intense vitality of our race sufficed to render such lives as these, fruitful in works which are a rich inheritance to us, their successors. But it were vain to look for the philosophic spirit or the play of fancy, in conditions so deadly to the intellectual faculties. Hence, the materials for a faithful picture of Anglo-Indian life in the 18th century are lamentably defective, and the student must console himself for the absence of such aids to research as Mr. Lecky found ready to his hand in sweet profusion, by a devotion to works, intended by their authors for very different purposes than those of *memoires pour servir*. Amongst these waifs of literature, is a very rare guide book, entitled the "East India vade mecum" published in 1810 by a Captain Thomas Williamson, who had already given to the world, a portentous tome on the "Wild sports of the East." The gallant writer retired from the service at least a decade earlier,

so that the society to which he introduces young gentlemen destined to an Indian career, is that of the eighteenth century, unruffled as yet by the modern spirit. His knowledge of Anglo-Indian life in its material aspects is regularly minute, albeit expressed with intolerable prolixity and want of method. Thanks to this guide, philosopher and friend, and to the side lights thrown upon the manners of the epoch by selections from the Calcutta Gazettes published under the auspices of Government, we are able to follow the new-comer in Bengal circ. 1790 through the varied experiences which awaited him. The Civil Service in those early days was closely preserved for the relations and connections of directors, and a youth who had been fortunate enough to secure a writership—for which we learn incidentally that £3000 was commonly paid by way of douceur—found himself on arrival, among old family friends, who vied with each other in offering him the splendid hospitality for which these primitive times were famous. Nor had the aspirant to military fame, any reason for anxiety as to his immediate future. He had but to present himself at the office of the Town Major at Fort William, to receive an order of admission into the Cadet corps at Baraset, 12 or 14 miles from the capital. But the young "interlopers" as all Europeans beyond the sacred pale of the services were styled frequently began life under far less favourable circumstances. On leaving the shelter of the 'Indiaman' which had been his home, for half the preceding year, he was generally accosted by one of those hangers-on known as "Ramzani"—(born during the Mahommedan Lent) who attracted notice by repeated salaams and the tender of an umbrella. But woe betide the confiding youth who accepted the services of these domestic plagues! He was inducted to some low punch-house where he was mulcted in a guinea and a half a day for the use of the worst inn's worst room with board to match. Nor was this all: for these taverns were the resort of the offscourings of the Port: and the unhappy stranger was tolerably sure to be dragged into a drunken brawl ending in an appearance at the Police court and social ruin. If well advised, he wended his way to the nearest European shop, the proprietor of which was ready, for a consideration, to post him up on Calcutta ways. These establishments played an important part in the social life of the period. They consisted of suites of spacious rooms with warehouses, or godowns attached, displaying an infinite variety of wines, liquors, grocery, glass, tin, copper, crockery, firearms, stationery, clothing, ironmongery and books even, all to be had at prices ranging from 30 to 300 per

cent. in the "salt water invoices." For all had been imported by the officers of Indiamen, a share of whose emoluments was derived from cargo-space allotted to them in proportion to their rank. Sales were, in the first instance, effected in the auction-room which was a happy hunting ground to Calcutta ladies in search of new sensations and shopkeepers ever ready to take advantage of gluts in the market. A novice's next care would be to procure house accommodation—a matter of no small difficulty. For hotels, in the modern sense of the word, were unknown; boarding houses still in the womb of futurity; and furnished lodgings not to be had at any price. A house must be hired and rents were then, as now, exorbitantly high. Sir John Shore, when Member of Warren Hastings's Supreme Council, paid £100 per mensem for the suburban residence of a native magnate and as much was gladly given for less spacious quarters more centrally situated. Recourse must again be had to the friendly tradesman, a deposit made to cover the first month's rent, and in a few hours a modest tenement was generally available.

The ordinary town-house was brick-built: and so well did those old masons know their work that the demolition of eighteenth century structures requires the intervention of gunpowder. The old Fort of Calcutta, built in 1730, bade defiance to the 32 lb. shot of brave Admiral Watson rained against its western face during the siege of 1757.

A quarter of a century later the stalwart arms of a European regiment aided by crowbars and tackle were powerless to loosen the iron bars of the windows pierced in the Company's cloth warehouses gutted by a conflagration. The roof was flat, and supported by gigantic beams of teak from Burmah costing 3 shillings per foot, or salwood brought down by river from the vast forests that fringed the Himalayas.

The general plan comprised a central hall, flanked by smaller rooms, and though built in two stories, the apartments in the upper floor were alone inhabited. Palanquins, gigs, and household stores filled the spacious basement, rendered damp and unhealthy by the miasma from the morasses which surrounded the capital. A broad verandah was a common adjunct on the southern side, and afforded a means of moderate exercise during the rainy season. This verandah, and the dwelling rooms were lofty enough, but the halls were carried up many feet above the tops of the squat doors and windows, forming a trap to confine the heated air. The floors, always of cement, were covered with beautifully fine rush-matting, or, in the case of the wealthier classes, with splendid

silk carpets from Persia and the Upper Provinces. Towards the close of the century, venetian blinds painted green became universal and glass windows opening French-fashion came into pretty general use. The prices of glass imported from England varied of course with the size: panes of 8 inches by 11, costing 2 shillings each, and those of 20 inches by 30, 6 shillings. The doors externally were panelled and provided with handsome brass mountings and morticed locks, but their place was taken in the interior of the building by thick cotton curtains termed *purdahs*.

The main edifice was surmounted by others of a lower elevation, which served as kitchens, stables, storehouses, servants' quarters and zenanas. The cost of erecting a tenement suitable for a European family was not less than £2000, and a new-comer would certainly not secure a local habitation of any sort for less than £13 per mensem. This rent would give him bare walls without fittings of any sort, but cargoes of furniture, packed in numbered pieces were continually arriving, and very tolerable imitations were turned out by European and native joiners, established in the town. The stranger had but to visit the auction warehouses, and those attached to the principal shops, to render 3 or 4 rooms habitable at a total cost of about £70. Plate and bedding had been provided in his outfit, but a year's supply of wines, spirits, and groceries would stand him in at least £600. His next step was the engagement of a staff of domestics, and here would begin an acquaintance with the iron-bound caste system, which still compels a needless division of labour, and an undue multiplication of offices. The *Khitmutgar*, or table servant, stood first in order of importance. His duty was to lay the breakfast table, dispensing tea from a sideboard, and wait during meals. When his master dined out, he was preceded by his khitmutgar who stood behind his chair, changed his plate, and fanned him with a miniature punkah. Khitmutgars were paid at the rate of 10 s. to £1 monthly, inclusive. The average, 16 s. per mensem, nearly approaches the modern standard. Next in rank came the *Abdar*, whose functions consisted in cooling liquors for his master's use, by agitating them, enclosed in a flask, in a large pewter cylinder containing a strong solution of salt-petre. Like the khitmutgar, he attended his master when he dined out; and a strange scene was presented in the courtyard during a large party, by several dozen abdars labouring at their craft with a noise resembling that of a saw-mill. Their pay averaged 18 s. per mensem, plus the profits arising from the sale of the spent-solution, which was again boiled down by native chemists. Ice first imported about 30 years ago from Boston, and now made in

immense quantities by steam machinery, has robbed the Abdar of his occupation. His art—for art it was—is extinct and only in very old houses, are his clumsy paraphernalia still shown as a curiosity. The *masalchi*, took his name from *masal* the native torch. His functions were dual. He acted as scullion and aid to the Khitmutgar when in doors, and ran before his master's palanquin or carriage after nightfall, brandishing a large flambeau, as a branch light, carrying 4 or 5 smaller ones. His pay was 10 shillings a month but he was expected to find his own oil. The masalchi of the present day receives the same guerdon, but the duties indicated by his name are wholly obsolete. The *Hookah burdar's* ministrations were of the very first importance in the economy of the 18th century household. In our day we can hardly realize the slavery to which the cumbrous *hookah* reduced its votaries. It was habitually smoked for half an hour at least after every meal, and the removal of the cloth was impatiently awaited by all Europeans as the signal for the greedy inhalation of fumes, arising from an electuary of tobacco from the Maharatta country, worked up with bananas, spice, and crude sugar. There were those who smoked literally day and night, retaining two *hookah burdars* who attended them by turns. It is curious to note that cheroots were then relegated to the lowest class of Europeans, and that the effluvia from one was enough to put to flight a company addicted to the lordly *hookah*.

The salary of the *hookah-burdar* ranged from £1 to £1-10-0 per mensem: but the richer Europeans paid far more highly for ministrations which have become wholly obsolete within the memory of the present generation. The *bawarchi*, or cook, though often according to his lights a real artist, received wages at the rate of 16 shillings a month. His methods were much the same as those of the present year of grace, when the kitchen with its nameless horrors is an unknown region for the mistress of the home. But cooks now demand at least twice as much as sufficed for their predecessors a century back. The domestic water-supply was provided by a *bhisti*, or water-carrier, in bags of tanned goatskin such as in Spain supply the place of wine-casks. During the winter months the Bhisti's office was almost a sinecure: but in the hot weather he was incessantly employed in wetting the *tattis*, panels stuffed with dry grass fitted into apertures on the windward side of the home for the purpose of cooling the air. The year 1793, memorable as the culminating epoch of Lord Cornwallis' reforms, was marked by a constant succession of fiery blasts, which made life, in despite of these

primitive refrigerators, almost unbearable. They are now never seen in the Lower Provinces of Bengal: and the *bhisti's* wages are but 12 shillings a month as compared with 8 shillings a century ago.

Every domestic hitherto mentioned was a Mahommedan and the list of Hindus was headed by the *Bearers*. They were never less than seven in number, one of whom acted as supervisor or *sardar* with charge of his master's wardrobe; another was detailed to cook for his comrades, and the rest carried the palanquin then in universal use, and the family umbrella. Their outdoor duties were varied by the charge of the house and furniture when at home, and during the hot weather each took his turn with the handpunkah, an enormous fan made of a single leaf of the punkah palm, *chamœrops humilis*. Punkahs swinging from the roof, such as are now seen everywhere, did not make their appearance till quite the close of the century. They are said to have been the invention of a Governor of Serampur, then a Dutch Settlement. *Bearers* were either natives of the province of Orissa, or Kahars, a low caste domiciled in Behar. The former were the more cleanly and punctual: but they were bigoted to an extraordinary degree, and slavishly subservient to a trades' union which, fostered by our exotic legal system, made them foremost amongst the domestic plagues which embarrassed our forefathers. The monthly cost of a set of seven was £2-18-0: the *sardar* receiving 10 shillings and the others 8 shillings each. At the present day the *sardar* has developed into the head valet, who draws £1-0-0 per mensem, his *mate*, or assistant, receiving at least 14 shillings. Both are wholly divorced from the palanquin, which has been superseded by the Brougham, Victoria, and Dog-cart: but their name survives, like that of the *Masalchi*, to indicate the genesis of their office. A *Dhobi*, washerman, was retained for every household and paid at the rate of £1-0-0 a month. In the rare cases in which a house possessed a legitimate mistress, the *Dhobi's* pay was doubled; for ladies in those days wore little save white cottons and muslins. His earnings were too often surreptitiously increased by the hire of his master's superfine shirts to low Europeans and Portuguese. This practice is not yet extinct; but a *dhobi's* pay is now on a slightly lower scale, probably because light clothing is no longer exclusively worn. Lowest in the category came the humble *mehter*, a domestic scavenger who deemed himself a Hindu though held in abhorrence by followers of that creed. His services were recompensed by monthly wages of six to eight shillings—a rate about twenty five per cent. below

that current at the present day, when, thanks to wholesale conversions to Mahommedanism, the supply of this degraded but indispensable menial falls far short of the demand.

If a new comer's means permitted, he generally invested in a horse of some sort; for a gallop at early dawn was part of the Englishman's gospel of health. A wide choice lay open to him. There was the indigenous pony, known as *tattoo*: slight-limbed, cat-hammed and fiddle-headed, but with an immense capacity for work, which could be picked up for £3 and less. Then the *tangan* from Bhutan and Thibet; piebald, hogmaned and "punchy," brought in great droves from the Thibet plateau by traders who were glad to accept £4 or £5 for an average specimen. Sportsmen affected the *Durbhunga-tazi*, galloways, sold by their breeders at the great annual fairs of north Behar. The dealer's price was £25 to £30 for these handsome if somewhat weedy hacks. Timid horsemen preferred the *Turkis*, stout and phlegmatic roadsters brought down from Cabul after the rainy season by merchants who loaded them with shawls, dried fruit, and beautiful long-haired cats. At that season, too, arrived long strings of Persian horses, averaging fifteen-and-a-half hands, remarkable for heavy lob ears and exported only after a long life of hard work under some nomad chat chieftain. With all drawbacks they fetched £80 to £100: and for very choice specimens as much as £300 was willingly paid. The lower limit was sometimes reached by the *jungle-tazis*, bred in the Punjab and the *Majeunis* his cross with a Persian or Turki mare, which were greatly prized for beauty and spirit. The average cost of a mount to a new comer of limited means may be taken as approximating £25: and the monthly wages of his groom, or *syce* and grass cutter, for each animal required two body-servants—were ten shillings and six shillings respectively. The daily feed was eight pounds of a native pulse, termed *gram*, costing two shillings per maund of eighty pounds. Thus the total charges of keeping a serviceable cob did not exceed £14 per annum about two-thirds of the present average. The country *tattoo* is now seen in the shafts of native vehicles and sometimes in the polo-field. It is possible to recognize the *tangan* in the modern Bhutia pony beloved by weighty cavaliers; and country-breds still represent the *serissa*, *madwonies* and *jungle-tazi*. Turcoman steeds are still brought to India by wild-looking Afghan traders, and are in great request where an unlimited capacity for work is preferred to good looks and showy paces. The Persian horse of last century was probably a half-bred Arab from the gulf of that ilk: and considerable

numbers are still imported by dealers of the Western coast. But the steeds of Asia have yielded to the ubiquitous "Waler" as those reared from English stock in our Australian colonies are vulgarly called.

Table expenses averaged £100 per annum: and the total charges of bachelor living in the Indian metropolis a hundred years ago may be thus summarized.

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|---|---|---|
| Rent ... | ... | £ 160 |
| Servants | ... | £ 116 |
| Table ... | ... | £ 100 |
| Wines and Stores ... | | £ 60 |
| Horse keep | ... | £ 14 |
| Total | ... | £ 450 |

The conditions of life have altered so radically since the remote period which I am endeavouring to describe that a comparison between past and present is nearly impossible. No bachelor, and very few married men would now attempt housekeeping on first arrival, or till a settled position and a considerable income had been secured. Moreover tendencies are distinctly gregarious. Hotel and boarding houses abound; and the chummery enables groups of friends living in common to attain a high standard of comfort at a minimum of expense. A single man can now live respectably and enjoy many luxuries undreamt of by persons of moderate means at home on an income of £250. Having set up our imaginary bachelor in house, I will now follow him through his daily routine. He rose at daybreak, and spent the cool hours which follow dawn in galloping over the Maidan, the Hyde Park of Calcutta, and the umbrageous lanes which girt the capital. This exercise produced a craving for breakfast, which was served at 8 o'clock, and consisted of tea, coffee, toast, eggs, rice, salt-fish, kitchery (pulse fried in butter) and country preserves. The drink that cheers was always of the green description, imported from China at a cost of four to six shillings per pound: and the coffee was the veritable product of Arabia Felix, at three shillings and nine pence. Neither beverage was of a quality commensurate with the price of the raw material, for it was the fashion to leave the task of brewing in the hands of the Khidmutgar operating at a side-board. This hearty meal despatched, the palanquin was ordered for a journey officewards, and the cares of business lasted till 2 P.M., when an adjournment was made to "tiffing" *anglice* lunch. This meal consisted of mutton chops, grilled fowl, cold meat and hot curry

washed down with claret and madeira. The services of the hookah-burdar were now called into requisition, and not by the sterner sex alone. Mrs. Sherwood, writing in 1807, a period for practical purposes *eu plein dix huitième siècle*, tells us that her little hero's "Mama would sometimes let him take tiffing with her; but as she always employed herself at table, when not actually eating, in smoking her hookah, and as most of her visitors did the same, the tiffing-hour was very stupid for the little boy. For, instead of rational and improving converse there was nothing to be heard but the rattling of plates, knives and forks, the creaking of the punkahs, and the gurgling of the hookahs." A siesta followed—not a mere forty winks but a solemn retirement to bed, where, encased in their undervests or banians, and baggy cotton drawers termed *paijamas*, our ancestors snored through the hot afternoon hours. A bath and change of linen afterwards fitted them for the most important duty of the day—dinner to wit. As in England the hour fixed for this feast showed a constant tendency to advance. Early in the century it was two o'clock: at the close—six or seven. Dinner was pre-eminently a social meal. The Members of Council, and Judges and the heads of the great Agency houses kept open houses, and during the cold season dinners of forty or fifty covers were of every day occurrence. The male guests made their appearance in full war-paint—broad-cloth coats or military uniforms resplendent with gold lace in which they sweltered like jasons in medea's shirt. They were met in the verandah by the host, who politely begged them to remove their outer garment, a suggestion which was promptly acted upon. Underneath was a sleeved waistcoat; and to this curious fiction we owe the genesis of the modern mess-jacket. Thus lightly attired the guests sat down to dinner in a room blazing with wax lights at four shillings a pound set in sconces provided with tall glass shades. The table was spread with two cloths, one of which was removed when the desert made its appearance. The drapery was and still is manufactured at Patna and its environs, and cost from one to four shillings per square yard. Each cover was laid with a tumbler, a long glass for claret, a smaller for Madeira, imported at prices three hundred per cent. above London prices, and provided with moveable silver covers to guarantee their contents against the self immolation of hordes of busy, thirsty, curious insects. Table knives, too, were English goods, as was the silver—for electroplate was unheard of, and the display of plate on occasions of ceremony was really imposing. Now, every guest brought his own table servant, the wealthier two and even three, who hedged

the hospitable board about with a wall of human flesh which intercepted the breezes of heaven and added enormously to the terrors of the thermometer. It became necessary to put some check on the cleptomania of this turbaned mob: and each was searched by the hall-porter, *durwan,* at the evening's close. A good story is told of an eminent prelate, who was vehemently suspected of indulging proclivities very unbecoming to his cloth until his khitmutgar was detected in the act of hiding divers spoons and forks in the inner pocket of his lordship's overcoat. The plates and dishes were imported from Staffordshire, though home-staying Englishmen in those days preferred the beautiful products of China. A "long set," to dine thirty, cost £65, and in the clumsy hands of the *masalche* it soon dwindled to an irreducible minimum. In the matter of viands, a coarse profusion reigned, unmitigated by the *dîner à la Russe,* an innovation within the memory of the present generation. Soup, fish, homeric joints; turkey and ham—still the *pièce de resistance* of an Indian banquet—fowls, high-spiced stews and red-hot curries, all steamed at once on the sorely burdened table, and emitted an effluvium which was too much for the stomach of new arrivals. Pork was greatly relished: not the bazar-fed article but the result of a year's "education" of the unhappy pig under the master's close supervision. Hardly more suited to the climate were the wines which washed down this substantial fare. The bottles, after undergoing the cooling process which I have already described, were placed on the table in stands of turned wood covered with jackets of wetted cloth.

Three varieties were recognised—claret, madeira and port. The claret was either English, Danish or French. The first was doctored with brandy in London and sold at six shillings per bottle. The second was imported by way of Serampore, then a dependancy of Denmark, and as it was fined with litharge, it had the character of producing bowel-complaints. The French wine was only procurable during times of peace, when sound but thin Bordeaux stood the Calcutta consumer in three shillings a bottle. The popularity of Madeira dated from 1779, when the East India Company began importing it in cask for the use of their servants. The surplus was disposed of by auction, at an average price of £60 per pipe of forty dozen. The taste thus created grew apace. It became the fashion to maintain large stores of the golden liquid, which rapidly matured in the heat of an Indian godown. Stocks of sixty pipes, nearly twenty-eight thousand bottles were not uncommon: and great was the competition when the hoardings of a well-known connoisseur came into the market. The re-

tail price of good Madeira, three or four years in bottle, did not exceed two shillings per bottle—an outlay which placed the product of the western isles within the reach of the most impecunious subaltern. It was, indeed, pre-eminently the soldier's drink; and the stock held by the old Bengal Artillery was of unapproachable bouquet and condition. Port enjoyed a fleeting favour during the throes of our struggle with France: but its astringency and heating properties disagreed with the *dura ilia* of our ancestors in the East. Malt liquors did not make their appearance till the cloth had been removed: and then rarely in their native purity. The favourite beverage of this description was "country beer," composed of cask-ale or porter, the fermented juice of the toddy-palm-sugar, ginger and limes. Country wine, known as arrack and forming the basis of punch was largely consumed by the lower sections of the community. But spirit drinking was considered bad form: and those who indulged in *brandy pawnee* were shunned by all who pretended to refinement. The temperature of the dining room precluded those after dinner symposiacs so universal in the mother country, and, after a tour or two of the bottle, the male guests adjourned to the *chabutra* a raised platform which dominated the garden. Here nought save the gingle of the hookah was heard till supper, a meal which took place at ten o'clock and consisted of bread and cheese, claret and madeira. The inevitable hookah succeeded; and, unless cards were the order of the night, the retirement of the hostess, towards eleven P.M. was the signal for a general break-up.

"Tell me what you eat" affirms the illustrious author of the Physiology of Taste "and I will tell you what you are." Few will fail to recognize in the gross feeding of our predecessors the source of the bitterness of heart which found vent in evil speaking, lying and slandering, and curtailed their capacity for intellectual exertion and social enjoyment. The amusements of Anglo-India were even less tolerable than those which wrung the withers of Sir G. C. Lewis. Formal calls were the rule during the forenoon, when Calcutta streets were thronged with palanquins hurrying from house to house. The period between dinner and supper was devoted by ladies to a similar duty: and their conveyances, excorted by troops of beaux *chapeau bras*, "proceeded on a tour devoted entirely to the cold exchange of what is called civility." These daily rounds were occasionally varied by attendance at a very curious ceremony, which followed the arrival of squadrons from home. It was called "sitting up" and was in point of fact, a public exhibition of girls who had come

out in quest of husbands. For this laudable purpose the great ladies of the settlement threw open their drawing rooms on three successive nights; the attraction being a bevy of fine English maidens enthroned in state, with complexions unmarred as yet by heat and mosquito bites. It would be difficult to parallel the sufferings of these victims to a barbarous fashion, seated bolt upright in tightly-laced stomachers and hoops of monstrous size, bending beneath superstructures of flowers, feathers and hair-powder. Some mitigation was, indeed, afforded by the prompt offers of marriage which rained on them from the host of yellow-jawed macaronis who pushed, ogled and quizzed in the furnace-like saloons. Ladies were ordinarily "at home" at 9 p.m.: when cards interrupted by a supper two hours later raged with the utmost fury till the small hours. Tradille and long whist were the favourite games, and fortunes were staked and lost on the *tapis veit.* To such a length was the passion indulged in towards the century's close, that Lord Cornwallis, then Governor-General, deemed it necessary to intervene. The heads of departments, who allowed their houses to be turned for the nonce into gambling hells, were sternly warned that they had incurred his Excellency's displeasure: and a notorious resort known as Selby's club was suppressed. The Viceregal ban extended to horse-racing, which, however, was far from being a popular form of sport. A race course existed on the present site, about a mile and a half to the south of Government House: but it was unenclosed and cut to pieces by the wheels of vehicles. There was no Turf Club or clerk of the course to maintain order during running: and many severe accidents marred the success of the annual meetings held about Christmas time. But an Englishman's love of sport must be gratified: and it found a congenial vent in frequent shooting expeditions in the interior. Captain Williamson's colossal work on out door amusements shows the perils encountered by the sportsmen of that day while in pursuit of the striped majesty of the jungles. He depicts some accoutred in buck skins and hunting cap as if they were following the Quorn rode down the fierce wild boar: and others content with a less noble quarry circumvented the wily floriken with their long single barrelled Spanish birding pieces. Fives, and billiards in despite of the very primitive development attained by the game, enjoyed a certain popularity: but cricket had not yet taken root in the East. Members of the Calcutta cricket club will be surprized to learn that a similar organization existed upwards of a century ago, but struggled in vain against deep-rooted prejudice. The doctors

declared that "the alternative successions of exertion and inactivity rendered the players liable to severe colds and consequent obstructions." More popular was the British Drama. A theatre was built in the year 1760 by a subscription of £5000, in shares of £100 each. The scenery and costumes were purchased in London under the auspices of the great Garrick, who despatched a henchman of his, named Messuck to superintend the installation. The first actors were amateurs: but their caprices were found so intolerable by the committee of management that they were supplanted by professionals engaged on very liberal salaries. Things prospered for a while, and the Calcutta stage had reached the apogee, when the cold shade of viceregal disfavour obscured its popularity. Lord Cornwallis again set his face against cakes and all, and the government servants, who gave their support to professional element, soon found themselves in his bad books. Things were no better during the régime of his straight-laced successor, Sir John Shore; and the close of the century was a period of profound depression for the Indian drama. Music was not cultivated with the energy which one would have expected of an age which produced the greatest masters of the divine art. The fault lay to some extent in the imperfection of the instruments of the day. A grand piano cost £200 and could only be kept in tolerable tune by being kept perpetually swathed in blankets. Repairs of any kind were exorbitantly dear, and spare strings deteriorated rapidly in quality. Hence a quartette party or two, or a concert organized for the benefit of some belated professor longing to shake Indian dust from his feet were the only musical land marks of a Calcutta season. Dancing, also, languished. The soul-inspiring waltz was nil as yet, and minuetes and country-dances were voted bores. The Governor-General and his great officers of State gave formal balls on the king's Birthday and in celebration of our victories by sea and land. A speculator would, now and again, engage rooms for an Assembly at one of the Taverns which existed to satisfy the British craving for public dinners; but his invitation to the ladies and gentlemen of the Settlement met with a cold response. This fact, and the dulness which was the bane of old Indian life, were largely due to the dearth of Englishwomen. It was computed that their number never exceeded 250 as compared with a male population of 4000. Nor is the cause far to seek. The passage-money and outfit of a fair aspirant to matrimony cost her friends at least £500, a sum which was utterly beyond the means of middle-class people at home. A still more potent restriction lay in the increased expendi-

ture which a newly-married couple had to face. Including the cost of a carriage, extra-servant and clothing it was probably not far short of £600 a year. Hill schools were non-existent and education in the plains was dear and bad. Children were therefore perforce sent home, at a cost of £150 each, to spend the previous years of youth among strangers, and grow up ignorant of the sweet influences of parental love.

But nature asserted itself, and the impossibility of finding helpmeets of their own race drove Englishmen into habits which cannot be ignored by a faithful chronicler. Illicit connection with daughters of the soil were universal throughout the British settlements. Every bungalow built during the last century possessed an adjunct known as the *Bibi ghar*, which sheltered its occupants' zenana from the public eye. This was tenanted by one or more dusky ladies, generally Mahommedans, whose insatiable love of intrigue, jewellery, and native music was a constant source of annoyance to their lord and master. The depth of his purse was the only limit to these numbers; for the annual charges incurred for each light of the harem, including the wages of two *dhais*, or female attendants, tobacco, betel-nuts, clothing and ornaments, did not exceed £50. Sixteen was the recorded maximum, maintained by an old Colonel, who in response to an enquiry as to what he did with so many, replied, "O, I give them a little rice and let them run about!" This organized polygamy accounts for the fact that our predecessors in India were profoundly orientalized, and affords a clue to many a dark page of Anglo-Indian history. Its result is still to be seen in the great Eurasian community, whose condition and future are at this day exercising the minds of those who wish the welfare of our great dependancy. But the constant touch now maintained between west and east has destroyed the last traces of an institution which was productive of evils to which I dare not allude in these pages. Religious sanctions were powerless to stem the flood of immorality, for Christianity was in abeyance. When the future Lord Teignmouth landed at Calcutta, in 1769, there was but a single clergyman in Bengal, who held divine service in a room of the old Fort. Twenty years later, the number had doubled "one of whom is a man of learning and very general knowledge, the other has neither." One Church has lately been built. It was begun by subscription. A Pagan gave the ground. All classes subscribed. Lotteries, confiscations, donations received contrary to law have been employed in completing it. The company gave but little. Such was the origin of St. John's, a modest fane in the worst Georgian taste which for thirty years

was of the cathedral of a See embracing the whole of British India. Over the prevailing coarseness of life and manners lay a thin veneer of pomp and circumstance, which was prompted in the first instance by the instinct of self-preservation. For the disproportion between the resources of conquerors and conquered was by no means so great as it is in our own day: and the weakness of the former was masked by surroundings such as hedged about the majesty of Akbar and Aurungzeeb. The Governor-General never stirred abroad without an array of body-guards, gold sticks, spearmen, and peacock's plumes. *Tout marquei vevet avoir des pages*; and Members of Council took their airings in gilt palanquins lined with silk brocade costing £300, preceded by silver maces and gorgeous umbrellas. Bishop Heber tells of an English magnate in 1790 who insisted on having his style and titles proclaimed by a herald before he sat down to meal. Such observances lingered till the present century was far advanced. Lady Amherst in 1826 walked in the Calcutta Botanical Gardens under the escort of two servants carrying gilt spears and another couple armed with sword and buckle, besides the usual complement of gold sticks and maces. Three years, afterwards Victor Jacquemout, met the Head of a British District on a semi-royal progress in the interior. He was accompanied by his wife and child; and their retinue comprized an elephant, two buggies, a special carriage for the son and heir, two palanquins with eighty bearers, sixty household servants, six saddle and carriage-horses and eight bullock carts. The general scale of living was out of all proportion to ostensible incomes. Young John Shore commenced his official career on a salary of £12 per mensem, and paid half as much again for wretched lodgings. A few years later, when Assistant to the British Resident at Murshidabad, his monthly income was only £28 including an allowance of £3 for his teacher of languages. The Resident himself, second in importance to the Governor-General alone, drew a consolidated salary of £145 a month. The writers attached to the neighbouring commercial Agency of Cossimbazar were entitled to the magnificent guerdon of £30, and the Chaplain of the establishment was passing rich on sixty pounds a year. But till the last decade of the century when a scale of remuneration nearly resembling that now maintained was introduced by Lord Cornwallis, the Company's servants enjoyed the right of private trade, and they stretched the privilege to a point wholly incompatible with their honourable masters' interest, not to speak of the uncomplaining millions who were regarded as *taillable et corveable à merci*. Warren Hastings engaged in opera-

tions on a vast scale as bullock-contractor. Mr. Thackeray, grandfather of the illustrious novelist, retired after twelve years' service with a large fortune gained by elephant catching while representing government in the frontier district of Sylhet. The honourable Robert Lindsay, who afterwards held the like office profited still more largely by dealings in lime and timber. Mr. Barwell member of Council during the struggle between Hastings and Francis returned to England in the very prime of life with millions gained by "cornering" salt and rice during periods of scarcity. Those who were too lazy to speculate had recourse for the sinews of war to native money-lenders. Lord Teignmouth thus sketches the career of one of this class in a letter to his son written in 1818 "Indoleus, on arriving in the country, sets up the establishment of a hookah, purchases a horse and equipage, receives and gives entertainments, and plunges into luxury, vice, and extravagance. The natives supply money for his use, which he borrows at exorbitant interest * * * Passed over for incompetence, they withhold their supplies, or if granted, furnish them at exorbitant terms. * * * A debt of £1000 contracted during the first two years of a writer's residence in India will hang like a millstone round his neck for many." To institute an exhaustive comparison between past and present would carry me beyond the limits of a review article. The usages of modern Anglo-Indian society differ but slightly from those of the cultivated classes at home. Its tone is, if any thing, less materialised than that which moved Lord Beaconsfield to declare that the English had stopped short at comfort and called it civilisation. Vanished for ever is that semi-royal state with which our predecessors veiled their real misery. Our members of Council herd together in flats; our High Court judges live in bachelor fashion at their clubs. The degrading associations of the harem have yielded to the sweet influences shed by thousands of brave Englishwomen who are content to share their dear ones' exile. The picture has, indeed, its darker side, and we of the present day have but little cause for Pharisaical boastings that in all things we are better than our fathers, to whose obscure and often ill-requited toil we owe the solid foundation of an empire which is the envy and admiration of the civilised world.

F. H. SKRINE.

## *THE MUHAMMADAN FEASTS AND FASTS.*

IN an article which appeared in the July Number of this Magazine, I gave a short account of the Festival of Muharram. In this paper I propose to notice briefly the remaining Feasts and Fasts of the Muhammadans in India. These festivals recur every year in our midst, and yet how few among us know what they are, what they are intended for, and what purpose they serve in the economy of the religion of Muhammad. It was not so with our fathers. They studied the classic languages and literature of the Muhammadans, and were well acquainted with their manners and customs, laws and institutions, feasts and fasts. Since the introduction of the English language as the court and official language in the Lower Provinces, the study of the Persian and Arabic languages began to decline and it is now nearly totally neglected among the Hindoos of Bengal. With this remark, I proceed to notice the festivals themselves. They are as follow :—

I. THE FAST OF RAMAZAN.—This fast takes place in the month of Ramazan and is scrupulously observed by the faithful throughout the Musulman world. It is ordained by express command in the Koran. O true believers, a fast is ordained you, as it was ordained unto those before you, that ye may fear God. A certain number of days *shall ye fast*: but he among you who shall be sick, or on a journey, *shall fast an equal* number of other days. And those who can *keep and do not*, must redeem *their neglect* by maintaining of a poor man. And he who voluntarily dealeth better with the poor man than he is obliged, this shall be better for him. But if ye fast it will be better for you, if ye knew it. The month of Ramadan (Ramazan) *shall ye fast*, in which the Korân was sent down *from heaven*, a direction unto men, and declarations of direction, and the distinction *between good and evil*. Therefore, let him among you who shall be present in this month, fast the same *month*; but he who shall be sick, or on a journey, shall fast the like number of other days. * * * * It is lawful for you on the night of the fast to go in unto your wives,

they are a garment unto you, and ye are a garment unto them. God knoweth that ye defraud yourselves *therein*, wherefore he turneth unto you and forgiveth you. Now therefore go in unto them; and earnestly desire that which GOD ordaineth you, and eat and drink, until ye can plainly distinguish a white thread from a black-thread by the daybreak: then keep the fast until night, and go not in unto them, but be constantly present in the places of worship.

"The Muhammadans," says Sale, "are obliged by the express command of the Koran, to fast the whole month of Ramadân, from the time the new moon first appears, till the appearance of the next new moon; during which time they must abstain from eating, drinking, and women, from daybreak till night or sunset. And this injunction they observe so strictly, that while they fast they suffer nothing to enter their mouths or other parts of their body; esteeming the fast broken and null if they smell perfumes, take a clyster or injection, bathe, or even purposely swallow their spittle; some being so cautious that they will not open their mouths to speak, lest they should breathe the air too freely: the fast is also deemed void if a man kiss or touch a woman, or if he vomit designedly. But after sunset they are allowed to refresh themselves and to eat and drink, and enjoy the company of their wives till daybreak; though the more rigid begin the fast again at midnight."

"The reason given why the month of Ramadân was pitched on for this purpose is, that on that month the Koran was sent down from heaven. Some pretend that Abraham, Moses and Jesus received their respective revelations in the same month."

"From the fast of Ramadân none are excused, except only travellers and sick persons (under which last denomination the doctors comprehend all whose health would manifestly be injured by their keeping the fast; as women with child and giving suck, ancient people and young children;) but then they are obliged, as soon as the impediment is removed, to fast an equal number of other days, and the breaking the fast is ordered to be expiated by giving alms to the poor."

During the entire period of the fast of Ramazan, the Muhammadans generally keep every day some food ready for the moment of breaking the fast. Those among them who are in easy circumstances keep a luncheon, which consists of *sarbet* composed of sugar and rose-water with almonds or dates cut in pieces, or of light dish prepared with milk. The Moslems fast from the appearance of *Soba Sadâk*—the streak of light which appears in the east

before daybreak—till the setting of the sun, after which they take their repast, and then go to sleep. They rise in the last hour of the night to eat some food, which is taken by those who require it.

II. ID-FITR.—Throughout the Muhammadan world, the 1st of the month of Shawal is consecrated to the celebration of *Id-fitr* or the feast of breaking the fast, or simply Id (fête.) After offering the prayer called *Dogana*, the followers of Muhammad address to one another felicitations, and uniting in some brilliant assemblies, they give themselves up to mirth and joy. They make and receive visits and interchange presents and thus pass the day in merriment and joy. This fete is also called Id-ul-fitr, Id-us-saghir or Ramazan-ki-id.

Besides the fast of Ramazan, there are some voluntary and supererogatory fasts which are observed by the Muhammadans. The 10th of the month of Muharram is looked upon as a sacred day and, as enjoined in the Korân, they fast on that day. The three months of the supererogatory fasts are the *Rajab*, *Shabân* and *Ramzan*.

III. ID-KURBAN.—In the month of Zi-hijja or of pilgrimage, the Muhammadans having put on the Ihrâm or the penitential cloak, go religiously round *Ka-âba*. Those who have not the good fortune of performing these holy ceremonies in Mecca, should at least take part in the fete called Id-Kurban (festival of sacrifice) which is celebrated on the 10th of this month, in immolating victims. These victims must be either goats, sheep, kine or camels, healthy and of fit age. Pure joy and open gaity distinguish this great fete. "Nothing," says a Muhammadan writer, "is more agreeable to God." This fete is called Kurbân-beïram by the Turks. In this country it is called Bacr-id or *Id-uz-zoha*. Adjoining Mosques, a place is specially set apart for its celebration. It is a sort of chapel without roof, with small minarets and an altar. It is called *Kurbân-gâh*, (place of Sacrifice) or *Id-gâh* (place of Id). The fete was established in commemoration of the sacrifice of Ismael by Abraham, for, according to the Musulmans, it was Ismael and not Isaac whom Abraham wished to immolate.

IV. SHABI-BARAT.—It is the fete of the dead. It takes place on the night of the 14th of the month of Shaban. It is called Shabi-barât, *i.e.*, the night of deliverance. It is also called the night of record, as an angel is believed on this occasion to inspect a register of the conduct of all living persons. On that solemn day the *faithful* having assembled together, make, in the name of all those whose habitation is in the eternal kingdom, some

oblations considered as inviolable. These offerings consist of bread, *Halwa*, and vessels full of water. Concurrently with these oblations, they light lamps and recite the following *Fatiha of the lamps (Fatiha Chirâgân)*.

"O our God, by the merits of the apostleship of Muhammad, make that the lamps, which we hold lighted in this holy-night, may be for the dead a guarantee of the eternal light which we pray thee to make shine on them. O our God, deign to admit them in the abode of the unalterable felicity. The *faithful* will say the 1st and 102nd *sura* (chapter) of the Korân."

This Fatiha, which is taken from *Hidayat ul-islam*, differs from the ordinary *Fatiha* for the dead; and as the latter is well known among the Muhammadans, I need not transcribe it here.

This festival is also celebrated in Persia. The famous traveller Chardin says—"The Persians believe that on that night God delivers, by the intercession of Muhammad and of Ali, a great number of souls of men of their religion from hell, whence they are taken out by the Angel Gabriel. They say that there is great merit to go on that day to pray on the tombs of the dead and to give alms. This fete is one of the best observed in that country. It lasts for three days which they call days of charity and of good works. They go and sit by the tombs, speak to their deceased relations and friends and lament and pray for them. After this, they smoke and eat what they had brought with them, fruits, cakes, and sweet-meats, a large portion of which they distribute among the poor in the name of the deceased."

V. *Fete of the illness of the Prophet.*—In the month of *Safar*, Muhammad, the friend of God, fell ill. The sickness was very violent for three days and afterwards it abated; and by the grace of God, the prophet entered into convalescence. For this reason, the Muhammadans consider the first three days of this month as unlucky. On the third day, which is called Tezi (violence) they make in the name of their prophet some oblations of chick-peas and cheese, which are distributed by portions among the poor.

VI. *Fete of the death of Muhammad.*—On the 12th of the month of *Rabi* (premier), the Indian Musulmans celebrate this festival, and what is very singular is that on the selfsame day the Turks celebrate the fete of Mewleed or of the birth of the Prophet.

"The moon of Rabi," says the author of *Bârah-mâsa*, "is named also *Bahari*. According to the Sunnis, the friend of God left this perishable world on the 12th day of this month. This

sad news having spread in the world, produced a great consternation, and every one hastened to offer to God his vows and prayers for the repose of the soul of the great Prophet. These holy exercises lasted twelve days. It is in imitation of the first Musulmans that those of India assemble in that time to perform the same duties." The Shias, however, maintain that the death of the Prophet took place on the 28th of Safar.

VII. *Id-gadir.*—On the 18th of the month of Zi-hijja takes place another great fete called *Id-gadir,* which is celebrated only by the Imamias. According to them, this feast was established in commemoration of the express declaration made on that day by the Prophet by the order of God, that Ali, the Emir of the *faithful,* should be his successor. The name of Gadir was given to this fete, because the name of the place, where this event happened was *Gadir-khum.*

Properly speaking there are only two fetes among the Muhammedans, *viz.*, that of breaking the fast of Ramazan—*Id-fitr* and that of victims—*Id-Kurban.* To these a few more festivals were added, which are celebrated by the Indian Musulmans. In a country noted for the multitude of Hindoo festivals, this small number of fetes was deemed insufficient, and hence were instituted new festivals unknown in other Muhammadan countries. These fetes the illiterate and ignorant Muhammadans celebrate with eagerness and even the Hindoos take part in them. Such are among others the solemnity consecrated to the memory of the *Pirs* or Saints, who are for the Musulmans what the Deotas are for the Hindoos and the *pilgrimages* made to their tombs particularly on Thursdays and to a few on Fridays. The poor ignorant Musulmans render to the Pirs the same homage that the Roman Catholics pay to the angels and their Saints. This *culte de dulie* of the vulgar is, however, looked upon with disfavour, if not openly condemned, by the educated and respectable Muhammadans, who tolerate naught but the *culte de latrie*—the worship due only to God. The number of Pirs in India is not small. A brief notice of them all will exceed the limits of this paper and I therefore content myself with giving a brief description of the two Pirs who are held in great veneration.

VIII. *Fete of Madar.*—Madar is the most celebrated of the Muhamadan Pirs of India. The Hindoos unite with the Musulmans to render him homage. Syed Bari-uddin Kotbal Madar was the son of Syed Ali of Alep. He was born at Alep in 442 Hejra, (1050-51 A.D.) He made a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina at the age of 100 years, and received from Muhammad

permission to retain his breath. In the reign of Ibrahim Sherkey, the Prophet ordered him to go and reside at the village of Makanpur, which was then a desert, for an evil spirit named Makandeo brought desolation to that place. Madar repaired there, confined the evil spirit, made the place habitable and called it Makanpur. This Saint passed his time in religious exercises. He possessed the power of performing miracles. He had 1442 sons. He died on the 7th Jumaji (premier) 837 Hejra (20th December 1433) having attained the age of 395 years, 9 months and 26 days. On account of his great reputation for piety and power of performing miracles, the anniversary of his death has been celebrated by an immense multitude of people at Makanpur, a village in the district of Canauj in the N. W. Provinces. There his tomb was raised by the Emperor Sultan Ibrahim. The above account of Madar was given by Karim-uddin, a Fakir of the order of Madar.

The 17th of Jumazi (premier) is the day on which the fete of this saint is celebrated. From the most remote parts of the country his votaries come to Makanpur, and an immense crowd fill the place. Pikes are set up on every side, and in the night an immense quantity of lamps and lanterns are lighted. The pikes are at last all carried to the tomb of the Pir, where each votary asks a favour or declares a vow. Madar is the patron of an order of Fakirs who bear the name of Madariah or Madar panthi. These Darvishes have several traits of resemblance with the Hindoo Sanniasi. Like them, they go almost naked in all seasons and have twisted hairs. They rub the body with ashes and have iron chains round their loins and neck. Professor H. H. Wilson says that the Madariahs are Sunnis; the black colour which they have adopted for their flags is a conclusive proof of it, as the black is the colour of the Sunnis, while the green is the colour of the Shias or Imamias. According to the same authority, they make use of *Bang*, which they name *Warac Khiyal*, (leaf of imagination) in the hope of procuring visions. They admit the divine mission of Muhammad, but have no great veneration for his title of prophet, and show little respect for his institutions. According to their legends, Muhammad has had no access into paradise but by virtue of the words—*Dam Madar* (breath of Madar) which is the devise of the sect and to which tradition attributes many miraculous effects. The words *Dam Madar* form also a sort of war-cry among the Musulmans, often employed by the soldiers at the moment of attack.

IX. *Fete of Goga.*—The lower classes of Musulmans are so devoted to Goga that they call him *Zahir Pir.* During the month of Bhadon, they celebrate his fete by going through the streets armed with pikes, playing on different instruments of music and celebrating by their chants in chorus the praises of the Pir. These processions last for a month. At the end of that time, they assemble together in a place where they plant their pikes and hold a sort of fair remarkable for diversions of all kinds and for curious sights.

Malcolm speaks of Goga Pir, to whom the Hindoos are as devoted as the Musulmans. The Saint was piously invoked by the Pindari women when their husbands went on their perilous expeditions of pillage.

Goga or Chohan Goga was the son of Vacharaja, who acquired great fame for his courage which he displayed in defending his country against the invasion of Mahmoud. His kingdom was on the bank of the Sutlej, the capital of which was Chiherd. In the defence of this city, he perished with his 45 sons and 60 nephews. The anniversary of his death is celebrated througout Rajputana.

G. C. MAJUMDAR.

## THE ATTITUDE OF THE NATIVE CHIEFS DURING THE GREAT REBELLION OF 1857.

THE great conflagration of 1857 cast an imperishable lustre on the Native Chiefs. If one asks, who uplifted their mighty hands for the succour of Britain during her most perilous crisis? And who saved her from utter ruin and ignominy? The impartial historian comes forward and answers it was the Native princes. They changed the very aspect of the Rebellion. But for their truly magnanimous and unselfish aid the name of Britain would have been for ever eclipsed. During that troublous period the whole of Southern India was kept in peace and order by Sir Salar Jung. "But for the stand which Salar Jung made at Hyderabad all India would have been lost to the English." So says an impartial and noble Englishman, "When the events have receded somewhat and we are freer to judge and to consider than we now are, it will be found that even more than John Lawrence in the Punjab or than Sir Henry Havelock in the North Western Provinces, or even than Lord Canning at Calcutta, Salar Jung was, in that time of terrible trial to all Britons and to all who wish well to India, the Saviour of British Rule in that country." "Yet no historian" continues the same writer, "has to this present put this prescient statesman in the position he has well earned, nor when abundant opportunity offered, did any British Minister exhibit toward him adequate gratitude. On the contrary to our shame be it said, there have been men in high office in India who took a delight in subjecting him to insult and contumely, who degraded themselves in trying to humiliate him." The Nizam, under the guidance of his most illustrious Minister, remained firm. "And although emissaries had come to him, he had after listening to their stories refused complicity in any movement against the British Government." The heroic and courageous behaviour of the famous Nizam's Horse against preponderating odds in the service of the British Government is

graphically described by Captain Hastings Fraser in his splendid work :—"Our Faithful Ally—The Nizam."

Next in the golden list of loyal Indians comes the name of Dewan Dinkur Rao—"That great Native Statesman, who has shared with Salar Jung, of Hyderabad, the glory of being the Abul-Fuzl of the nineteenth century, and from whom the best of our English administrators have learnt many lessons of wisdom, exercised a benign influence, not only over the Government of the Gwalior territory, which he reformed and consolidated, but over the personal character of Scindiah himself." Scindiah helped the English in their greatest need with his troopers, nay, even with his own body-guard—"his favourite phalanx." He did more than this. He shielded the British fugitives—men women and children—from the ruthless attacks of the mutiniers, and placed them in safety within his palace at great risk to himself.

Not less illustrious is the name of the Maharaja Holkar. He notwithstanding the unsympathetic, overbearing and unkind behaviour of Colonel Durand, the then officiating Agent at Indore, did his best to stem the torrents of rebellion which suddenly burst into his territories, "Durand had fled from Indore, no one seemed to know whither." Then having made himself conspicuous by absenting himself from Indore, when his service and presence there were of the utmost importance he jumped to the wise conclusion that Holkar was implicated in the revolt. "But at the very time" says Major Evans Bell "the Maharaja was co-operating most gallantly with the English gentlemen who had taken up Colonel Durand's duties during his unlucky retirement. Colonel Durand would give no credit to Holkar, or to any of his own brother officers for what was done while he was absent from the scene." The noble Maharaja defying the slanderous charge brought against him did his best to suppress the revolt and opened the hospitable door of his palace to the English. His Highness spurned the proposal of the insurgents to surrender the fugitives at his own peril. According to the great historian of the Sepoy War—"He offered them his own person, but he would not suffer an Englishman to be hurt. They called upon him to place himself at their head, and to lead them against the English. They reminded him of the martial character of his great ancestor, Jeswant Rao, and taunted him with cowardice; but even this did not move him to join the ranks of our enemies. He told the insurgents that it was no part of the traditions of his family that they should murder women and children. He stood out boldly

against all the entreaties of his own soldiery." What was Colonel Durand doing meanwhile? No one knew even his whereabouts. And how was the benefactor of the English, the Maharaja Holkar, rewarded? In the language of Sir John Kaye, "Holkar was sacrificed to the justification of Durand." And thus says Major Evans Bell, "the authority, the dignity, and the honour of the Empire have been sacrificed to sustain the interests and the credit of the office and the service."

When the prestige and honour of Britain were thus preserved by the splendid attitude of these Princes, what was Rajasthan doing there? The land which is proud of patriotism of the loftiest nature, bravery of the most exalted type, and magnanimity at once unalloyed and grand was surely expected to do something in that momentous crisis. The brave Rajputs marched with alacrity to face the storm which was devastating the whole surface of Hindustan. All the chiefs now anxiously turned their thoughts towards Mewar whose traditional leadership they still acknowledged. The brave and noble Maharana not taking into consideration the terrible injuries done to him, threw the weight of his might and influence on the side of Britain. It was a notorious fact that the resident who had preceded Mr. Showers, the then resident of Mewar, had openly recommended "military coercion, the deposition of the Maharana and the banishment of some of the principal chiefs under him." The tendency of such a policy is too apparent to need pointing out. It was sufficient to excite the bitter animosity of the Rana. But the brave Rajput most cheerfully devoted his heart and soul to the welfare of the Paramount power. His truly magnanimous devotion is at once shown in the timely rescue of English fugitives, including women and children, under the chivalrous conduct of his brave Rajputs. Minor chiefs at once followed his noble example. "Thus in June and within a fortnight of the receipt of intelligence of the attack" wrote George Lawrence "were the troops of Bhurutpore, Jeypore, Joudhpore and Ulwar co-operating with us in the field."

In Bengal too we find the Nawab Nazim co-operating heartily with the English though he had recently been badly treated by Lord Dalhousie.

Then we have the brave and dauntless Sikhs, who had taxed the skill and valour of the renowned soldiers of Europe to the utmost, and who had consummated the defeat of the famous 14th Dragoons (who had figured most conspicuously in the terrible wars with the "modern Mars") and had compelled

those renowned veterans of Europe to fly before them in helpless and disastrous rout from the fatal field of Chillianwallah; forming in mighty array on the side of the English, and truly saving India, which without their help would have been surely lost to the English.

There are yet left many individuals and particular instances of pure self-devotion and glorious magnanimity, which render the names of many natives, of that eventful period, imperishable. But an attempt at describing them within a compass like this is futile. Suffice it to say that the glory left to the Indians was immense.

G. L. D.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

## THE CONGRESS AND SANITATION.

THE minds of many of our fellow-subjects in India are at present greatly exercised by thoughts of the coming Congress. The subjects to be discussed at it have been determined on, and men are looking forward to the light which is to be thrown on them, and the results which are to follow their discussion. How comes it that the important question of sanitation in its bearing on the 250 millions of "Young India" is not to be raised? It is of infinite consequence. To the villager whose life passes peacefully in the tremulous shadow of the *peepul* trees till his heart stands still with dread of the Cholera Goddess who has taken up her abode in the homesteads amid which he crooned his baby songs, what matters it whether the country-side be allowed the privilege of bearing arms, or the *vakeels* of Calcutta be given a seat in the Viceroy's Council? Dearer to him is life, his own life and the lives of those with whom his few and simple homely joys are shared, than the empty honours which attach to unpaid magistracies, and municipal commissionerships, and seats in the Council. Moreover, the whole past history of India points to the fact that while all around him in the domain of government has changed a thousand times, his village-life has stood out when the waves of revolution have swept onwards, the same, and still the same self-contained organism. Does it speak well for the insight, or for the foresight of the leaders of the Congress that the sanitary welfare of this most important unit in the whole Indian system of things should have been overlooked in the programme they have framed?

But it will be said, the aims and scope of the Congress are nobler and wider; it seeks to elevate the masses. We might take serious exception to the last half dozen words of the previous sentence; but let them pass. It is our duty to impress on our readers that sound health, and the absence of anxiety for the health of those dear to us, are the basis of personal and of social virtues. This may be called materialism; but we venture to affirm that when "the religion of the body" is rightly

understood, the will of men to act virtuously will be strengthened; their characters elevated; their hearts and their lives made glad. In this direction the Congress has it in its power to "mightily help to hasten the coming of that glorious time when 'truth shall wear the features of a man, and all the virtues walk in human form.'" Surely such an aim would be higher than any clamour for political "rights," the wisdom of conceding which is at least doubtful; and the refusal of which is certain to awaken discontent!

Health and disease are a powerful social influence in another aspect:—we refer to heredity. We inherit our parents' features, whether those features be bodily or mental, virtuous or the reverse. This view of the matter opens up vast sanitary questions,—questions relating to early marriage; to intermarriage; to idiocy; to all those frightful and loathsome diseases which are known to be transmissible from parent to child, "even to the third and fourth generation;" to prostitution; and to crime. These leprous stains on the fair form of humanity might be better controlled, if not wholly removed, if the common people knew more of the simplest laws of sanitation, and were prevailed on to act in accordance with those laws. Spencer tells us that "of all bequests of parents to children the most valuable is a sound constitution." Hear too, what Maudsley says: "Multitudes of human beings come into the world weighted with a destiny against which they have neither the will, nor the power, to contend; they are the step-children of Nature, and groan under the worst of tyrannies—the tyranny of a bad organization." Again, citing from the same authority, "assuredly, of some criminals, as of some insane persons, it may be said they are born, not made; they go criminal, as the insane go mad, because they cannot help it; a stronger power than they can counteract has given the bias of their being. Crime, idiocy, pauperism, and prostitution are diseases to a large extent, which may be removed very largely." * * * * "In view of this fact does it not become a religious duty, a duty of religious people, to try to do something to prevent these diseases." We speak here to religious people, to the Hindoos of India; will they recognize their duties in this direction? We do not seek to make proselytes to some new creed, scientific or otherwise; for Hindooism with its many ablutions, its holy horror of contamination, its rigid rules of caste, its rites of purification and the like, rests like the old law of Moses, on a solid substratum of sanitation. We only invite our Hindoo friends to develop, under the influence and guidance of western sanitary science, the germs of that "religion of the body"

which exist in their own Hindooism. Surely if the leaders of the Congress, leaving aside all petty, political schemes and strivings, more honoured in the breach than the observance, were to turn their attention for many years to come to the religious and social questions attempted to be opened up in their paper, they would find themselves on a platform on which an united India would join them; and they would inaugurate such a period of regeneration and refreshing, as would entitle them to the heartfelt gratitude of posterity, even to the fourteenth generation.

But, it will be said, all this will follow when once the political status is secured. Holding as we do that the Congress serves to divert attention from the real needs of the people, and to fix it on purely factitious objects; and that its aims, if attained would reverse results rather than ensure their permanence; we do not believe that when once the political status is secured, all else will naturally follow. We dissent from the view held by the leaders of the movement because their methods and objects are unnatural. They seek to establish an anomaly; to perpetuate on the temple-shadowed banks of the Ganges the sentiments and tactics of the Irish Party, amongst the venerators of the Brahmin, the monkey, and the cow! Whether in the world of matter, or of politics, the laws of Nature will not be outraged; and the descendants of the leaders of the Congress will see this in a clearer light than their forefathers are doing in our day. But however this may be, have those who have already been vested with certain powers of control, exercised them so wisely that we may confidently predict large and valuable measures of reform will follow the successful attainment by the Congress of its aims? We do not expect much from those to whom little—perhaps from their point of view, too little—has been conceded. We do not ask for ten talents from the man to whom five have been given; we only enquire if with his five talents he has gained another five, and is thereby entitled to enter into the joy of his lord? The history of the Calcutta Municipal Commissioners alone tells, surely, a very different tale. They have done something; under the pressure of public opinion, and the friendly constraint of a paternal Government, exercised through an official chairman, it was impossible for them to fail wholly. They have forwarded schemes projected before they came into being; they have widened some lanes, filled a few scores of tanks, and opened a few squares; but they have not been found on the side of progress when large measures of reform were advocated; and in regard to their opportunities, they have too frequently exhibited the spirit of him to whom one talent was given: they have

hoarded it in a napkin against the time when much might be demanded of them! That time has often come and gone, and the talent remains in its napkin: our readers will remember that the punishment of him who acted thus in the parable was that his one talent was relentlessly taken from him altogether, and given to him that already had ten; no sentimentality prompted further trials with added talents. While we write thus we have before us two recent instances in both of which the Commissioners have failed—one is the construction of the Central Road to run from Armenian Ghaut to Sealdah; the other the establishment of a permanent staff of Sanitary Inspectors. In both cases want of funds was pleaded, although there was a reserve of power adequate to meet the difficulty if skilfully exercised. Those who watched the discussion will know that the real difficulties experienced by the majority of the Commissioners had far more to do with sentiment than with finance, though the financial difficulty is the invariably convenient excuse. The construction of the road will disturb a number of householders who have squatted on their present ancestral properties for three or four generations, as generations are in India. It was these persons who as a matter of notoriety went about among the Commissioners begging of them to spare *their* properties, and to find a better way which might perhaps sweep away their neighbours' properties, but would leave *themselves* to reap the benefits of being in the immediate vicinity of the proposed road. In the case of the Sanitary Inspectors it was foreseen that domiciliary visitation would be extremely inconvenient in cases where native females were concerned, though the foresight was not sufficiently extended in its scope to perceive that the health of the females themselves would be vastly improved, and their lives and the lives of their children prolonged as the direct result of these dreaded inspections. These were the real reasons which weighed with the Commissioners; the financial difficulty was merely the scape goat which is constantly sent abroad weighted with the sins of its senders. Minor matters might be taken up; these will suffice to show that no reasonable man can expect to see vast social and sanitary reforms inaugurated as the natural and inevitable result of securing the political aims of the Congress.

It is in view of all this that we would advise the string-pullers of the Congress to alter their aims, and to turn their eyes from the empty honours which attach to high places, to social questions affecting the health and well-being of the masses. Here they would have the sympathies of all right-minded persons. The

Mahomedan and the European would make common cause with the Hindoo, and the Congress would become a representative body whose resolutions would command attention. Nor would its aims be lowered by adopting this course. "The physical is the substratum of the spiritual" not in any gross materialistic sense; but because there can be no spiritual health, no vigour of will, no conscience, and no virtue in a body which is made up of a disordered stomach, ill-filled lungs, unstrung nerves, and vitiated blood. Francis Galton sensibly remarks that "Energy (that is the capacity for labour) makes a large practice of all the *robust virtues* possible;" by the robust virtues he means self-control, courage, enthusiasm, heroism; in a word, energy of mind, of heart, and of soul. No prophet-mind, and no hero-soul will tenant the body whose "physical passions cannot be made to come to heel at the command of conscience," but are "so strong and wild as to overcome will and master reason." In a paper to which we are deeply indebted, on the Relations of Health to Morality and Religion, read before the Lansing Sanitary Convention in March 1885, by a clergyman, these pregnant sentences occur, "Man is a soul, and has a body. It is not true that we are bodies, and have mysterious some-whats called souls, which are somehow to be "saved" apart from manhood and the art of noble-living; but we ourselves are immortal souls, and our bodies are our tabernacles, or life houses, which we use in this sphere of our existence. . . . Whatever pauperises or cheapens human life tends strongly to demoralize and de-religionize the people; while all things which honourably prolong and augment life, broaden and intensify the moral and spiritual purposes and sympathies of a people. The advance of true civilization—has been marked by the increasing sacredness of human life. A low civilization thinks little, makes little of human life; a higher civilization thinks much, makes much of human life." In these views we heartily concur; and with them before us, we seriously enquire if the country has reached that higher plane of civilization where the aims of the Congress might possibly be conceded, seeing that in spite of political haranguing here and elsewhere, India in the last decade lost 38 millions of lives from causes which in other parts of the world have been either wholly obviated, or materially curtailed in their limits; and yet Congress asks no question, raises no protest, gives utterance to no voice of sympathy which has direct reference to this appalling loss of life? Its head is in the clouds; its feet rest on an insatiable charnel pit of corruption, from which it averts its gaze in order to watch and discuss the unattainable stars.

We are not materialists, though we firmly believe there can be no really sound mind, no really sound soul in a body weighted with disease, and exposed to the fell influence of enfeebling and insanitary surroundings. In applying this phase of our faith to the Congress and its work, we believe its aims would be other than they are if the physical education of its prime movers had been nurtured in a less enervating climate, and amid healthier surroundings than prevail in the Ganges delta. It is for these amongst other reasons, that we regard many of its aspirations as the dreams of a sick man! Surely, surely, it would do well to turn from its visions of honourable places and empty titles, and increased opportunities for exercising the talent for debate, to the nobler work of improving the sanitary and social condition of the peoples of India. There is yet time; let it adopt a better course.

ARTHUR DIGGES.

## THE FALLING STAR.

*(From the German of Friedr. von Sallet.)*

When we behold glides down afar,
A meteor from the sky,
Know ye what that swift-falling star,
To us doth signify ?

Those orbs which shed so mild a light,
—Ten thousand sparkling gems,—
O, they are countless angels bright,
With golden diadems !

Set as true watchers in the skies,
It is for them to know,
To scan with keen, untiring eyes,
What passes here below.

And when borne down by earthly care,
Writhing in bitter grief,
A good man lifts his heart in prayer,
Looks upward for relief ;

And his wild cries,—when all seems lost,—
To his Father doth not cease,
O, then is sent from that high host,
A messenger of peace.

And that bright one beside him kneels,
Unseen with him doth pray,
And gentle slumber o'er him steals,
And charms his pain away.

So, when we see glides down afar,
A meteor from the sky,
This is it which the falling star,
To us doth signify.

O. C. DUTT.

# *ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.*

*Nature and Revelation, eight lectures, By Ram Chundra Bose, M.A. Published at the Methodist Publishing House.*

It has become evident with the growth of knowledge, that science must be the basis of all true faith, that all religious beliefs to be of any worth and beauty must be a superstructure on Science. To be rational, our beliefs regarding the unknown must be deductions from the known, must be a growth, as it were, from the known. So thoroughly is this recognized at the present day, that the leading theologians in Europe, are all striving to mould Faith into harmony with scientific teaching, and no longer attempt, as their predecessors did, to fashion science into conformity with Faith. Mr. Ram Chandra Bose in this book has done something very similar, he having attempted and with much success, to reconcile Science and Revelation, to indicate that the Christian Faith is not only a Revelation, but a revelation on a scientific basis. He argues with much skill and force, that all the essential elements of the Christian revelation are supported by what science has revealed regarding the laws of natural government, and so far from being discordant with, are eminently in conformity to these laws. Those who take an interest in these subtle and intricate questions of the relations of Science to Faith, will find in Mr. Bose's book much valuable information on the matter, and we can recommend the volume as one possessing much learning and research, much food for thought, and much valuable knowledge on one of the most vital and important questions bearing on human well-being.

All endeavours to strengthen the hold of Faith on the minds of men and to widen her influence in the world, are highly laudable, and we trust that Mr. Bose's book will have this effect. It is very well written, has an elegant style, and above all it is a very successful attempt to shew the philosophical aspects of Christianity.

*The Village School-master. By Nilkantha Majumdar, M.A., Professor of English Literature, Dacca College. Printed by S. B. Datta, at the Sree Press, 34, Meerjafer's Lane, Calcutta.*

It is rare to meet with novels written in the English language by natives of India. "Govinda Sâmanta," by the Rev. Lal Behari Day and "Sunker" and other tales by the late Rai Shoshee Chunder Dutt Bahadur are the only instances of successful attempts in this direction that we know of. "Govinda Sâmanta" has attained a great popularity among Europeans owing to its vivid and faithful representation of village life in Bengal, especially among the lower classes. The work under notice somewhat resembles "Govinda Sâmanta" in this respect and should, therefore, recommend itself to Europeans and others who are desirous of acquainting themselves with the manners and customs of the country. The village school-master who is the hero of this work is not like the village pedagogue described by Goldsmith a man of "words of learned length and thundering sound," nor does he resemble the jolly and pedantic Dominie Sampson. He is a poor simpleton with little or no education, a hen-pecked husband under the dominion of a beautiful, thoughtless but devoted wife. The book opens with the following description of the hero :—

"The village school-master, who is the hero of our tale, was a simple and artless person, who, as the phrase is, could not 'cry bo to a goose.' He was a very milksop without pluck and without ambition, a very lotus-eater in this Land of the Lotus. What he wanted in the manlier virtues, he more than made up for in contentment, the chief dowry of the Indian climate. He could look upon any and every species of evil with the most placid and complacent indifference. 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof' and 'take no thought of the morrow' were the two golden maxims of his life. But with all these faults the schoolmaster had an ample share of a very noble virtue; he was as innocent as a new-born baby."

Then the story goes on narrating the trials and sorrows of this "milksop;" how, besides his wife, he had only his mother and a widowed sister at home far off from the village where his school was; how his wife and sister had frequent passages at arms between them which ultimately culminated in open warfare; how, after many a hard struggle, he was at length brought to yield to the persuasions of his wife to take her away with him to the place where he earned his living; how his anxiety to keep his wife in a decent style in spite of his limited means speedily plunged him into debt; how all this constant trouble and worry made him gradually inattentive to his duties, and how this inattention ultimately resulted in a severe censure from the school-board,

and, what was more, a material reduction in his salary; how at last he was obliged to return home with his wife, weary and broken-hearted, and with the seeds of consumption in him; and how, soon after, he fell a victim to that fell disease leaving three miserable widows to bewail his loss.

The school-master, or, as he is styled throughout the book, the Pandit, is not without friends, the chief among whom are a Deputy Magistrate and a Doctor. The former is, as the author himself says, "a very remarkable man." He is a scholar, engineer, doctor and—what not! He is in short "not one, but all mankind's epitome!" The author himself is lost in his admiration for this Deputy of his own creation. "To tell you the truth" says he "I should have high hopes of my country's future, if we could all become half as worthy as this Deputy." We fully concur with the learned author,—but then alas there is a good deal in that little *if!* No less a remarkable personage is the doctor. He is not only a man of medicine, but a wit and a classical scholar to boot, —or at least poses as such! He is perpetually making attempts at witticism, and his conversation bristles with classical and other allusions. These two worthies were great friends and used to meet frequently at the house of the Deputy, and the pandit was occasionally present at these meetings. We are not told any where in the book that the pandit had even a tolerable knowledge of the English language, and it is, therefore, a mystery to us how the poor man could understand the pedantic jargon which these two learned gentlemen indulged in. We are indeed told that on one of these occasions the pandit "was as merry as the Doctor himself. He could not make others laugh, but he could laugh and did laugh as any of them." We are inclined to believe that he laughed simply because he found others laughing, but that at heart he fully sympathised with the poor persecuted Brahmo Missionary and mentally echoed his words when he said "Sir you are too deep for me. I fail to understand your jargon."

We have briefly sketched for our readers the plot of this interesting little novel. We are sure it will be found interesting by foreigners as depicting the manners and customs of the country, and will help all to while away an idle hour or two. Notwithstanding some trifling defects and incongruities here and there, it is on the whole well-written, and does credit to the author who deserves encouragement, and whom we heartily wish every success in the future.

*The Proprietor begs to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the undermentioned subscriptions for the "National Magazine."*

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No. 11.—November 1888.

## *COMPETING SYSTEMS. A SKETCH.*

Government by popular representation in which one man's vote is as good as another's, having with the extension of the influence of the Anglo-Saxon race spread with overwhelming force over the face of the globe, is now shrinking again to narrow limits. That other races have adopted and still retain the principle is true. The Spanish have followed it out in their free republics in America as well as at home. Italy stands by it also as a newly acquired taste. France with whom it is a far older and more spontaneous institution than with either of these, does not seem to be quite at ease with her republic, and no one would be surprised to see a despotism re-established in that country if only as a means of retaliating on Germany. The countries of Eastern Europe make no concealment of their contempt for liberal institutions as opposed to the conservative empire. The central and northern nations of Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Scandinavia are now-a-days peace-loving commercial peoples whom the system suits well. But Holland and Denmark are probably doomed to absorption into Germany, and Belgium into France, this military age not long brooking small countries not easily self-defensible; and their seaboard being moreover valuable. England, and Sweden and Norway to a less extent, are protected by the sea, though how little that can be relied on in these days of steam, the recent Naval Manœuvres have shewn. In the struggle for existence that is coming, owing to the pressure of the military spirit, in the military Empires of Russia, France and Germany, democratic government has everywhere once more to be tried.

It is not the further extension of representative government that is at present probable. On the contrary, with the absorption of small states into huge empires, scientifically disposed for aggression and defence, self-contained and determined to sacrifice individual profit to the general strength; Government by elected majorities has no chance whatever of extension. It has first to justify itself where it exists.

England under reasonably liberal institutions produced Wellington and the Pitts. The U. S. of America under a pure democracy and with the stimulus of a struggle for nationality produced Lincoln, Grant and his generals, and Lee. Washington was the product of the democratic desire, in the American colonies. Napoleon was the child of the French Revolution, but also its antithesis and executioner. And England may yet throw off the party license, the commercial debauchery, the social ultra luxury that are consuming her vitals, and stand forth once more the mother of heroes and of successful warriors in an Imperial struggle but it has to be seen where, when the fight is over, will be democratic institutions. That at such a time as this any body of men could expect to see democracy applied to India for the regulation of Imperial affairs would argue an insensibility to facts only explainable by intense personal ambition or by stupid blindness. When England herself has survived the next great European war and proved that a democratic franchise can support the continued existence of the Empire, it will be time enough for India to think of a further imitation of the home system. When another generation of great soldiers and soldier statesmen has been the product of democracy, then if ever will be the time for India to stake its existence on popular elective assemblies. In the meanwhile she can be well content to learn the arts of Self-Government, if so be they are to be learnt by imitation, in municipalities, on district boards and in industrial enterprizes. That was the way in which the Anglo-Saxon race grew to Imperial democracy.

But while India cannot tolerate the supreme government being controlled by the popular will or by any section of it, government by criticism if such a term may be used may be tried. Indeed it cannot now well be avoided. European education has given to many classes of the people the power of criticism, and European literature affords abundant standards of comparison for criticism to work upon.

Indeed from the beginning almost of British rule in India, the Government of India has been swayed, and periodically modified by external criticism. The criticism then came from England,

and made itself felt through the Parliament first upon the E. I. Company, and since on the Secretary of State and his Council. Nothing but good can be said to have been the upshot of the repeated attacks of more modern thought and knowledge on the established institutions of the Empire. One result is that India is now a living empire instead of being only a conglomerate loosely held together by arms. India from a political point of view has become a nation, in the same way though in a far less degree no doubt, as Germany has become a nation. It has ceased to be only a political expression. India is not socially or ethnographically a nation as Germany is becoming, and probably never will be, but politically and commercially she is a nation and a splendid one. She has Imperial armies, Imperial finance, Imperial law, education and justice. The English language and literature are supplying a bond to the various peoples for intellectual intercommunication, and railways, telegraphs and steamers are physically connecting them with each other and with the world. The welding force of a great war from which the Indian Empire will issue successfully has yet to be felt.

Besides the criticism formerly applied only in England, is now criticism coming from the same source but applied in India, and there is also a great mass of intelligent local criticism growing up under the stimulating influence of English education and literature. The aim of all is the consolidation and enriching of the Indian nation and the Indian peoples. There promise to be two local schools. Both are schools of pure criticism in their origin. Whether they depart from that origin, and either dress themselves in the prerogatives of a ruling and enfranchised democracy on the one hand, or echo the sentiments of the governing bodies on the other, they equally falsify their origin and their usefulness. As critics they can be of great and lasting service. They must neither give the Government a free hand, nor seek to force its hand by means which the circumstances of the masses of the people do not originate and do not sanctify.

And in order to criticise they can inquire. That will be the primary function both of the National Congress and of the United Patriotic Association. One is now the apostle of depreciation, the other the apostle of appreciation of the Government. But it is not hazardous to prophecy that if they both conduct their inquiries on broad and unbiassed grounds they will eventually agree with each other. Or should the Mahommedan critical colleges continue to exhibit considerable divergence from those of the National Congress, Government can assume that the known

facts look so differently to different people that it is at liberty to go its own way, to inquire for itself and act accordingly. If the two colleges (National College will be a much better name than National Congress which in India means nothing intelligible) should agree, the effect of such an agreement come to on an ascertained knowledge of the condition of the people, will in India we may be sure be irresistible. While if the colleges are found to proceed on opinions only, and those opinions cannot be brought to the test of facts, both will be pernicious pests. The value of criticism lies ultimately in its accuracy.

At present there is probably one and only one matter on which, discarding all others, the two colleges might unite. That is fiscal reform. Yet strangely fiscal reform is more likely to be the outcome of the financial necessities of the government, and of the gradual reaction against Free Trade in English economic views, than of Indian advice and criticism. Fiscal reform will come to India by the same channel as all great reforms have come, *i.e.*, through the crucible of Parliamentary debate. Neither college of Indian criticism is likely to advocate it. The congress party has been trained on Free Trade literature until the theory has become a dogma, believed upon the dictates of authority and faith, not of reason and reflection. Moreover Free Trade is the cult of the political party with which the Political Agency of the Congress in England seems to be cultivating alliance. Not that the men of the Irish party are Free Traders, far from it, but their present allies mostly are, and the word Protection is not heard in their leaders' speeches at present. On the other hand the Mahommedan party, taking their cue from the officials of the Indian Government who have also been educated to believe that Free Trade arguments are unanswerable, will not at present risk the unpopularity of espousing the doctrine of State aid to industry. Both colleges will make Indian industries a plank in their platforms, but will shrink from the only means for securing it.

As regards the masses of the people of India the effect of these opposing colleges is likely for a long time to be of small account. Neither have so far betrayed much anxiety to inquire into and demonstrate the true condition of the people upon incontrovertible facts. Yet it is here that their real usefulness and chance of fusion lies. It is only in this way that Government by criticism can be useful. Reform is necessary, of that there is not the least doubt, and the question is whether unless assisted the Government of India will find the best way to it. Out of even divergent criticism good may come, and all having the welfare of

the nation at heart will welcome the first of the Colleges which publishes to the world the true condition of the people. This though probably very much better than 200 years ago, and better than it would be if the critics favourable and unfavourable were left to themselves to administer the Empire, is nevertheless unsatisfactory. It leaves much to be desired. Much has been done but more remains.

If democratic representation is for purposes of self-defence likely to merge in mere popular criticism in Europe, in India autocracy may be brought to submit to it, if it can be proved accurate and useful.

VERE.

## *THE MEMORY OF THE EARLY ARAB TRADE WITH INDIA.*

That beautiful collection of tales known by the name of "The Arabian Nights' Entertainments" which has for ages past cheered the sons of the desert, through many a long and weary day and night, delight as much the children of more favoured climes. The romantic character of the stories, their picturesque imagery and the simplicity of their narration make them a loving companion to the young of all countries; while the faithful representation of characters, manners and sentiments of a strange people,—the description of their home life, as well as of the splendour of their courts, form an interesting study for those more advanced in years. With the help of these stories, we seem to be transported to the magnificent court of Bagdad—the most magnificent of the time—and vividly realise the great Kaliph of Moslem rule, surrounded by his wiziers, his emirs and his grandees, in all the pomp and splendour of the most powerful Oriental sovereign that ever existed. We seem to traverse the streets of the capital of the most extended empire the world ever witnessed, thronged with diverse peoples from diverse countries. There are the rich merchants from Persia, seated in their shops, amidst the display of their costly commodities; there are the veiled damsels from Turkey, mingling in the crowd; and here and there are the nobles of the empire marching at the head of their retainers to and from the court. There too we meet slaves from Africa, and bondwomen from various conquered countries exposed for sale. The towering mosque on one side from where minerets the faithfuls are called to prayer in the well known sonorous tone, on the other side, the broad Tigris bearing on her placid bosom the reflection of the delightful gardens which the Moslem knew so well how to rear, or the barge laden with merchandize from the various parts of the world;—are objects which one can see before his mind's eye on reading the pages of these enchanting tales. We hear the polite speech mixed with tender verses for both of which the Arabs of the middle ages

were so renowned, or our ears are greeted with the delicate music from a fairy balcony. These stories represent with such life-like faithfulness, the manners and customs of the people, that the volumes of the "Arabian Nights" are justly valued alike by the young and the old.

To the adventurous none of these stories makes so deep an impression as that of Sindbad the sailor. His seven adventures on the sea, where he is exposed to all the dangers of that faithless element; his wanderings in strange lands; and his ultimate return to his own country, laden with wealth, make many a young reader envy the lot of this hardy but fortunate wanderer. But it is not with the romantic side of the story that we are concerned at present. There is a deeper significance in these voyages which we intend to discuss. The voyages of Sindbad embody the traditions of early trade which the Arabs carried on in the East. In Mr. Lane's translation, the names of the sailor and of his friend the porter, to whom he relates the story, are both given as Es-Sindabad. But in other translations, the name of the porter is stated to be Hindabad. Both "Sindabad" and "Hindabad" suggest the connection of the story with India. Though no such person as Sindbad existed, and though no such voyages as here related were ever performed, there can be little doubt that the story is based on a popular version of the reports which the early Arab voyagers gave to their countrymen, of the places and peoples they met in India in their pursuit of commerce. Mr. Lane the translator of the "Arabian Nights," referring to the story of Sindbad, says in his notes:—"It is evidently founded upon the exaggerated reports of a variety of travellers; and almost all of these reports I find related in the "Ajāib el-Makhlookāt" of El-Kazweenee and the "Khareedet el-Ajāib" of Iben-El-Wardee. The former author flourished in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and the latter died about the middle of the fourteenth. * * * * I think it is probable that they were the names from which the author of the voyages of Es-Sindibad of the sea drew most of the materials for the composition of this tale." The places, therefore, supposed to have been touched by Sindbad are those where the Arabs came for trade. We will now try to identify those places.

It may be noted here that in the quotation we have made above, we find, that, according to Mr. Lane, the time when this story was composed cannot be placed earlier than about the beginning of the fifteenth century. But when we remember that by the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Mahomedans had con-

quered a large part of the continent of India, it can hardly be believed that the Arabs were then in such ignorance of India and of the Indian seas as that displayed in these voyages. Besides, there is an air of simplicity in these voyages such as are found in the reports of men just beginning to peep into unknown seas and countries. The question therefore naturally arises whether the authorities cited by Mr. Lane did not borrow largely from this story, or from some other early work or tradition from which the author of this story might have borrowed as well. Referring to the authorities named above Mr. Lane writes that "these works being professedly scientific, it would be reasonable to entertain the slightest suspicion that these authors borrowed from a tale of fiction." This does not appear to be a very strong argument, for in oriental countries, fiction very often form the basis of "professedly scientific work." We shall now examine the seven voyages which Sindbad is said to have performed.

*The First Voyage.*—After having spent his patrimony in prodigality, Sindbad thought of seeking his fortune in trade. He therefore sold everything that yet remained to him, and bought "commodities and merchandize" and went down the Tigris in a ship "with a company of merchants" from Bagdad to El-Basrah. Basrah was the seaport town at the mouth of the river formed by the junction of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It was within a short distance and easy reach of the great Capital of the Kaliphs. It was, in short, to the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates what Tamralipta (Tamlook) in ancient time was to Bengal, or what Ostia was to ancient Rome and the country surrounding,—a place of roaring trade where merchants from the interior brought their goods for export, and where the voyagers brought their merchandize from foreign countries for the supply of the empire. Leaving Basrah, Sindbad launched out into the sea. He says:—"we traversed the sea for many days and nights, we passed by island after island, and from sea to sea, and from land to land; and every place by which we passed we sold and bought, and exchanged merchandize." It may be remarked that we must not take the above account of the voyage too literally. The ship on board which Sindbad was sailing was perhaps somewhat of the kind of the present Nakhoda ship which annually comes to Calcutta,—a small vessel which drew very little water, for the landing from the ship was effected by means of a plank thrown from the ship to the land, as is described in several places in this tale. Though she some times sailed out in the open sea, she was very often steered as close to land as was possible or convenient,

touching the different ports on her way. It may be noted here that there is no mention made of Ormaz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and it may be presumed that the island had not yet become the celebrated place of trade which the Portuguese afterwards found it. "We continued our voyage" says Sindbad when he met with an unlucky adventure on the back of a monster seafish, from which he escaped death by drowning by getting hold of a large wooden bowl. It was after a voyage of a day and a night on the bowl, the winds and the waves aiding him, that he was landed on a high island. Now we shall try to find out in what part of the world Sindbad was cast ashore.

From the description which Sindbad gives of this island, it would appear that it had a luxuriant tropical climate abounding in edible fruits. But the chief feature of the land was that it was the breeding place of a potentate who went by the name of "Mihraj." The mares were left tethered by the sea shore to be crossed by the stallions which came out of the sea, while the grooms lay hid in grottos. There could be no doubt that Sindbad had arrived in the dominion of a Maharaja, and the place was famous for horses. Mr. Lane, in his note concludes this island to be Borneo, in which opinion Sir William Jones agrees. It is unsafe to put oneself in opposition to such authorities. Nevertheless, the conclusion appears to be very improbable. We have seen Sindbad remark:—"we traversed the sea for many days and nights" and then "we continued our voyage" when he encountered the mishap on the back of the sea monster. After this accident it took him one day and one night, the wind and the waves being favourable, to reach this island. Now from the mouth of the Tigris, a voyage to Borneo would have taken many months, following the coast line, as Arab ships evidently did in those days, instead of "many days and nights." The island in question therefore could not well have been so far away as Borneo. We would be inclined to think that Sindbad was landed somewhere in the coast of India; and from the tale of horse breeding and grottos in which the grooms found shelter, we would be tempted to suggest the name of Katteywar. Katteywar was, till lately, famous for its horses which were considered the finest in India. Its hilly surface abounds with caverns and grottos and chasms. It may perhaps be said that Katteywar is not an island, but a peninsula. But this is hardly an objection. The early Spanish discoverers of America frequently mistook island for mainland, and mainland for island. Such a mistake in the case of Katteywar which is nearly surrounded by sea is what may

well be expected of early Arab narrators. Another objection may be raised to our suggestion. Sindbad stayed a long time with the "Mihraj" and became homesick, but none in the place could give him any information regarding Bagdad. One day he found the "Mihraj" in company with a body of Indians of whose country Sindbad made several enquiries. Sindbad was informed of the numerous divisions into castes which prevailed among the Indians, and of some particulars about Kshatriyas and Brahmanas. Now from the above it would appear that the "Mihraj" was not an Indian himself, nor his territory formed any part of India. It is more likely that this discrepancy was owing to the confused idea which the Arabs of those days held about India, than that they have been describing such a distant island as Borneo, in the first voyage of Sindbad. We will find, as we proceed further, that such confusion of idea is not rare in this tale. Sindbad at last returned home on board the same ship on which he had sailed from it. She, in the meantime, having performed her onward voyage was returning home, very probably with the monsoon which had changed since her outward voyage, and touched the country of the "Mihraj" on the way.

*The second Voyage.*—A restless spirit is never happy in the possession of the quiet comforts of home; so Sindbad found himself ill at ease amidst the plenty and prosperity in his domestic circle, and he longed "to travel again to the lands of other people." He embarked, "as did also a party of merchants" at Bagdad, on a new vessel bound for sea. The beginning of the voyage was pleasant enough; but as luck would have it, the ship cast anchor on a beautiful, though an uninhabited island, where Sindbad landed; but he fell asleep, and when he awoke, he found that the vessel had sailed leaving him alone in the island. It is unnecessary to follow Sindbad closely, in the troubles which overtook him. He got himself wafted from the place to a valley, by clinging to the legs of a fabulous bird, the Rukh. Every young reader knows of this valley strewn with diamonds, and must have sighed, while reading this part of the Sailor's adventure, that it had not been his luck to have been there even for a quarter of an hour, so that he might be in a position to defy the old rule, that man must earn his bread by the sweat of his brow! Be that as it may, the rose has its thorns, and the valley of diamonds its huge serpents and venomous snakes. But the hero of a story never dies, nor did Sindbad, however great might have been the perils which surrounded him. Sindbad's delivery was effected in a strange manner. He had heard "that in the mountains of the diamonds

are experienced great terrors, and that no one can gain access to the diamonds, but that the merchants who import them know a stratagem by means of which to obtain them: that they take a great sheep, and slaughter it, and skin it, and cut its flesh, which they throw down from the mountain, to the bottom of the valley: so, descending fresh and moist, some of these stones stick to it. Then the merchants leave it until midday, and birds of the large kind of vulture and the aquiline vulture descend on that meat, and taking it in their talons, fly up to the top of the mountain; whereupon the merchants come to them, and cry out at them, and they fly away from the meat. The merchants then advance to that meat, and take from it the stones sticking to it; after which they leave the meat for the birds and the wild beasts, and carry the stones to their countries. And no one can procure the diamonds but by means of this stratagem." So Sindbad tied himself to one of those slaughtered animals that were thrown down by the merchants, taking care of course, like a discreet man, to fill his clothes with a good supply of selected stones, and was carried to the top of the mountain.

This was not however all the knowledge which Sindbad gained in this voyage. As he journeyed over the mountain, he saw the camphor trees "under each of which trees a hundred men might shade themselves," and noticed how that precious drug was extracted. In this island, for he still believes himself to be on an island, he heard of the rhinoceros whose description he gives, good enough for the wondering Arab youths who never left their desert home; as also some animal of kind, bison probably. Thus journeying by land and sea he at last arrived at Basrah, and thence he repaired to Bagdad, the abode of peace. From the account of diamonds, rhinoceros, buffaloes, one would be tempted to suppose that the author of the tale has been, in the second voyage, describing some part of India. Such a supposition would not be wrong. The principal adventure in this voyage is one in the diamond valley; and the means of obtaining that precious stone, as described by Sindbad, though curious, corresponds with what is related by the Venetian travellers Marco Polo and Nicolo Conti, about the mines of Golconda and Deccan. It is clear therefore that the tradition which prevailed during the time of the early Arab traders in India regarding the mode of obtaining diamonds from the Deccan mines was current also at the time of the Venetian travellers named above. Be that as it may, this tradition gives us the clue as to the place described in Sindbad's second voyage, and we would be justified in asserting that Sindbad was

here made to land on the west coast of Deccan; and the writer of the story related in this voyage the tradition which he knew about the celebrated Indian diamond mines, as also the flora and fauna of the neighbourhood. It may however be noted that the camphor trees "under each of which trees a hundred men might shade themselves" is one of those confusions of ideas of which we have spoken before. Camphor trees do not grow in India; some trees grow in India "under each of which tree a hundred men might shade themselves," but they are not camphor trees.

*The Third Voyage.*—Plenty and prosperity could not keep a waving spirit from wandering, and Sindbad once more set out from Bagdad for El-Basrah, the seaport town where he embarked on a good ship which had many merchants on board. As usual, the first part of the voyage was pleasant, till one day, when they were pursuing their course "in the midst of the roaring sea, agitated with waves," the captain "looked at the different quarters of the sea" and informed the passengers of the peril they were in. The ship was drifting towards the mountain of the apes. It may be here remarked, that the sea is uniform all over the world, except in the color of the water which in some places is deep blue and in others light green. Looking at the sea, therefore, one would not be able to indicate the position of a ship. The Captain therefore must have observed some landmarks, and it may therefore be supposed that the ship was steering along the coast. Evidently the ship drifted from the usual track then followed by the Arab traders. The stress of the wind or some current of the sea might have carried the vessel in spite of the Captain's effort, to the dreaded mountain. That the art of navigation was then very rude could easily be imagined. All that the Captain could do to save the vessel, was to furl the sails of the ship and to cast her anchor. It must not however, be considered that the art was so very rude as here represented, a story teller is not a navigator, and the writer of this story though somewhat versed in nautical lore, is not the person in whom we could measure the art of navigation then known to the Arabs. Now the question is where is this mountain of the apes, or as some edition has it—"island of the apes?" Mr. Lane's authorities differ widely as to its position. According to one, it is situated in the China sea, and according to another it is somewhere near Socotra. Mr. Lane himself is inclined to think the island to be Sumatra. The animals which dismantled Sindbad's ship are in some edition mentioned as red downy creatures. Indeed the Arabic word rendered "apes" into

English appears to be somewhat obscure. It may perhaps be made to mean any of the monkey species; and monkeys are very common in India. If we therefore assume that Sindbad, in his third voyage, landed in some part of India, the assumption will gain additional corroboration when we discuss further adventures which the sailor met in this voyage. Having escaped the apes, Sindbad and his party fell into the hands of a giant. The story of the giant, here described, is very much like that in the Odessy. Here is a very good instance of the confusion of ideas from which the author laboured now and then. No doubt the story about the giant came to the Arabs from the Greeks, but the author of the voyages of Sindbad laid the scene in India, probably on the ground, that India had always been to the Arabs, as also to other nations, a land of wonders! At all events, there seems to be little doubt that the account of the giant is an instance of a Greek story transferred to India. We shall therefore pass it over as being of no value for indicating the place which the author was describing in this voyage. The death of the giant did not put an end to Sindbad's troubles. He and two of his companions escaped into another island where they slept, but found on awaking that "a serpent of enormous size, of large body and wide belly" had surrounded them. "It approached one of us" says Sindabad, "and swallowed him to his shoulders: then it swallowed the rest of him, and we heard his ribs break in pieces into its belly." This is surely a description, and a tolerably good description of a boa-constrictor. This huge serpent inhabits the swamps of Southern India. We are therefore entitled to conclude that in this voyage the author has been describing the countries in the South of India. Sindbad was, as a matter of course, fortunate enough to escape death, and, it so happened, that he was picked up by the ship in which he had sailed from home, in his second voyage. Considering the time which must have elapsed since Sindabad had parted with this ship in his second voyage, it is fair to conclude that she must have gone far into the east, and not unlikely, to have been trading in the ports of China. During his homeward voyage, Sindbad touched the island of Es-Selāhit "where Sandal wood is abundant." This must be some part of the Malabar coast where Sandal wood grows plentifully. He then touched the coast of Sind and he gives some account of the Sea-animals which he saw there. From Sind he came to Basrah, and thence to Bagdad.

*The fourth Voyage.*—The "wicked soul" of Sindbad, as of those like him fond of travelling, would not allow him to enjoy

peace and prosperity at home, but urged him "to travel again to the countries of other people." So once more Sindbad purchased commodities for trade and "went from the city of Bagdad to the city of El-Basrah," where he embarked on board a ship, and set out on his fourth voyage. The ship went on merrily at first until at last "a contrary wind arose." "The master therefore cast his anchors, and stayed the ship in the midst of the sea, fearing that she would sink in the midst of the deep." Were a master of a vessel, in these days, to cast anchor in the midst of a tempest he would hardly get scot free of a Marine Court. This passage shows that the ship must have been sailing very near the coast, for an Arab ship in those days could not have possessed chains long enough to cast anchor in deep water. But too much stress should not be laid on such passages; for immediately below we find that "there arose against us a great tempest, which rent the sails in strips and the people were submerged with all their bales and their commodities and wealth." Surely we should not imagine that the Arabs were so ignorant of the elementary rules of Navigation as to have kept on their sails after having cast their anchors. Since we have noted the probability of the ship being near the coast, we may as well point out that the distance from the land may be imagined from the subsequent account that Sindabad and his companions could not get on land till they had been a day and night and about three quarters of a day (eight hours) in the water, the waves and the wind helping them. But as we have said above, these passages which are used just to embellish the tale should not be interpreted too literally.

It was on an island that Sindbad and his companions found refuge. It will be seen that the narrator of this nautical tale is a little too partial for islands, and always landed his ship wrecked crew on islands in preference to main lands. However, we will not quarrel with him, at least in the present voyage. In this island, as all the world knows, the crew fell into the hands of men, black and naked, who immediately took possession of them, and carried them to their king. They were fed with strange food, and cocoanut oil was given to them for their drink, and when they grew fat under this regime, they were slaughtered and eaten. "They were a Magian people, and the King of their city was ghool." Now, opinions differ widely as to the island which the author intends to describe here. According to some, it is in the Sea of the Ethiopians, that would be Red Sea. Some would suggest the Andamans, and some the island of Sumatra. Among

such widely divergent opinions it would not perhaps add too much to the perplexity were we to suggest Ceylon. Ceylon answers the description well. The men are dark in complexion and naked compared to the well clad Arabs, and they manufacture cocoanut oil. As regards their cannibalism, it may be stated, that, such an idea regarding the people of this island had for a long time prevailed in India, perhaps from as remote an antiquity as the days of the Ramayana. The early traders might have caught a faint rumour about the fabled Rakshasas of the place. It would not therefore be outrageous to suppose that in this fourth voyage, the author has given currency to the popular traditions which obtained among the Arabs of the time, regarding Ceylon.

Having escaped from the cannibals, Sindbad travelled for more than eight days when he came in sight of more civilized people who were collecting pepper. Pepper grows plentifully in Ceylon. These people took Sindbad to their king with whom he became a favourite. He taught the people how to manufacture and use saddle, and he was held in great esteem both by the prince and the people. At last the king urged him to marry in the country; a request which oriental potentates not unfrequently make, as a sign of their favour, to esteemed strangers. The emperor Jehangire so much pressed Captain William Hawkins, the English Ambassador in his court, that the latter was obliged to comply, and so was Sindbad. It would be too long to follow the details of this voyage. It is well known that according to the custom of the country, when his wife died, Sindbad was lowered by means of a rope into a huge cavern by the side of a mountain along with the corpse of his wife. It is said that such a custom prevailed with a certain clan of Scythians, but certainly nowhere in India. Mr. Lane justly remarks that "the Hindoo practice of burning the widow with the corpse of her husband may have suggested to him [the author] the idea." Sindbad escaped from the horrid cavern, as every body knows, well laden with "necklaces of pearls, ornaments of silver and gold set with various minerals and rarities." An enumeration of these jewellery would go to suggest that Sindbad could not have landed in Sumatra where such things are not very plentiful. He was taken up by a ship bound for home. In his homeward voyage Sindbad thus mentions the places he passed by:—"We pursued our course until we arrived at the Island of the Bell, [the Arabic word is nākoos] whence we proceeded to the island of Kelā in six days. Then we came to the Kingdom of Kelā, which is adjacent to India, and in it are a mine of lead, and places where the Indian cane

groweth and excellent camphor; and its king is a king of great dignity, whose dominion extendeth over the Island of the Bell. In it is a city called the city of the Bell, which is two days journey in extent." It is difficult to guess what is meant by the island of the nākoos, not unlikely one of the Laccadive group. As regards the kingdom of Kelā, it would appear from the grand description given of it, that the Hindu kingdom of Chola is meant. This kingdom is said to be adjacent to India; not a very wrong description, when it is remembered that by India the early Arabs meant Sind and its neighbourhood. Sindbad at last reached Basrah, the great seaport, where he landed and remained a few days, and then proceed to Bagdad, the abode of peace.

*The Fifth Voyage.*—It would appear at first sight that the author of the story had exhausted his store of wonders, and had in this voyage been compelled to fall back upon incidents he had already described. Thus we find here, the rukh bird and the apes. But his story of the Old Man of the Sea seems to show that his imagination at least is inexhaustible. In this voyage the merchants on board the ship of Sindbad,—Sindbad being the owner of the ship,—landed on an island, and there destroyed the egg of a rukh. The birds in revenge destroyed the ship by casting on it a huge piece of stone "making the rudder fly into twenty pieces, and all that was in the ship became submerged in the sea." Sindbad managed to land on an island, and here he met with the adventure with the Old Man of the Sea, which is too well known to be repeated. Released from the grip of his cruel oppressor, Sindbad wandered for sometime in the island when a ship touched it on which he embarked After a voyage of days and nights he came to the City of the Apes, where he lagged behind, till the ship left the place without him. He was not altogether unfamiliar with the apes for he remembered his companions "and what had befallen them from the apes and afterwards." In this situation an inhabitant of the place picked him up and took him during day time, for at night the apes infested the place and it was not safe to stay there, to a cocoanut garden where the apes abounded. Sindbad like others pelted at the apes, and they in return pelted at the men with the nuts which the people collected and brought home.

Now it will be remembered that it was on his second voyage that Sindbad met with an adventure with the rukh, and the place was identified with the west coast of Deccan. It was on his third voyage that he was wrecked on the mountain of the apes, and the place was supposed to be somewhere in the extreme south of

India. It would therefore be inconsistent to suppose that Sindbad on this voyage landed anywhere but in Southern India. In the south of India there is no lack of monkeys or of cocoanuts. Mr. Lane considers Sumatra to be the scene of Sindbad's present adventure. Sumatra seems to be very favourite with Mr. Lane, and we confess that there is some reason for his fixing upon this island on this occasion as we shall see by and bye.

Thus Sindbad continued to gather cocoanuts as described above, until, one day a vessel arrived at the port. So he engaged his passage in it, and left the place with his store of cocoanuts. The ship continued its voyage "from island to island and from sea to sea." Sindbad then touched "an island in which are cinnamon and pepper;" then "the Island of El-Asirat, which is that where in is the Kamaree aloes wood" and then passed to an "island the extent of which is five days' journey, and in it is the Sanfee aloes-wood." He then came to "the pearl fisheries." Then he continued his voyage till he came to El-Basrah where he landed and remained a short time. Finally he arrived at Bagdad.

Now if the position of these "islands" could be fixed, it would be easy to conjecture the place where Sindbad had landed. But unfortunately there is a great deal of uncertainty as regards these islands. The first one where cinnamon and pepper grow is supposed to be one near the Sunda Strait. The next, where Kamaree aloes-wood grows, is, by some identified with Cape Comorin. Mr. Lane, however, relying on his Arab authorities, rejects this conclusion, and thinks the island to be either a part of the Malayan peninsula or situated on the opposite side of the Gulf of Siam. The next island, where Sanfee or Chinese aloes-wood grows, is also supposed to be in the same neighbourhood. The last place mentioned, where Sindbad came on pearl fisheries, is believed to be in the bay which lies between India and Ceylon. If the above supposition be correct, it would appear that Sindbad was landed in a place much beyond India or Ceylon. But if it be not binding on our conscience to believe that every place described as island in this story is so in reality, it would not be outrageous to suppose that Sindbad had been here describing the different parts of the coast of Ceylon and India. Cinnamon and pepper grow plentifully in Ceylon, and aloes-wood, both Kamáree and Sanfee, which might have been taken their names from Cape Comorin and China, as being the place of their growth or of export, might be growing abundantly elsewhere; and it is nothing strange that the Arabs of those days should believe them to be grown in the coast of India and Ceylon. As regards the pearl-fisheries,

there could be no two opinions. Though the pearls are found in several places in the Indian Archepelago, even up the coast of Australia, the early Arabs were most likely acquainted with the fishery carried on in the coast of India and Ceylon. While admitting therefore that there would be nothing illogical in supposing that the author had been describing Sumatra and its neighbourhood in this voyage, we may with as good reason maintain that no further than the coast of India and Ceylon had the author in view in describing the incidents of the fifth voyage of Sindbad.

*The Sixth Voyage.*—When one is so unfortunate as to be possessed by a certain desire to an unusual degree, he always finds it difficult to resist the temptation of gratifying that desire. But the temptation becomes ten times stronger when he sees before him others indulging themselves in the gratification of the same desire. Most people, under such circumstances, cannot abstain themselves from the indulgence, neither could Sindbad. Thus says Sindbad:—"I was sitting one day in exceeding delight and happiness and gaiety; and while I sat, lo, a party of merchants came to me, bearing the marks of travel. And upon this I remembered the days of my return from travel, and my joy at meeting my family and companions and friends, and at entering my country; and my soul longed again for travel and commerce." There is a delicate touch of human nature in the above passage which shows that the author of the tale had studied human character with some attention. So Sindbad trusted the faithless element once more, and left Bagdad for Basrah, where he embarked with other merchants on board a vessel. The early part of the voyage was, as usual, prosperous. One day the master of his ship warned the passengers of the danger there were in, He said that "we have wandered from our course having passed forth from the sea in which we were, and entered a sea of which we know not the routes." The wind became violent and the ship struck upon a mountain and was wrecked. The island where the vessel foundered is afterwards mentioned to be Sarandeeb (Sanskrit. Srinhala-dvipa) Ceylon. Mr. Lane, in his note agrees with another orientalist Mr. Hole, and says that "it would be no easy matter to find the particular spot here described." Though we cannot prove the spot where Sindbad's ship was wrecked, we may be allowed to make a suggestion. We have already said on a previous occasion that one could not, at the time of these early navigators, say whether he was in the right or in the wrong sea but from landmarks; and the captain, in this instance, must have seen the hills on the shore before he could assert that he had

wandered away from the proper route,—the trade route followed by the Arabs in their voyages to the east. That route was, not improbably, along the west and south coasts of Ceylon to the Indian Archipelagoes and China. Now if we suppose the ship to have been carried away by the stress of weather into the Palk Strait, by the north of Ceylon, the captain had very good reason to complain of the unknown sea to which he had been drifted. It is not improbable, therefore, that Sindbad was, in his sixth voyage wrecked on the north coast of Ceylon. The navigation in the strait has always been difficult, and the Arabs too probably found the difficulty as the following description of the rock on the coast would imply:—"By it were many vessels broken in pieces, and upon it were numerous goods, on the shore of the sea, of the things thrown up by the sea from the ships that had been wrecked, and the passengers of which had been drowned. Upon it was an abundance, that confounded the reason and the mind, of commodities and wealth that the sea cast upon its shores."

Since the mention of the name of Sarandeeb makes it beyond all possibility of a doubt that the island as which Sindbad was stranded was Ceylon, it is needless to follow the details of this voyage. The description which is given of the riches of the island and of the power of its king will be found interesting as being the idea which the early Arabs held respecting this island; and however much we may be tempted to quote it, we will be contented for want of space by merely referring it to the readers. One thing however may be remarked. In noting on the fifth voyage, we remarked that the Kamaree and Sanfed aloes-wood might be found growing abundantly in places other than those from which they took their names; and not unlikely they would be found growing in the coast of Ceylon. By way of evidence to the above statement we may here quote the following passage from the description which Sindbad gives of this island:—"We likewise saw on that island an abundance of the best kind of Sanfee aloes-wood and Kamáree aloes-wood." In another place where Sindbad built a raft to carry him along the stream, he says:—"Then I arose and went and collected pieces of wood that were upon the island, of Sanfee and Kamáree aloes-wood."

It is needless to remind the readers that Sindbad by means of the raft above described, managed to come into a habitable part of the island where he found people, like the Abyssinians (dark). Sindbad was then conveyed to the king of Sarandeeb with whom he became a favourite and in whose court he prospered. Sindbad again indulges in a description of the island, and we

again resist the temptation of quoting it, noticing only that he believes the island to be "under the equinoctial line; its night being always twelve hours, and its day also twelve hours." "Though this is far from truth" notes Mr. Lane, "Diodorus Siculus and Ptolemy have said the same thing of this island, the ancient Taprobane." The only other things noticeable in this voyage are the letter which the king of the island addressed to the Kaliph Haroon Er-Rasheed and the articles which he sent as presents. The letter was written "on skin of kháwee, which is finer than parchment." It is not known what animal is meant by "kháwee." The letter was addressed as going from the king of India. Ceylon was probably considered by the Arabs as a part of India, in the same sense as the Isle of Wight is considered a part of England. We leave it to the Arabic scholars and men read in the history of the Kaliphs to ascertain whether there are any historical records of Haroon-Er-Rasheed having ever received any letter from any potentate in India or Ceylon which might have given rise to this letter in the story. The articles sent are thus enumerated:—"A cup of ruby, a span high, the inside of which was embellished with precious pearls; and a bed covered with the skin of the serpent that swalloweth the elephant, [Boa-constrictor] which skin has spots, each like a piece of gold, and whosoever sitteth upon it never becometh diseased; and hundred thousand mithkāls of Indian aloes-wood; and a slave girl like the shining full moon"—all these are the products of India or Ceylon. We shall in noting on the next voyage compare these articles with those which the Kaliph sent to this prince in return.

Sindbad when presenting these articles to his sovereign gives him an account of the king of Sarandeeb and of his government which we must ask the readers to see in the original. We shall be contented simply by remarking that the early Arab corroborate the statements of the early Greek and Chinese travellers in India as to the good government of the country and the love of truth of the Indian people.

*The Seventh Voyage.*—This last voyage of Sindbad was not undertaken, as the others were, for love of traffic or desire of visiting other people's land; but in obedience to the orders of the Kaliph Haroon-Er-Rashid who wished to send presents to the king of Sarandeeb in return of those he had received. It is not unlikely that the author had originally intended to stop with the sixth voyage, but on second thought, added this one more, perhaps he had collected materials enough for another trip; or probably

to complete the number seven, which number seems to have exercised a sort of mysterious influence over the Semetic races. It is worthy of note that the story of the seventh voyage has more than one version; a fact that may be taken to shew that originally the intention was to stop with the sixth voyage.

The presents which the Kaliph sent were said to be the following: "A horse worth ten thousand pieces of gold, with its saddle adorned with gold set with jewels; and a book, and a sumptuous dress, and hundred different kinds of white cloths of Egypt, and silks of Es-suweys and El-koofeh of Alexandria, and extraordinary cup of crystal, in the midst of which were represented the figure of a lion with a man kneeling before him and having drawn an arrow in his bow with his utmost force, and also the table of Suleyman the son of Daood." The book mentioned above is named "The delight of the Intelligent and the Rare Present for Friends.' It would be curious to know whether there is any such book in the Arabic language, and if so, when it was written, and what does it treat of; the date of the book might throw some light on the date of this story. Mr. Lane says that he does not know of any book bearing such a title. A comparison of the presents sent by the two potentates show that the Kaliph sent more of the manufactured articles of utility, than the king of Sarandeep, the articles moreover were the products of many lands over which the Arabs then held sway. The evidence of the articles, so far as it goes, tends to show that the Arabs of the time were more civilized than the people of Ceylon.

Sindbad found no difficulty in reaching the island of Sarandeeb and delivering to its king the message and the presents from his sovereign. It was on his return voyage that he met all his misfortures and adventures. One day "in the midst of our course over the sea" says Sindbad "there appeared to us a number of boats, which surrounded us, and in them were men like devils, "having in their hands, swords and daggers, and equipped with coats of mail, and arms and bows." These people captured the ship and sold those in it as slaves, in some neighbouring "island." Here is another proof that the Arab ships in those days sailed along the coast, for the ship could not possibly have been reached by the boats in the high sea. This occurrence must have taken place somewhere on the Malabar coast; and the men who captured the ship were probably the ancestors of the Maharatta pirates who under their celebrated chief Angria gave so much trouble to the British. Sindbad, in this voyage, therefore, landed on the west coast of India. Sindbad was employed by the man who

bought him as slave in killing elephants for the sake of their tusks; and by a lucky find Sindbad made himself and his master rich and returned home. It may be cited as an instance of an Indian's gratitude that Sindbad's master, among other favours, not only freed him from bondage, but gave money for his passage home, "together with all that was required" for him; and gave him "a large quantity of goods." There is not much in this voyage to note, except the fact that the story of the ivory corroborates the assertion previously made that Sindbad, in his seventh voyage landed in India.

If the suggestions we have made, as to the places described by the author of this famous story, be correct, it will be seen that the writer has followed a system, in at least the first four voyages. In the first voyage he describes Kathywar; then the Malabar coast opposite Golconda; in the third voyage, the same coast further South and in the fourth, the island of Ceylon. Thus there is a gradual expansion of the scope of the voyage. Another fact observable is, that of the seven voyages, three are devoted to the continent of India and two to the island of Ceylon; and the fifth and the seventh partly to the continent and partly to the island.

We have now done. In conclusion we would only remark that the object of this paper is to suggest that, though no such sailor as Sindbad ever lived, and though none performed the identical seven voyages here narrated, the author of the story has tried to give an account of India such as was popularly known in his time and country. To prove this would be impossible; but enough has perhaps been said to show that the idea is not altogether preposterous. An attempt has been made to explain that the scenes, the manners and customs described are Indian, and the wonders narrated were believed to have been existing in India. To what extent this attempt has been successful, it is left to the public to judge.

J. C. DUTT.

## *HUMAN INDEBTEDNESS TO FAITH.*

We have but Faith : we cannot know ;
For knowledge is of things we see ;
And yet we trust it comes from Thee,
A beam in darkness : let it grow.
Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell ;
That mind and soul, according well,
May make one music as before,
But vaster. *Tennyson.*

It is urged—with considerable truth doubtless—that Faith has no scientific basis, no foundation in human knowledge, no logical evidence in its support. The man of science can contend with truth, that none of the facts of existence go to prove the beliefs and hopes Faith teaches us to cherish regarding the ultimate destiny of mankind, regarding the Divine existence, and the relations that subsist between the human and divine, between God and man. Doubt, if not absolute infidelity must inevitably result from any candid inquiry on strictly scientific or philosophical grounds into the foundations of Faith, which has indeed little more than human longings and yearnings to support it. But while the fact of Faith being unsupportable by reason or evidence is too apparent to be denied, she does in no wise because of it, lose in intrinsic worth and value, nor ought she because of this lack of evidence to be any the less cherished and loved and reverenced by men. If there is nothing in human existence and in the workings of the universe to make it absolutely certain that the hopes and godward aspirations of our souls are to be realized, neither is there any evidence deducible from nature to prove that the theories contrary to those of Faith are true. *There is no scientific evidence either for or against Faith*, and it will be my object to indicate why, in spite of Faith not being amenable to proof, it should yet be cherished in the human breast, why it should yet be regarded as the most valuable and loftiest and sub-

limest possession of man. I shall strive to shew how vast and incalculable an injury they inflict on the whole human race, who attempt to undermine the sway of Faith over the human mind and heart. Human well-being and progress, have, in the past been so largely dependent on Faith, that the attempts of some to destroy its influence in the future seem like the grossest insanity.

Unsupportable by evidence as Faith is, she ought nevertheless to be cherished by mortals, first because of the purifying and ennobling and elevating influence she exerts on the human mind and soul. She moulds our moral and mental constitutions into shapes of perfect beauty and nobility, and renders that bright and dignified which without her would be corrupt and unclean. Is it not the chief aim and object of Faith to prepare us for a future state in which we shall hold eternal commune with the eternal Holiness? And to attain this grand object does she not constrain and teach us to fix our minds only on what is high and holy? Is not the very idea of a Being of infinite purity and holiness and might an ennobling and elevating idea, and is not the creation of this idea in the human mind due entirely to Faith? Science would rob the human soul of God and will not acknowledge that this belief, centred as it is on something so infinitely majestic, is indeed that which alone can uplift the soul of man. We have only to turn to the pages of history to perceive that these are facts. The vast majority of those whose lives shine as lights and beacons to the world, whose names stand out among the rest of mankind for their influence over the minds of their fellow men, for the beauty of their lives, for their intellectual attainments, have been men deeply imbued with the spirit of Faith and have acknowledged her to be the one power that has brought about their well being. Take, for instance, the leaders in modern philanthropical movements. Wilberforce, Fowell Buxton, Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, Howard, Shaftesbury, Zachary Macaulay, Florence Nightingale, Sister Dora, Lady Dufferin, were or are all of deeply religious natures. Or take again the case of the six greatest of living statesmen: President Cleveland, Mr. Gladstone, Prince Bismarck, Mr. John Bright, Lord Salisbury and our revered late viceroy Lord Ripon, are all of profoundly religious temperaments and are at all times ready humbly to acknowledge their vast indebtedness to Faith in making their lives what they are, and to testify to her uplifting influence on the lives of men. In like manner, the leading philosophers of all ages testify to the great extent to which Faith sanctifies and renders human lives pure and holy. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Epictetus, Cicero, the philosophi-

cal and lofty souled emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Julian in past ages; Bacon, the mighty Newton, Faraday, Huygens Locke, Pascal, Galileo, Linnæus, Sir William Hamilton, Sir James Mackintosh, Carlyle, Tennyson, Dana, Asa Gray, Lionel Beale Baden Powell, the Duke of Argyle and a host of others of more modern times, whose names would be too numerous to mention, who are eminent not only for their vast intellectual attainments, but also for the purity and nobleness of their lives, are all humble followers of the Faith of the Cross in which they admittedly recognize a power which urges them on to good far more mightily than their human philosophy. Or again consider the testimony of the leading historians and poets of the present day regarding the purifying power of Faith. Ranke, Michelet, Thiers, Arnold, Hallam, Froude, Freeman, Green, Grote, Southey, Wordsworth, Scott, Cowper, Tennyson, Browning, Heber, are all agreed in regarding Faith as the holiest possession of man. Having then, so many of the leading minds of the world who sincerely believe in that Faith which some try to ridicule as highly absurd, and having the eloquent testimony of their glorious lives, can it not be said that the statement made above, that Faith, if sincerely held and rightly understood, exercises a purifying and ennobling and elevating influence on the human heart is proved? And having this great and important and beneficial influence on the hearts and minds of men may they not be justly regarded as the greatest enemies of human progress who would desire to undermine and destroy the influence of Faith in the world? It is Faith that alone can nourish the spark of divinity that exists in every human heart, and though it would be absurd to say that none are good and noble minded who have not faith, yet are the great moral worth and high characters of men like Darwin and Huxley and Tyndall due, not to their science and philosophy, but are the fruits of the seeds of Faith that were sown in their minds at their mothers' knees. Here then is one great reason why men should always reverence and cherish faith, in spite of its being unprovable inasmuch as she renders pure and holy the human heart.

Faith, again, in spite of her groundlessness should yet be cherished and reverenced because of the vast influence she has had in the promotion and acceleration of human progress and civilization. Those who are properly acquainted with the facts of human history and who have studied history as it ought to be, to wit, as a vast compendium of philosophy, cannot be unacquainted with the great fact that it is to Religion that the intellectual and social development of our species is due. Is it not a suggestive

fact that only those nations are civilized who have any Religion properly so called? It is Faith that has suggested to the minds of philosophers from Socrates to the present day, the deepest and profoundest questions in philosophy which have been discussed in all ages. Faith in itself is a deep philosophy, the philosophy of Holiness. The sublime philosophy of Plato, the profound ethics of Spinoza, Kant, Hume, Berkeley, Locke do they not mostly deal with the problems of Faith, or rather do they not discuss the problems, the doctrines of Faith suggests? Philosophy, thus, has grown out of Faith, and who shall under-rate the vast influence this intellectual activity, originated by Faith, has had in the progress of civilization. Faith has originated intellectual activity and this activity has been the cause of civilization. There is, moreover, no branch of human knowledge that is not greatly indebted for its value and worth to Faith. Poetry for instance. It is Religion that has inspired the soul of man with the loftiest poetry and has filled his mind with ideals for the highest art. The sublimest poems of the world have been the works of men in whom the religious instinct has been very strong and who wrote under strong religious emotions. The lofty poetry of the Hebrew Psalmist to whose grandeur all alike attest, the profound and stately verses of the Brahman Vedas, the poetry of Milton, of Dante, of Tennyson, of Cowper, of Browning, have all been the work of men whose inspiring and aiding Muse has been religion. Music and the fine arts have also been considerably indebted to Religion for their worth and beauty. The profound and sublime mysteries of Faith have invested all these branches of human wisdom with a grandeur, the learning of the world could never give. It was when the mighty Handel made the Messiah his theme that he felt his loftiest inspiration and produced his finest pieces. It was when Beethoven strove to make his compositions appeal to that instinct within the bosom of man which aspires to immortality and the light of God, that he produced his highest strains. The highest types of existing paintings and sculptures are those in which the human hand and mind have striven to fashion and pourtray the holy loveliness of the Virgin Mother and the divine majesty of the eternal God-man. Thus we see that the highest philosophy, poetry, music, painting, sculpture are all more or less indebted to Faith for their inspiration, and she may therefore be regarded as the parent of intellectual growth and hence of civilization. Here then, is a second reason why Faith, in spite of its groundlessness, should yet be cherished, in that in the past she has promoted human progress, and will therefore do so in the future.

In addition to its political and social importance, the mighty upheaval of the French Revolution has a far more impressive moral significance, in indicating how necessary an element Faith is for the constitution of a healthy society. Faith exercises a healthy restraint on man, curbs and controls all the wild passions that inflame and agitate his bosom, invigorates and quickens the gentler and manlier and purer emotions that are hidden in him, and though she binds, she binds only the baser element in man. It is this curbing, controlling and guiding influence of Faith on the heart of man that renders the existence of society possible. Even the cold and sceptical Robespierre was constrained to admit that a regenerated and free France could not exist without Faith, because society could not exist without her; and he even asserted that much of the bloody deeds committed by the populace during the Revolution of 1789 was due to the controlling influence of religion having been crushed out of their minds. The statement of so acute an observer, and one who played so important a part in one of the most gigantic social revolutions in human history as Robespierre, is not to be neglected, and he asserted that society could not prosper or even live without Faith. We have in this statement, a third reason why Faith should always be venerated by man.

There is a sublime lesson to be learnt from the manner in which truly devout men and women have faced death, and may with great advantage be contrasted with the manner in which some typical sceptic philosophers have faced the arch enemy. Voltaire for instance, learned as he was in all human knowledge and worldly philosophy, yet what a terrible death did he die. Philosophy did not enable him to die with calmness and dignity and fortitude, nor did it enable him to crush out our natural fear of death. In consequence, his last hours were spent in uttering cries of the most abject fear and horror at the thought of death, which would frequently express itself in oaths and curses. Alas! the proud Voltaire with his proud knowledge, was rendered quite helpless and abject through trembling and fear at the dread hour of death. How different was the scene around the death-bed of the little, lowly, unlearned but Christian child, Eva, mentioned in Mrs. Beecher Stowe's great book. That incident the authoress assures us is not a fiction, but a glorious reality full of meaning and instruction for all the world. Dying peacefully, calmly, without a touch of fear at the thought of the awful change so soon to come upon her, filled with holy thoughts and lofty hopes of soon attaining a life of eternal loveliness, resolute

even in the agonies of death, the spirit of the lowly Christian child fled away, leaving behind a proof of the great fact that it is Faith alone that enables man to meet death firmly, and that mere worldly knowledge is impotent in this. What a profound lesson, is conveyed in the manner in which this child died, indicating as it does that simple Faith can nerve the heart of even the weak and lowly with a strength proud philosophy can never give, can carry man through the blackest waters where philosophy would only clog and drown. Is it possible to over-estimate the benefit Faith has conferred on man by bringing about so great an end? The poet sings sweetly and truthfully enough :—

"Who loves not Knowledge? Who shall rail
Against her beauty? May she mix
With men and prosper! Who shall fix
Her pillars? Let her work prevail.

But on her forehead sits a fire:
She sets her forward countenance
And leaps into the future chance
Submitting all things to desire.

Half grown as yet, a child and vain
She cannot fight the fear of Death.
What is she cut from love and faith
But some wild Pallas from the brain

Of Demons? fiery hot to burst
All barriers in her onward race
For power. Let her know her place;
She is the second, not the first.

A higher hand must make her mild
If all be not in vain, and guide
Her foot steps, moving side by side
With Wisdom, like the younger child.

For she is earthly, of the mind,
But wisdom, heavenly, of the Soul."

A fine distinction is here drawn by the poet between knowledge and wisdom. Knowledge, the learning which men like Voltaire had; Wisdom, the loftier learning pertaining to piety, which the child had. True wisdom is assuredly begotten of Piety,

and it is vain to call the learning of the world by that name except it be beautified by piety.

I have attempted, in the above, briefly to indicate and illustrate the fact of human indebtedness to Faith and to shew to how great a degree human well-being has been due to her influence. It has been shewn that in his moral, intellectual and social capacities man has eminently been helped by Faith, that human progress has been largely dependent on her, and that the wheels of civilization have been greatly accelerated in its movements by Faith. Knowing how vast has been her share in the up-lifting of our species, how elevating are her tendencies, how eloquently she teaches mankind to live nobly and with beauty, shall we, merely because she is not amenable to proof, discard her as false? Knowing all these, are they not guilty of the deepest guilt, who would wantonly rob the soul of man of that which may justly be regarded as the parent of all that is virtuous and wise in him, merely because the finite human intellect cannot prove the lofty doctrines of Faith? Are they not then the greatest enemies of men and of human progress who would desire to overthrow the sway of Faith over the minds of men? If Faith has done so much for our kind in the past, why should she not do the like in the ages that are to be? And would it be well to deprive the world of her uplifting arm in the future? "Oh! who shall say" asks an eminent novelist, "that religion is the heavy chain that fetters us to gloom and everlasting sadness; that in chastening the pleasures of the earth, it offers no substantial good in return? True piety, opening the heart by its sweet, refreshing influence, causes us to enjoy every earthly blessing with a zest, the heart in which the love of God is not an inmate will seek in vain to know. It is piety that strengthens, purifies affection. Piety that looks on happiness vouchsafed us here as harbingers of a state where felicity will be eternal. Piety that in lighting up the grateful soul to God, heightens our joys and renders that pure and lasting which would otherwise be fleeting and evanescent. Piety, whose soft and mildly burning torch continues to enlighten life long, long after the lustre of worldly pleasures has passed away.

There are certain truths which are too simple and elementary to admit of proof; there are others too high and lofty to be susceptible of proof by man's finite and limited intellectual capacities. Faith, to some extent, partakes of both these characters. She is too simple for proof inasmuch as she is to some extent innate and, intuitive in the human mind,

She is too high to admit of demonstration, because man's finite powers of mind, cannot realize in its entirety, the infinite subjects of Faith. It is not Faith that is responsible for being unproved, but rather man, with finitude girding all his capacities. And this should be borne in mind by those who bring the charge of groundlessness against Faith. Doubtless, she is unprovable, but this is so, not because Faith is illogical but because man is finite, and his mental capacities are finite. Is not the humble, lowly, sincere faith of the great Newton, of a far sublimer character, than the ranting, self-complacent, boastful infidelity of the modern man of science?

One has only to consider the lives and sayings of men eminent for their attainments in the sphere of intellect or of action, to perceive that Faith helps man, more thoroughly than anything else, to attain the *summum bonum* of his existence. To what end were we born and sent into the world? Assuredly, not in vain. Not merely to fret and fume and labour for that which satisfieth not during a brief span of being and then to sink into an eternal sleep. Ah no! not for such was man fashioned, not merely to die does he breathe God's atmosphere. Man has a high and holy duty to perform and live for even during this frail and evanescent existence,—the sacred duty of labouring for our fellow-men and for the attainment of human progress. Should we murmur at the aches of life, seeing how grand and magnificent an object, such as this, is given us to labour for. Should not the holy and lofty pleasure derived from working for such an object make us forget the petty pains and wearinesses incident in life? And what teaches us so eloquently and ably as Faith to perform this the holiest of human duties conscientiously? It was Faith that first indicated to man that this was the chief end of his existence. The sceptic and cynic may say what they will, but the pure in heart, instinctively and intuitively *feel* that human destiny is a grand and lofty one, and Faith alone,—purifying and chastening as is her influence—can make us worthy of this high destiny. Consider again, the immense power of Faith. A little band of twelve lowly, unlearned fishermen, of a despised and hated race, without worldly power, without wealth, without any political status have overcome the civilized world, not by resistance or force, but by patient suffering, by the admiration their calm and noble fortitude even amidst the most excruciating persecutions known in history, has elicited all over the world. The triumph of Christianity has been gained not by carnal weapons but by the sacred blood of saints and martyrs, and his must indeed be a petty

soul, who cannot reverence them for their fortitude during the many and awful persecutions the infant church underwent. If Faith had no nerving, strengthening influence, how came these lowly and meek minded and illiterate men by the courage to suffer and to die so nobly? Is it not a most stupendous fact that the ignorant apostle of the gentiles should have swayed the gigantic intellects and lofty minds of men like Newton and Locke and Faraday and Herschell and Bacon and Pascal? He therefore who will deny the power of Faith, must be, either most grossly ignorant or most grossly dishonest. To every individual who honestly submits to her influence and sway, Faith gives light and life and peace and purity, and a sense of holy happiness; to the human race, progress, civilization, virtue. How petty and trivial does Faith make the pains of existence appear, what a sacred and holy character does she invest life with!

So let us pray with Him who suffered so nobly and disinterestedly and unrepiningly for human well-being. "Thy Kingdom come!"

P. D. B.

## SPOTLESS WOMEN.

*(From the German of Rodenberg.)*

Chaste women stand on life's pathway
  Like roses studding darksome bowers,
Their aspirations, grave or gay,
  Are strewn with fragrant dust of flowers.

Where'er is felt their sweet control,
  All, all is peaceful,—all is true;
O look into a woman's soul,
  And heaven is open'd to our view.

High genius thou may'st well revere,
  In man's great energy believe,
And from thy teachers thou may'st hear
  What Arts and Science can achieve.

But what is highest here below,
  —The trace of Eden we would see,—
'Tis woman only who can show
  True Beauty, Peace and Poesy.

O. C. DUTT.

## *THE ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL JUSTICE IN BENGAL.*

The report on the Administration of Civil Justice in Lower Bengal for 1887 is an interesting study. It shews an increase of Judicial work in the Province of Bengal and notwithstanding the larger number of disposals the pending suits show a higher figure than the end of the preceding year. The High Court in winding up the report says: "It appears therefore that the staff of Judicial Officers industrious as they have been have not been able to fully control the work coming before them. It is neither just nor politic to overtax the strength of these officers by letting them get overwhelmed with work which cannot be sufficiently done in haste but the quantity of which leaves no room for recreation." This acknowledgment of the industry of the Subordinate Judicial officers is no doubt becoming of the highest court in Bengal and reflects credit on those that serve under it.

From the report it is clear that in the year under review the net profit of Government from Judicial revenue was Rs. 3,811,047 from which deducting the duty on probates and letters of Administration that amounted to Rs. 477,374, the net income (after deducting all charges) came to Rs. 3,333,673 which is in excess of the previous year's profit by 238,968 Rs. From such enormous saving the people who pay the tax in Court fees have a right to expect Government to increase the strength of Judicial Machinery for more speedy disposal of their cases and lessen the taxation. It would not be too much if this last concession repeatedly asked for by the people and recommended by the High Court were made to them. The process serving and copying departments also leave a grand surplus and still the public in general who have to deal with them cannot but complain of the delay and slovenliness in the work done by the undermanned and ill-paid agencies.

It is also an open secret that the Ministerial Establishment of the Moffusil Courts being overworked and under-paid cannot

sometimes give satisfaction to the public at large but the question is, with whom does the fault lie; with the employed or employer? The practice of employing unpaid agencies to cope with the heavy ministerial work has also given rise to great scandal and these necessary evils should be quickly remedied. Now-a-days we do not hear so much complaint against the efficiency of the Ministerial staff as in days gone by and this is owing to higher appointments being made worthy of acceptance by the best men.

It is notorious that the lowest grade of Judicial Officers that have the most arduous work before them have become victims to overwork. As a rule these officers who have to bear the brunt of the work are located in the worst part of the districts. They know nothing of the external world except the suitors and pleaders that throng their Courts or of any other recreation than writing out judgments at home in the morning and evening and particularly on Sundays and holidays on which they have most to do. The attention of Government has so often been drawn by the High Court to the want of house accommodation of these officers that it will not be long before the Local Government will be supplied with funds for the above purpose out of the large savings; and the pressure of work will soon render it impossible for Government not to increase substantially (and not spasmodically only, as is now done) the strength of the Judicial staff.

Before dismissing the subject we cannot but express our deep sympathy for these hard-working officers scattered over the most unhealthy regions of marshy Bengal where they have no other friends than the Post Masters or Police Sub-Inspectors and we wish that they might be allowed privilege leave on full pay for at least 15 days during the year to attend to domestic duties. To class these officers with educational officers who enjoy about six months' holidays on account of summer, winter, and Poojah vacations and who besides have nothing to do, before, during, and after, the annual examination of students, and to mulct their half salaries when on privilege leave, would appear to be absurd and impolitic. The period of Judicial officers' service for pension should as well be reduced to 22 years; else, there will survive few, if at all, to enjoy pension earned after such arduous work under the most trying circumstances. It will as well be not unwise in Government to induce these officers to periodically take furlough to recruit their health by counting some portion thereof towards active service.

We are glad to notice that in the year under review our Chief Justice took the trouble to visit remote districts in Behar

and his inspection has brought on salutary effects on the Judicial staff and public. Later on, other Judges were also deputed to visit the Metropolitan districts and if this be repeated every year, the working of our Moffusil Courts will to a great extent be improved. The kind and condescending manner in which the Chief Justice received the Judicial officers and Members of the Legal Profession has made a very favorable impression of British justice and equality on the mind of the public. If the tour of our good Governor be followed by that of the Judges of the High Court and if the public are admitted to their presence, the Judges will know public views in matters concerning justice, as the Governor and the governed understand each other during such interviews.

In conclusion we may suggest that if a district Court be established in Calcutta, poor suitors who have to deal with small landed properties in the town will be saved a great deal of expense in partition and accounting suits specially, the costs of which even under the present arrangement of the High Court are too heavy, if not ruinous, to them. We would also draw the attention of the authorities to the delay in the disposal of petty suits instituted in the Calcutta Small Cause Court that ought to be strengthened in order to render greater facility to the poor people, who have to resort to it, in having their disputes more quickly settled.

We have no doubt that the Lieutenant-Governor and his Chief adviser will give due attention to and further amelorate, this important branch of public service on the ability and strength of which the welfare of the subjects greatly depends and which fully deserves the deep concern shown to the Executive branch of the service.

THE EDITOR.

## *EXILED.*

AFTER mature consideration, we have made up our mind to give some little attention to several letters now before us, touching, upon the continued detention of Salay Myoza, late Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon of Mandalay, at Calcutta.

On reviewing the case of the Woon, and going into the different forms the complaints before us take, we are of opinion that if the case is as has been represented to us. The Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon is certainly undergoing very great hardship indeed, and to those who have followed up the actions, of the local government of Burma, it must be manifest that both Princes, and people, who stood and still stand in arms against our authority are not all dacoits and rebels, but patriots, engaged in a hopeless death struggle to restore the house of Alompra.

The subject of this article Salay Myoza Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon, at the time of our occupation of Upper Burma, was an officer at the Court of Ex-King Thebaw, and known as a man to be depended on, always acting towards his Royal Master, in such a manner that the truth of his assertions were never questioned, so well did he stand with Thebaw, that at one time when the mind of the Ex-King was sorely exercised, in regard to dacoity, and lawlessness, which had spread over Upper Burma Thebaw sent for the Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon, and empowered him to scour the disturbed districts, hunting down and breaking up every band of dacoits he encountered, this task the Woon performed to the satisfaction of Thebaw, bringing in a number of captives and information seriously compromising another Minister at the Court of Thebaw, but whose influence at Court being so much greater than that of the Woon, the good achieved by this raid died gradually out. Thebaw fearing to resist the power held over him by the Minister, whose evidence the Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon criminated.

It is represented to us that no specific charge constituting a crime or offence, of any nature, has ever been made against the

Woon and how he happens to be at Calcutta is told in a few words.

The Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon. After the annexation of Upper Burma, the abolition of the Hlutdaw and subsequent to the deporting of Tindah Mengee from Mandalay to Cuttack, there followed a great excitement amounting to almost a panic amongst the remaining ministers, as upon whose head next should fall Sir Charles Bernard's displeasure and send him spinning across the Bay of Bengal in the Clive or Canning. It was not simple funk, the same that got possession of Sir Charles Bernard, and brought him into collision with Col. Sir Edward Sladen, resulting in the latter officer retiring from the service, but downright fear, and dread, of some unforeseen danger looming in the distance. The Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon it may be less with fear than a desire to throw himself entirely clear of any mischief then brewing constantly at Mandalay, he having no knowledge of intriguing, boldly consulted Sir Charles Bernard on the propriety of his seeking an interview with the Viceroy Lord Dufferin, to remove certain representations, which were about to be made derogatory to him. The Chief Commissioner at once acquiesced to the Woons request, and in due time the Woon set out on his excursion which has cost him not only the loss of his liberty, for nearly three years, but has resulted in placing him in great financial difficulties.

On the Woon's arrival in Calcutta Lord Dufferin had taken wing for the heights of Simla, and he not caring to go up to Simla proceeded on a pilgrimage to Gya, where he remained perfectly free to go where and when he choose. Not caring to return to Burma before completing the mission he had come to India for, he delayed his return. Ultimately the Viceroy's return to Calcutta gave him the opportunity he desired, when he soon thereafter began to think of turning his face homewards. To do so without a visit to the Foreign office was hardly politic, consequently the visit was made and the veto put on his intended journey, he being politely and most affably informed before you do set out for Burma let us know. This is how matters in connection with Salay Myoza. Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon of Mandalay are represented to us, and if they are not in strict accordance with the truth we fail to see what benefit is obtainable by exaggeration. The sources from which our information comes however, does not admit of any doubt as to the truth and accuracy of what we write, and we fail to see in what way the action of Sir Charles Bernard in the first instance is justifiable, in giving his sanction if not inducing the Woon to undertake a journey which has resulted in his deten-

tion at Calcutta and exile from his native country. This is by no means the strangest part of the tale we lay before our readers. The wife of the Woon, his daughter, and son, are permitted to go to and return from Burma *ad lib*, only the Woon himself must not return to Burma at present. He is not under police or any other sort of surveillance, he may go where and whence he desires to barring Burma. The why and the wherefore we are assured by authority that does not admit of doubt, has never been made known to the Woon, why : he must inform the foreign office before he sets out for Burma, he has committed no offence of any kind, is not a state or any sort of prisoner, pays his own house rent at Calcutta and in Burma, maintains at his own cost, two establishments, supports his family, and up to this day, has not received one pice from Government, such meakness and submissiveness is not common in the present advanced stage of enlightenment, and we feel convinced past history cannot produce another such instance of passiveness while the subject is being deprived of his liberty, and kept in exile, without some knowledge of the cause of his detention and forced residence out of his own country, and away from those he loves. We are aware at present the wife and daughter of the Woon are absent in Burma, so that his expenses are two-fold and at any time of such dimensions as we ourselves should not care to have to pay.

We feel convinced if Lord Lansdowne on his arrival will allow us to suggest, that he might turn his attention to the treatment the Woon is subjected to, and cause enquiry to be made into the circumstances attending the forced exile, of Salay Myoza Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon either redress follows the enquiry, or the Woon informed why the local Government of Burma require his being kept in exile and at his own expense.

We have in Calcutta, several state prisoners from Burma, all more or less supported in opulence by Government, let us cite the Limbin Prince residing in Dhurmtollah, and place him in juxtaposition with the Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon.

The Limbin Prince we are told, draws an allowance of Rs. 500 monthly sits rent free, has a tolerable staff as a body guard it may be called, all this kindness and indulgence he receives from Government, for deserting his Myokship under Government, drawing monthly Rs. 40 or Rs. 50, raising the standard of rebellion, against the authorities, is captured red handed in open revolt, housed comfortably in Rangoon, and subsequently deported to India. Handsome accommodation is placed at his disposal, and may be seen frequently driving on the strand perfectly happy : Here we

have an illustration of what is gained by becoming a rebel leader, and it cannot be said it is not without its advantages. Our prestige, and honour, are made to suffer very materially, where errors of judgment, are allowed to pass unheeded. It would be but simple justice to the Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon, either to inform him, why, he is not permitted to return to Burma or if an error has been made, make the amende, without pusillanimity or reserve, and permit this long and patient sufferer to go on his way rejoicing. It is impossible to shut our eyes against an injustice, if an injustice it be, but when you come to look boldly in the face the position of the Woon and the circumstances by which he is surrounded and that of the Limbin Prince, the latter who eat the salt of Government, then turned rebel Leader, is made much more comfortable than he could possibly, expect to have been under a Burmese ruler. We may in conclusion remark that with the incoming of a new Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne will give a hearing to the Woon's grievance, it will not be a difficult task, to ascertain the right, or the wrong, and if the Hlaythin-Atwin-Woon has erred against Government so lightly, that he could be trusted to keep his word, in not returning to Burma, without acquainting Government of his intention to do so, and has patiently, and quietly, kept his word for nearly three years, we are of opinion there can be little danger in permitting him to return to Burma on his promise, if he has offended to do so no more.

THE EDITOR.

## *AN OLD MONKISH RHYME.*

*Mihi est propositum in Taberuâ mori:*
*Vinum sit oppositum morientis ori:*
*Ut dicant cum venerint, Angelorum Chori:—*
*"Deus Sit propitius huic potatori."*

A FREE RENDERING OF THE ABOVE.

It is my will that I should die
Within these sacred walls:
I pray that wine before me stands,
When death upon me falls:—

So that the coming choir of Saints
May lift the flowing bowl:
And cry 'may God propitious look
On this poor thirsty soul.'

W.

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| Ditto ,, ,, for 2 bats ... . . ... | ,, | 4 | 0 |
| Ditto ,, mahogany, for 1 bat ... ... | ,, | 4 | 8 |
| Ditto ,, ,, for 2 bats... ... ... | ,, | 5 | 8 |
| Ditto ,, ,, for 4 bats... .. ... | ,, | 9 | 0 |

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THE

# NATIONAL MAGAZINE

NEW SERIES

No. 12—DECEMBER 1888.

## *UTILIZATION OF INDIGENOUS AGENCY*

AND

## REFORMS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF INDIA.

FEW questions at this moment demand greater attention than the employment of the *bona-fide* children of the soil largely in the higher branches and grades of the Public Service. It forms just now one of the chief demands of educated India, as being fair and legitimate, and consonant with the principles of civilized administration. The intelligent natives of the country ask for the concession on various grounds. It will not be uninteresting therefore to define, as briefly as possible, the policy adopted in regard to the entertainment of Native Agency in Government service, since the foundation of the British Empire in the East; to point out the procedure to be followed on the subject at the present juncture; and state the grounds on which the above claims of the present generation of enlightened natives are based.

Time was, when India had had to bear the same administrative policy which prevailed in the colonial possessions of Great Britain some two hundred years ago. The existence of these colonies was solely considered for the advantage of the mother country, and *that* selfish motive predominated in the adoption of all measures connected with their administration. Little or no regard was paid to their individual or general welfare. To this is to be attributed the quarrel of England with America; and the disastrous war of the Revolution was caused by the policy of making the colonies contribute to the revenues of the parent

state, which led eventually to the independence of the United States. Such selfish principles have, however, been gradually exploded under the fearless investigations of the present more practical and enlightened days. It has been considered necessary to release the restrictions that had been imposed on the colonies with a view only to subserve the interests of the parent land. Rather than as dependencies, they are taken as integral parts of the Empire, and legislated for as they would have probably legislated for themselves had they been independent. The benefit of connection is considered mutual. While stimulating the industry and supplying the wants of the mother country, the colonies should feel the blessings of the union in the welfare of themselves, and the advancement of their own constitution. The same improvement of feeling in regard to the administration of India has gradually been exhibited by the Government of that country. Sir Charles Metcalfe nobly declared that "Providence must be supposed to have had some higher object in view in annexing India to the Empire of Britain than to afford facilities for the export of piece-goods and indigo, and to provide situations for the relatives and friends of the Directors." Such a declaration, were it made some hundred years ago or little more, would have been considered strange, if not ridiculous. The supremacy of the British in India had been originally thrust upon them without their seeking for it. No doubt it was the miraculous interposition of Providence. No sooner the British merchants gained possession of the country, than they directed their aim towards turning it into a source of profit for England and themselves. Unjust and nefarious means were adopted from 1757 to 1765 to increase the public and private gains of the British. The authorities acted as if their vocation in India was nothing more than to fill the coffers of Leadenhall Street, and replenish their individual purses. Hardly did they think of the improvement or happiness of the vast population placed under their sway. When Lord Clive had obtained the Dewanny in 1765, no allusion to the welfare of the country could be found in his Despatches to the Court of Directors at home, who likewise in that period, did not entertain any noble feelings for the good of the inhabitants. For about seven years after the Government of the land had been placed in the hands of the British in 1765, they entrusted the administration to Native Agency, knowing as they did that the power thus delegated was made the instrument of the greatest oppression. Justice was administered by corrupt Native officials. They had charge

likewise of the collection of revenue. No control was exercised upon it. When the Council had been constrained to take the management of the finances in their own hands, they found more than half a million sterling a year of revenue permanently alienated by fictitious grants. These Native officials received high salaries, and amassed colossal fortunes by every species of extortion. The Fouzdar of Hooghly, the principal criminal authority in a single District, drew an allowance ten times more than that of the Members of Council. The Civilians had been wretchedly paid; nevertheless they realized vast profits from the inland trade they carried on in spite of every prohibition on the subject, and this sufficiently compensated for the small pay they were allowed by the Government. Mahomed Reza Khan and his subordinates had the whole authority or influence in the administration of the country. He received nine lakhs of rupees a year, while his subordinates drew also liberal salaries. The nominal superintendence of the machinery of Government was entrusted in the hands of the Civil Servants with salaries of three or four hundred Rupees per mensem, their attention being exclusively given to the accumulation of private fortunes by commercial speculations. In a letter (dated March 1772,) Warren Hastings therefore said ;—

"The boys of the service are the sovereigns of the country under the unmeaning title of supervisors, collectors of the revenue, administrators of justice and rulers, heavy rulers of the people."

At the commencement of the following year, he stated ;—

"Who would rest satisfied with a handsome salary of three or four thousand rupees a year to maintain him in Calcutta, who could get a lakh or three lakhs, which I believe haye been acquired in that space, and live at no expense, in the District."

He therefore adopted a new line of policy for the Government of India, knocking at once the vicious system on the head. Having transferred the seat of the administration to Calcutta in 1792, he conferred the most responsible posts on the European officers with suitable increase of their allowances. Thus the importance of Native Agency in the administration of the country gradually diminished, and their salaries consequently began to be curtailed in a corresponding degree. The policy of increasing the pay of the former, and reducing that of the latter, was vigorously pursued till 1792. In the following year, during the regime of Lord Cornwallis, the allowances of the European officers that had stood at Rupees 300, were raised to Rupees 3,000 per mensem; while those of the Native officials reduced to a contemptible pit-

tance not exceeding Rupees 100 monthly. Says Mr. J. C. Marshman in his History of India, Part I, page 479:—

"He (Lord Cornwallis) considered it necessary that the whole administration of the country should be placed exclusively in the hands of Covenanted Servants of the Company, to the entire exclusion of all Native Agency. In the Criminal Department, the only Native officer entrusted with any power was the Darogah, upon an allowance of twenty-five Rupees a month. In the administration of civil justice, cases of only the most trivial amount were made over to a Native Judge, under the title of Munsiff; but while the salary of the European Judge was raised to Rupees 2,500 a month, the Munsiff was deprived of all pay, and left to find a subsistence by a small commission on the value of suits; in other words, by the encouragement of litigation."

During this period—extending from 1772 to 1792—the same ancient feelings that pervaded in the Government of distant possessions of Great Britain, still continued in full force in regard to the administration of India. The sole aim of the ruling of this dependency was centred in the benefit of England. Notwithstanding the various endeavors made to improve the Civil and Criminal administration of justice, to check crime and extortion, to abolish some of the most obnoxious imposts levied by the Mahomedan rulers, the responsibility of raising the moral and intellectual condition of the people was hardly recognized. To raise the honor and dignity of the Government itself, as well as to improve the national estate, was the guiding principle of every advancement made in the ruling of the country. No encouragement was afforded to national improvement, nor any attempt made to rouse the national energies, by opening paths of laudable ambition. Time however did not arrive for considering it the duty of Great Britain to disseminate useful knowledge amongst the inhabitants of India, and give them that strong individual interest in the continuance of the State which emanates from judiciously associating them in the management of its affairs.

In 1792, Mr. Charles Grant, one of the earliest servants of the East India Company, composed an excellent work on the condition and improvement of India; wherein he strongly deprecated the wisdom and justice of the above policy. The elevated and noble sentiments he expressed, were far ahead of the opinion and policy of the age. No encouragement they found in Leadenhall Street, nor did they evoke any sympathy from his collegues in the East. He stated that they (Englishmen) had not at all looked

into the internal condition of the Indians, although they had been satisfied with their submissiveness, and had attended principally to the support of their own power, and the increase of their commerce and revenue. Dwelt he on the necessity of affording every means for the intellectual, moral, and religious elevation of the people at large. In regard to the objections raised to his proposal as endangering the stability of the Indian Empire, observed he thus;—

"The principle of the objection is plainly no other than this, that to prevent the remotest chances of such consequences as the proposed improvements might produce, our Asiatic subjects must be for ever held in the same state of ignorance and error in which they now are. Give them not the light of true religion, teach them not a better system of morals, provide no stated means for their public or private instruction, impart not to them our knowledge of nature, be not liberal to them even in communicating the principles of our arts; afford them, in a word, no benefit whatever of light and improvement, lest our interest should in some future period suffer; keep them blind and wretched for all generations, lest our authority should be shaken or our supremacy over them incur the slightest possible risk. Surely those who may have inconsiderately lent themselves to this objection, will not, on a clear deliberate view of its principles, seek to justify or contend for it. A Christian nation cannot possibly maintain or countenance such a principle."

While Mr. Grant had been urging these enlightened views upon the Government, Lord Cornwallis was employed in excluding the Native community from all offices of importance and distinction, thus obstructing every stimulant to their improvement. He established the system of conducting the administration solely through European Agency, of selecting the Covenanted Servants of Government to all posts of high emolument, and allowing the Natives of the soil trifling sums for their services. The jurisdiction of the Native Commissioners or Munsiffs was restricted to suits up to Rupees 50. Their Courts were for the relief of the Zillah and the city Judges. To the Police officers was entrusted the charge of a circle of about ten miles each, and they were vested with considerable authority. A reward of ten Rupees a head for every dacoit apprehended by them and convicted by the Magistrate did they receive, plus a commission of ten per cent on the value of all property, stolen or plundered, that they might recover, were the thieves and robbers apprehended and convicted.

To the Covenanted Servants of Government, they were made the mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

It is strange that the Marquis of Wellesley, one of the ablest and greatest statesman who held sway over India, pursued the same unjust and impolitic system of administation with cordial approbation. Nevertheless it was the fault and character of the age. Lord Wellesley refused to entertain any but foreigners in the public service. In the celebrated Minute for the establishment of the College of Fort William, he said ;—

"The duty and policy of the British Government in India require that the system of confiding the immediate exercise of every branch and department of the Government to Europeans, educated in its own service, and subject to its own direct control, should be diffused as widely as possible, as well with a view to the stability of our own interests, as to the happiness and welfare of the people."

The defect of this exclusive system became gradually apparent. The bigness of the Districts entrusted to the Covenanted Servants, their ignorance of the language, habits and condition of the inhabitants, and the vast labor thrown on them, rendered it impossible for them to act with vigor and efficiency, and discharge their trust with satisfaction. Mere cyphers did they become in the system, all substantive power being engrossed by their native officers. Extortion and oppression therefore prevailed in every Department, and justice was regularly disposed of and purchased, not unlike marketable commodities. The most discerning of the European public officers gradually saw the evil, and became aware of the most egregious blunder committed in the endeavour to govern some seventy millions of people by a thousand foreigners. That Natives were incompetent for the performance of these official duties, was founded on mere assumption. It could hardly stand the test of experience. Sounder opinions on this important subject prevailed in the two periods of 1793 and 1831—about forty years. A special Committee out of their own body was appointed by the Court of Directors, shortly after the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813, for conducting an inquiry into the administration of justice in India. Some of the gentlemen who had enjoyed official situations in that country, were called upon to send in the result of their experience. Mr. J. Neave, Mr. T. H. Ernst, Mr. R. W. Cox, Sir H. Strachey, Mr. E. Strachey, Mr. J. D. Erskine, Mr. G. Read, Mr. J. G. Ravenshaw, and Mr. W. Thackeray, all bore testimony to the zeal and ability of Native Agents, recom-

mending their admission to higher posts. The remarks of Colonel Walker deserve particular mention ; they are as follows :—

" The admission of the Natives to offices of honor and profit is the only mode by which they can be effectually conciliated. It is vain to expect that men will ever be satisfied with merely having their property secured, while all the paths of honorable ambition are shut against them. This mortifying exclusion stifles talents, humbles family pride, and depresses all but the weak and worthless. So long as this course of hostility remains, the British administration will always be considered as imposing a yoke."

Even in that age of exclusion, Sir Henry Strachey, one of the most eminent servants of the East India Company, in reply to the interrogatives circulated by Lord Wellesley in 1802, said :—

" I would observe how very easily the Natives all acquire the requisite qualifications for the duties which we are pleased to entrust to them. I would ask who can doubt that they would very shortly if not depressed and dispirited, become at last equal to the functions they performed, before we came among them. I confess it is my wish, though possibly I may be blamed for expressing it, not only to have the authority of the Native Judges extended, but to see them, if possible, enjoy important and confidential situations in other departments of the state."

In 1815, Lord Moira in his Judicial Minute stated that "another effect of our system was the disgust which it gave to the higher classes of Natives, in the loss of all prospects of respectable provision under the economical scale of our native establishments. The door to official emoluments, and to stations of dignity was necessarily closed against the natives by the exclusive employment of the Covenanted Servants of Government." The Court of Directors themselves considered it necessary at a very early period to put the children of the soil to offices of higher responsibility, and give them allowances commensurate with it. Their liberal view on the subject was recorded in 1814, and in their letter to the Bengal Government in 1824 said :—

" It has frequently been objected to the employment of the Natives of India in judicial offices that they can not safely be trusted with the administration of justice. To this objection it might perhaps be a sufficient answer to say that they are already so trusted. But our principal reason for noticing the objection is that we may impart to you our decided conviction that when we place the Natives of India in situations of trust and confidence, we are bound under every consideration of justice and policy, to

grant them adequate allowances; we have no right to calculate on their resisting temptations to which the generality of mankind in the same circumstances would yield."

These sentiments gained footing with the Government of India in proportion as Natives improved in education in the seminaries that had been established. To the Court of Directors Lord Amherst addressed as follows in 1826:—

"It must otherwise probably be a source of disquiet and intrigue, among the community, for unless Government shall open some door for the employment of the talents which their own liberty has, in many instances, elicited, and, to a certain extent, fostered by making Natives of education and respectability of character eligible to higher grades of the public service than are at present open to their fair and honorable ambition, the gift of superior knowledge with whatever other advantages attended, can scarcely fail to aggravate the discontent of the educated classes."

No doubt the Court of Directors took a leading part in this liberal course of policy, though their servants in India did not approve it. So far back as 1824, they proposed the original cognizance of all suits of whatever amount being entrusted to Native Judges, their European officers being assigned to the duty of hearing appeals, and superintending the system. Accordingly they wrote as follows to the Government of India:—

"We are satisfied that to secure a prompt administration of justice to the natives of India in civil cases, Native functionaries must be multiplied so as to enable them to dispose in the first instance of all suits of that description, and, as appears to us, without regard to the amount at stake, their decisions being, of course, liable to revision under appeal where this check may be deemed indispensable, and what perhaps is of no less importance their general conduct being subject to a constant and vigilant supervision on the part of the European functionaries in the Districts where they are stationed. It should be the duty of the latter not only to hear appeals, but to enquire into and to report to Government periodically on the efficiency of the Native agents employed more immediately under their eye, and the degree of estimation in which they are held by the community, whilst it should equally be the care of Government to reward the deserving and to testify in the most marked manner its displeasure against persons of an opposite character."

It is significant however that this reformation was not carried out till thirteen years after the date of the above Despatch.

Various circumstances contributed to gradually enlarge the powers and jurisdictions of the Native Judges, in spite of the maxims followed in the administrations of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Wellesley, which were considered unsound and impolitic. It was evident that without such a course, the business of the administration would come to a dead lock. In 1793, the Munsiffs had charge of suits not exceeding the value of 50 Rupees; in 1803, the class of Sudder Amins was instituted with jurisdiction over suits of the value of 100 Rupees. The powers of both classes were enlarged in 1814. In 1821, the cognizance of Munsiffs was extended to cases of 150 Rupees, and that of Sudder Amins to those of Rupees 500. In 1827, Sudder Amins were empowered to try cases to the value of 1,000 Rupees. Thus it happened that a large proportion of the original suits instituted in the civil courts were decided by Native Judges. Not from choice, but from necessity, the above powers were conferred on the Natives. They were however counterbalanced by the very small pay allowed to them. The total cost did not exceed the pay of eight Covenanted Judges. In their despatch of the 18th February 1828, the Court of Directors pointed out the injustice in strong terms :—

"It is nevertheless essential to this result in India, that the Natives employed by our Government shall be liberally treated, that their emoluments shall not be limited to a bare subsistence, whilst those allotted to Europeans in situations of not greater trust and importance enable them to live in affluence and acquire wealth. Whilst one class is considered as open to temptation and placed above it, the other, without corresponding inducements to integrity, should not be exposed to equal temptation, and be reproached for yielding to it,'

After having assumed the Governor-Generalship of India in 1828, Lord William Bentinck vigorously applied himself to an impartial enquiry into the system of administration followed for about 35 years. The result of his investigation will be found in his evidence he subsequently tendered to the House of Commons on the subject. It runs as follows :—

"In many respects the Mahomedans surpassed our rule: they settled in the countries which they conquered: they intermixed and intermarried with the Natives, they admitted them to all privileges: the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this, cold, selfish, and unfeeling : the iron hand of power on the one side, monopoly and exclusion on the other. The bane of our system is not solely that the civil administration is entirely in the hands of foreigners, but that the holders of this monopoly, the patron of these foreign agents, are those who exercise the directing power at home : that this directing power is exclusively paid by the patronage : that the value of this patronage depends exactly upon the degree in which all the honors and emoluments of the state are engrossed by their clients, to the exclusion of the Natives. There exists in consequence, on the part of the home authorities an interest in respect to the administra-

tion, precisely similar to what formerly prevailed as to commerce, directly opposed to the welfare of India: and consequently, it will be remarked without surprise, that in the two renewal of the charters that have taken place within the last twenty-five years, in the first nothing was done to break down this administrative policy, and in the second, though a very important principle was declared, that no disability from holding office in any subjects of the crown, by reason of birth, religion, descent, or color, should any longer continue, still no provision was made for working it out; and as far is known, the enactment has remained to this day a dead letter. India, in order to become an attached dependency of Great Britain, must be governed for her own sake, not for the sake of the eight hundred or one thousand individuals who are sent from England to make their fortunes. They are totally incompetent to the charge; and in their hands administration, in all its civil branches, revenue, judicial and police, has been a failure. Our Government, to be secure, must be made popular, and to become so, it must consult the welfare of the many, and not of the few: the Government must remain arbitrary, but it may also be, and should be, paternal."

Being convinced of the absurdity and impoliticness of the system of administration so long followed, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Mr. Butterworth Bayley, Mr. David Hill, Mr. M. H. Turnbull, Mr. Alexander Ross, and other influential public functionaries at Calcutta, strongly recommended a complete and radical change in it in the years 1829 and 1830. The tide had then completely turned; the old ideas that prevailed so long in the ruling of the country, were swept away by the flood of reformation. The Governor-General and his Council fully perceived the injustice of excluding Natives from all posts of importance and emolument in the land of their living, as well as the ill-policy of constantly irritating the native mind by the monopoly of all posts of value by the conquerors. They were fully aware of the difficulty of continuing the Government under the system of native exclusion, and had been convinced that the more educated the people became, the greater will be their dissatisfaction by the pursuance of that policy. After having given some three years to mature his plans, Lord William Bentinck wrote to the Court of Directors in the following strain:—

"A more extended recourse to Native Agency for the disposal of Judicial business has been so earnestly, repeatedly, and so recently urged by your honorable court, that I should almost have deemed it my duty to give effect to your injunction, in spite of any local obstacle which have opposed themselves. But concurring as I do most cordially, in the wisdom, the justice, and the sound policy of those injunctions, and being fully satisfied that Native probity and talent may immediately be found, if due caution be observed in the selection of instruments, in sufficient abundance to justify the present introduction of the system, I should have deemed myself criminal had I any longer delayed to concede to the people of this country a measure so eminently calculated to facilitate their access to justice, to conciliate their attachment, and to raise the standard of the moral character."

The year 1831 was indeed a memorable one for India, in as much as in that year several enactments had been made for putting

Native Agents in the administration of the land, and allowing them better remuneration. The powers of the Munsiffs and Sudder Amins were increased, and higher pay allowed to them. A superior grade of officers styled the Principal Sudder Amins was established, to whom the examination of all cases which under the old regime would have been cognizable only by the European Zillah Judge, was transferred. In 1833, under Regulation IX, the office of Uncovenanted Deputy Collector was founded. The appointment was in the first instance open only to Natives of India of any class or religious persuasion, though it was subsequently extended to all persons of whatever religion, place of birth, descent, or color. By such means, the Government of Lord Willam Bentinck was made highly popular, and not only did his policy secure that popularity, but place the administration on a more solid footing. His liberal principles became the basis of the policy of the Government of India from that time. His successors have only built upon his foundation. The system of employing Native Agency has since been gradually extended to almost every Department of the Public Service. The pay of the Native officers of the Police called Darogahs has been raised to more than double the former amount, and Native Sub-Assistant Surgeons, educated in the Medical College, have been appointed to posts that had been previously conferred only on the Graduates of London and Edinburgh. As originally proposed by the Court of Directors, the original cognizance of every Civil Suit of whatever amount was transferred to the Uncovenanted Judicial Service, the European Agency being entrusted to the hearing of appeals from its decisions, and the general supervision of its proceedings. A large amount of work that had been thrown on the Covenanted Servants of the East India Company, was put in the hands of Native Agency, under the new system. No doubt the old procedure was not dissimilar. But then the Native Agency was both irregular and irresponsible. "It will be gaining a most important point," said the Court of Directors, "if we substitute a well-paid and responsible agency for that unauthorized and pernicious influence which there is reason to fear that the Native officers of the court are in the habit now of too frequently exercising over the proceedings of those courts." By such arrangements, there is more work done, and done expeditiously, as well as with satisfaction. They have rendered the costly Civil Service more efficient.

The dissemination of education on which Government bestowed attention, was the cause of the Natives receiving a larger share in

the public service. Their introduction to State employ was due to the efforts made to qualify them for those situations. About 25 years elapsed before the Government of India determined to practically act on the liberal and enlightened views of Mr. Charles Grant, who in 1792, as already referred to, urged on it the necessity of establishing English Schools, and unlocking the treasures of European knowledge to the Native community. To the education of the Indians, no attention was paid by Lord Wellesley, although he used strenuous endeavours to qualify the Covenanted Servants of the Company by enforcing the study of the native languages. In the *regime* of Lord Minto, a proposal was made only to establish colleges for teaching the morality of the Hindoo Shastras. Lord Hastings, however, was the first Governor-General who encouraged the education of the people not on the doctrines of the Koran or the Puranas, but in those acquirements which contributed to the advancement of the European nation. Immediately after the triumph of the Mahratta and Pindari campaigns, he announced the novel and startling fact, that the Government was not afraid of the instruction imparted to Natives, but rather considered it an important and imperative duty. Sir Edward Hyde East, Mr. Butterworth Bayley, and Doctor Carey and others, who were instrumental in founding the Calcutta School Book Society, the Calcutta School Society, and above all, the Hindoo College, strenuously supported his views. Lord Hastings gave much encouragement to the Vernacular schools established by the Reverend Mr. May at Chinsurah. In the very heart of Rajpootana, within two years it came under the sway of the British Government, he established an English School, and did all in his power to render it useful. He may be said therefore to have laid the foundation of the Native Service of Government. Within a few years after the establishment of these seminaries and colleges, it was perceived that the talent thus fostered would be turned against Government, and would become an element of political discontent, were it not utilized in the public service.

Such were the efforts of Government to qualify the Natives of India for the public service, and the arrangements gradually made for their introduction into it. But they all refer to the period before the Mutiny of 1857. After the assumption of the Government of India directly by the Crown of England, there have been more improvements in the employment of the Natives of the country in the service of the State. In the Ministerial Service of Government Natives enjoy better pay than before. Indigenous

agents, though to a very limited extent, hold Prize or Gazetted appointments in the Uncovenanted Service, other than those of Subordinate Executive or Judicial Offices. At present three Native gentlemen hold the highest offices as Judges of the High Court of Calcutta, one of them having been very lately appointed. But we regret to state that many higher and responsible posts in the Uncovenanted Service are still held by unqualified foreigners, to the exclusion of the *bona-fide* children of the soil. The Covenanted Service of India has been almost as before, monopolized by British officials. The present circumstances of the country demand a radical change in, and a thorough reorganization of, the Public Service of India, by the gradual replacement of European by Native administration, or in other words, the substitution of Native for Europen official agency, as far as practicable.

Times have considerably altered. Totally a new aspect does the country now wear. Says Sir John Strachey, late Financial Minister to the Government of India, that "the England of Queen Anne was hardly more different from the England of to-day, than the India of Lord Ellenborough from the India of Lord Ripon." Education has spread far and wide. Men of intelligence and knowledge are to be found in vast numbers through the length and breadth of Hindoostan. Compared even with so recent a year as 1881-82, there is a marked progress in the education of the people. The number of schools has increased from 94,989 to 1,27,116, and of pupils from 24,51,989 to 33,43,544. In reply to the address presented to Lord Lansdowne at the residence of the Earl of Northbrook on 26th July last, by a number of Indians resident in the United Kingdom, he said that "we have seen above all education making a rapid progress amongst the people, whose history shows to be exceptionally capable of intellectual achievements, and of the highest form of literary and artistic culture". In speaking of the intelligence and ability of the Natives of the present age, Lord Dufferin, in reply to a deputation of the Indian Association which waited upon him in 1886, remarked :—

"I have already stated on more than one occasion that the India of to-day is in many respects a different India from which existed 20 years ago when the constitution of the Government of India received its present shape. Since then a class of highly educated men has come into existence—gentlemen who like yourselves are well acquainted with the political and economic literature of Europe, who have assimilated western ideas and who naturally considered that it would be advantageous to the country if they had an opportunity of becoming more largely associated than has hitherto been the case with their British fellow-subjects in the task of administration. I fully recognise that this is a very legitimate and laudable ambition."

The influence of English education has made the people of India to follow the example of Englishmen. They have studied their strength, have learnt the value of combination, and the force of numbers. The Ilbert Bill agitation, and the enthusiasm with which almost every one united to do honor to Lord Ripon on the occasion of his departure from India, as well as the regular establishment of a National Congress for the discussion and redress of their political grievances, all tend to show the existence of a national organization and a national movement that is sure to gradually develop and increase till the country is systematically regenerated. Nevertheless they are as loyal to the throne of England as they could possibly be. They are well aware of the advantages of the British rule, and are always grateful to the Government for the benefits they have received from it. Never do they desire, therefore, the subversion of the British Empire in the East, nor seek any opportunity for its overthrow. Truly has the *Indian Nation* said that "we have secured by a few strokes of the pen of beneficent legislators advantages which Englishmen have had in their own country to buy with their blood." It is education and Western civilization that have infused a new life in the Indian Community, and hence they make reasonable and irresistible demands in their being largely associated with the administration of the country. They are deeply grieved however at their exclusion from power, notwithstanding the pledges of Her Majesty's Government in their favor from time to time. Sorry are they at the insolence with which their legitimate aspirations are thrown aside, without consideration. These demands and aspirations form undoubtedly the offsprings of their increased knowledge and education. To check them would be highly impolitic. Truly has Lord Ripon, in his speech at the banquet given to him at the Leeds Liberal Club in the year 1885, said :—

"We have been turning out year by year and month by month from our universities and schools, streams of men with the best education that the English Government could give them. We have been throwing open to them English ideas and English thoughts, and have awakened in their minds an aspiration, and raised in their hearts legitimate ambition. Is it possible to turn round on these men and say to them, "we will not give you any opening for those aspirations with which we have inspired you; we will not afford you any means for the satisfaction of that ambition which we have created."

The words of Mr. Macaulay in the House of Commons on the subject, are too characteristic to be lost sight of. They run as follows:—

"Are we to keep these men submissive? Or do we think we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awake ambition and provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any one of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person

who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the people of India from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plainly before us, and it is a so the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, and of national honor."

The writer of a pamphlet entitled "Ought Natives to be welcomed as Volunteers?" by "Trust and Fear not," observes with much truth :—

"Repress educated natives, distrust them, let them see that the policy of India for the Indians and of training them to administer their own country is a fiction, you weld them all into one solid phalanx, united by the common bond of despair and hatred towards Europeans. Can any policy be more insensate than this? But open the door to their ambition, and you at once let in all the emulations, class interests, sectional friction, which, if not in themselves good, are at any rate a necessary element in a healthy state of society and instead of a solid phalanx you have a crowd of aspirants competing with one another under conditions which the Government will prescribe, and in a race of which it will be the umpire and the distributor of the prizes."

The spirit of the age requires that Government should raise itself above associations of the official groove, and not unlike Lord Ripon, recognize the rapid changes that education and Western civilization have brought about among the Native community. It behoves them to systematically encourage the aspirations and spontaneous tendencies of the people to the best of their ability, as far as possible, and mould the policy of administration after the spirit of the times. In a pamphlet written in 1884, Sir Aukland Colvin, now Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces, advocated a departure from Indian policy and methods of Government :—

"It seems indeed but a truism to affirm that the genius of our nation in India must conform itself to the requirements of progressive days. The task of the present generation is unquestionably far more difficult and far more delicate than that which awaited their predecessors. To bind is easy; to unloose, inspire and encourage in the conduct of a new departure, requires an infinite skill. The business of the last generation was to restrain; the problem which lies before that of the present day is to guide."

The crisis is no doubt acute, and one that calls forth consummate skill to pass through ; nevertheless it can easily be overcome by making a prompt and liberal concession to legitimate aspirations. To neglect the same any longer would be a grievous mistake, and cannot but "be characterized as culpable and dangerous blindness." A tardy recognition of the present circumstances of the country may induce the educated classes of the population to force their opportunity before it can yield to such a consummation. One of the greatest aims of the enlightened Natives is to take a larger share in the administration of the country by securing for themselves the higher and responsible posts in both the Civil and Military Departments of the Government of India. Were the concession asked for, properly consi-

dered and responded to, not only would it tend to create a higher spirit of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled, but put the foundatioh of the British Empire in the East upon a more solid and permanent footing. The sympathy and good will of the people do much good in the Government of a country. They are reckoned as better and more stable foundations of the State than the munitions of the Khyber Pass, and of the Bolan Pass, or the batteries near the Sandheads.

The Uncovenanted Service was intended to be recruited exclusively from among the bona-fide children of the soil. To that effect Sir Stafford Northcote, (afterwards the Earl of Iddesleigh) while Secretary of State for India some 20 years ago, emphatically declared that the children of the soil has a "preferential claim" to all posts in the Uncovenanted Service. This declaration has however become a dead letter. There are just now a large number of high and respectable appointments that are almost held exclusively, as already stated, by foreign agents to the detriment of the interests of the Natives of India. The claims of the latter, notwithstanding their ability to discharge the functions more efficiently, are ignored. Were they placed in those services, it will prove advantageous as much in point of efficiency, as on the grounds of economy. The emoluments of the posts might considerably be reduced, were Native Agency entrusted with the duties. A large portion of the Indian revenue is absorbed by the entertainment of foreign officials in the service. For instance, in the Foreign Department of the Bengal Government, out of 18 employes, two Natives of India draw Rupees 250 only each a month, while 16 Europeans draw a monthly salary of Rupees 7,850. In the Opium Department of the Bengal and North Western Provinces, taking out of consideration the three appointments of the Opium Agent held by the Covenanted Service, and the two principal Assistantships for Behar and Benares, held by professional experts, there are to be found 80 European gentlemen drawing an aggregate salary of Rupees 29,850 per mensem, or an annual salary of Rupees 3,58,200, without a single Native functionary. Again, out of 140 Engineers and Assistant-Engineers under the Government of Bengal, there are 116 European gentlemen with a total annual salary of Rupees 10,28,400, but only 24 Native agents, whose yearly salary amounts to Rupees 1,14,000. Similar analyses might be made in regard to other Departments. But those already adduced are sufficient to prove that expenditure incurred

in the employment of foreigners in the superior grades of the Uncovenanted Service, runs higher than that entailed by the entertainment of pure Indians. We do not understand why many higher posts in the Ministerial Service such as Head-Clerkships, Superintendentships, mis-called Registrars—are, for the most part, filled in by incompetent Eurasians, born and bred in the country, who have generally no other duty than to arrange for the liveries of the peons, and look after stationery or office furnitures. Sometimes, when they find leisure from the discharge of those sinecure functions, some of them are said to kill time by drawing a horse, a ship, or an elephant, on some blotting paper, and hacking the table with their pen-knives. These sinecurists always entertain ill-feeling and hatred towards their fellow-native clerks. Hardly do they lose any opportunity of oppressing them, and carrying tales to the head European officials to discredit them in every possible shape. Their conduct interferes much with the working of the office. The sooner therefore they are replaced by native agents, the better for the country. Such a course will have the effect of not only securing economy but efficiency in the service, as well as fostering a spirit of good-will amongst the native clerks in general. A wider expansion of the system under which the Uncovenanted Service has begun to be recruited from the Indian labor market, cannot but materially tend to reduce public expenditure to an appreciable extent. It should here be noted that both the Education Commission and the Finance Committee have recommended the replacement of European Inspectors in the Education Department by Native Agents.

We now turn our attention to the Covenanted Civil Service of India. It is a nice old service, having enrolled within its ranks gentlemen of whom England may be proud. It holds a position and trust, a power and responsibility "beyond the range of ordinary mortals in work-day life." The early history of this Service is not without interest. A number of "fine old English gentlemen, all of the olden time," actuated by commercial enterprise and a hope of gain, formed themselves into a body of merchants to trade with the East Indies. They had no resting place nor an acre of land to claim in those territories. For the systematic conduct of their commerce, coast factories were established. The servants of the Company were sent out with authority and credentials to manage their business, subject to certain rules of discipline. Thus was formed the nucleus of what subsequently became an influential corporation, and a most costly

establishment of the Government of India. The scale of salaries originally allowed to them was insignificant. It was however compensated by the profits they realized from the private trade they were allowed to carry on. At Madras, in the earliest part of the 18th century, there was a President with a salary of £200 per annum, six Councillors at £100 each, six Senior Merchants at £40 each, two Junior Merchants at £30, five Factors with £15 each, and 10 Writers at £5 each per annum. Being the only Europeans then in India, they kept together on the score of economy. They dined also in one company, so that the younger servants might be under the control of their superiors, and thus restrained from excesses. A band of music attended the President at Dinner, and trumpets were sounded to announce his arrival. The conquest of Bengal transformed these merchants and tradesmen into administrators and diplomatists. By the Charter Act of 1793, the Company's servants were prohibited from engaging in private trade. Their salaries however were considerably raised not only on consideration of their loss in private trade, but the sacrifice of their homes and the pains of exile. From that time, the service assumed a shape and aspect which it has retained to the present day. Too high and liberal are the salaries of the Covenanted body, notwithstanding the extreme poverty of India. In no dependency of Continental Power, in no Colony of Great Britain herself, do the officers of the administration enjoy such princely salaries as are allowed to the Covenanted Civil Service of the Government of India. The Right Honorable John Bright M. P. in 1859, 1st August, thus spoke in the House of Commons on the high pay of these privileged servants of Government;—

"The noble (Lord Stanley) says there cannot be any great diminution in the expenditure for the Civil Service of India; but I do not in the least agree with the Secretary for India when he says that the gentlemen of the Civil Service in that country are not overpaid. Every one knows that they are overpaid; except some very high salaried bishops of whom we have heard, no men are so grossly overpaid as the officials of the Civil Service in India. The proof of this may be found everywhere. Look at the Island of Ceylon; there the duties are as arduous and the climate as unfavorable as in India; yet the Government does not pay its officials there more than one-half or two-thirds of the salaries they are paid in India. There are in India itself many hundreds of Europeans, the officers of the Indian Army, all the Indian clergy, and missionaries; there are also English merchants, carrying on their business at rates of profit not much exceeding the profits made in this country. But the Civil Service of the Indian Government, like everything privileged and exclusive, is a pampered body; and notwithstanding it has produced some few able men who have worthily done their duty, I do not think the Civil Service of India deserves the loud praise we have so frequently heard awarded to it by speakers in this House."

Such high and exorbitant salaries were fixed long ago under the then existing circumstances. Time has however come, when it is advisable to reduce them to their proper limit. One of the greatest evils in the administration of the country by Englishmen, is its high cost. Often the expenditure of India is more than the revenue it yields. Hence there is deficit and deficit. The debt has been raised during the twenty five years preceding 1885-86, from 90.000.000£ to 162.500.000£, and including guarantees and indirect charges, it amounts to 242.250.000£. The Interest on the Loans raised in England that forms the main item of the Home charges, stand at a total of 17.000.000£ sterling per annum. To this may be attributed the unfavorable exchange that so intolerably weighs on India. The country can hardly afford to maintain the cost of its elaborate railway system and irrigation projects, and pay an ever-increasing rate of interest on the ever-accumulating debt that it incurs on that accouut. The military expenditure of the country that amounts at present to about 20.000.000£ enjoys the " melanchsly distinction of being probably the highest except one in the world." So that in every Department of the Government of India, there is a growing tendency of increased expenditure. To meet these charges, taxes have to be enforced. After the great mutiny of 1857, the Government of India is sedulouly engaged from time to time in devising and imposing taxes in various shapes to the great hardship and sufferings of the poor subjects at large. In a recent Calcutta Review it has been truly observed that " we have had in ten years six different Stamp Acts ; the second tinkering the first, the third repealing both, the fourth repealing half the third, the fifth repealing the other half, the sixth repealing the fourth, and all these six ignoring the previous old one, which had done duty for have a century " Seven times the assessed taxes have been recast, and fresh harassing series of assessments of Incomes have been enforced. The municipal laws of the country afford innumerable opportunities for constant impositions. In bitter tears the subjects have asked for bread, but for their relief the ruling anthorities have given them volumes and volumes of new laws. Very lately, the cost of Frontier Defences, and the high expenditure incurred owing to the annexation of King Thebaw's Territories, &ca., have told much on the finances of the country. Though every endeavor is being made to curb the charges of the State, as evidenced by the appointment of the late Finance Committee in the last regime, practically little or nothing in the way of substantial reduction has as yet

been effected. Great extravagance prevails in the Simla Exodus, although there hardly exists any necessity for the annual migration to the Indian Capua. Truly has therefore Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, in his "New India", observed ;—

"What is needed is something more thorough, more radical in treatment than has as yet suggested itself to the Government of Simla. It is not the abolition or reduction of a few ministerial officers, or the substitution of a cheaper and inferior stationery for that before in use, or even the general suspension of all unnecessary public works, or the introduction of a few native gentlemen into Subordinate Judicial offices that had previously been held by the sons and nephews of members of the Civil Service—it is not by temporising arrangements of this sort that we can meet the urgency of so great a crisis. We must be prepared to face a complete change of policy—not only to practise cheese-paring in details, and to put down nepotism and jobbery in high places, but to recognise our whole method of Government upon a new and cheaper basis. The cost of British officers is too great ; their salaries are too high ; and the blessings of European civilization that they introduce are luxuries beyond the means of the people. India can no more afford the privileges of being governed by foreigners, can no more pay for her gigantic system of railways, her palatial barracks and other public buildings, than English farmers can afford to plough with race horses, or the Indian ryot with elephants. The only remedy is to replace European by native administration. It is incumbent on the Government, if it is really serious in its economical professions to place the internal administration of the country more and more in the hands of natives."

Mr. W. M. Torrens in his "Empire in Asia—how we came by it—a Book of Confessions," pages 408 and 409, observes;—

"Lord Mayo says plainly, in his minutes and despatches, that the burthen of imperial taxation has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished. In 1856, the total expenditure amounted to £33,378,026, and that for 1870 was £50,782,412 or an increase of more than 17 millions sterling. Meanwhile what is the condition of the mass of the people? By the confession of the latest authority, they are reduced to the lowest point at which existence can be maintained. Penury, with all its attendant privations when the season is good, and pinching want bordering on destitution when the season is bad, are the only alternatives of the ryot's lot. Even this is not the worst. When, owing to exceptional causes, the harvest fails, the same dreadful consequences follow under system of so-called civilized rule as used to happen in former times. Not five years ago, six hundred thousand persons perished of starvation within 300 miles of the capital of Anglo India."

Hence it is evident that the circumstances of India can hardly allow the administrative luxuries of the Government to be carried on or continued any longer. People now-a-days, more especially in consequence of the increased cost of living, are at a wit's end to maintain themselves and their dependants. To relieve the country from such a state of things, it will be judicious, we believe, to employ Native agency largely in the management of the affairs of the land. The British Indian Association in their letter to the Finance Committee rightly observed that "a graduated scale of pay constructed with due regard to the advanatages which a native of India must possess in serving in his own country.

as also to the claims of Indian education, will be sufficient to enable Government to give wider scope for the utilization of Indian merit in the public service of this country."

Another aspect of the question should uot be lost sight of. By the reduction of high official salaries, the efficiency of the State service will greatly be secured. There will be a greater number of officials to meet the increased work of Government. Both on financial and political grounds, it will be judicious to distribute the present allotment, to the required extent, among as large a circle of persons as possible, and not to have it almost absorbed, as at present, by the unnecessarily high salaries given to the few. This preference for the few, to the detriment of the interests of the many, is to be found both in the Covenanted aud Uncovenanted Services of India. The defect should at once be remedied.

Not only on financial grounds, but on the score of their ability and intelligence, Natives should be admitted to the higher and responsible posts under the Government of India. That in point of intellectual activity they are not second to any nation on the surface of the globe, admits of no question. Their mind is as fertile as their land is of vegetation. Native intelligence, Native ability, and Native integrity, are not to be despised at. The greatest men, both in England and other countries, have recognized the qualifications to the fullest extent. It is on that score chiefly that led the rulers of India to adopt a more liberal policy in regard to the admission of Natives to the Service of the State since the days of Lord William Bentinck, in spite of the antiquated ideas that prevailed on the subject some hundred years ago. The Bengalee intellect is acute. Natives are first-rate Accountants. Sir George Campbell, in the Bengal Administration Report for 1872-73 truly says, (though his assertion concerns the very interior parts of the country) that "many a village lad can count and cypher with a rapidity and accuracy which would put to shame many a skilled European Accountant." Several Departments of the Government service bear full testimony to the satisfactory manner in which the duties entrusted to them are discharged. Although, there are Europen Agencies to supervise their work, a great and responsible portion of the business of the office is, for the most part, managed by Native agents themselves. Generally speaking, the superintendence of the foreign-head-functionaries in several Departments, to a great extent, is almost nominal. Natives are the main-springs of the whole machinery of Government, although credit, as usual, is borne by high officials. Without them, the work

of Government must come to a dead-lock. Mr. J. H. S. Cotton in his book aforesaid, justly observes ;—

"By a process of the grossest self-adulation we persuade ourselves to believe that natives are only useful as ministerial servants, but that the work of a district, if it is to be done at all, demands the supervision of an English officer. The truth however, is that the natives, as of course they must be, are the backbone of our administration. The burden and heat of the day are already borne by native subordinates, and in the event (as occasionally must be the case) of an incompetent European being in charge of a district, the whole of the work is done by his native deputies and clerks."

Here we must not be misunderstood. We have high respect for the abilities of officials belonging to the Covenanted Civil Service of India. Nevertheless, we should not mince matters.

In point of judicial ability, the *bona-fide* children of the soil stand pre-eminent. They have worked with much credit and efficiency in the administration of Justice. In the discharge of their public functions, they have exhibited moral qualities of a high order. Sir Henry Maine, in one of his addresses to the Calcutta University, " bore eloqueut testimony to the unblemished character of the educated men who in different capacities administered Justice, and contrasted the improved moral tone of the present system with the corruption which at one time was the disgrace of the Indian Courts." The superiority of Natives in administering Law and Justice to their own community, is beyond dispute. The appointments of Baboos Sumbhoo Nath Pundit, Dwark Nath Mitter, and Romesh Chunder Mitter, to Judgeships in the Highest Court in India, fully vindicate the competency of the Indians to exercise the most responsible judicial functions. There is abundant testimony to show their capacity for judicial work.

Says Mr. H. Strachey, who was once a Circuit-Judge ;—

"An intelligent native is better qualified to preside at a trial than we can ever be. A native of common capacity will, after a little experience, examine witnesses, and investigate the most intricate case, with more temper and perseverance, with more ability and more effect, than almost any European."

Mr G. J. Howard, Director of Public Instruction at Bombay, in a letter to the Government of that Presidency, written at so late a year as 1859, said ;—

"The time is fast approaching when lawyers trained in this country will be procurable in such numbers, and possessed of such professional attainments and practical experience as to constitute a formidable body of rivals to the untrained Judges of the Civil Service."

A writer in the Edinburgh Review No. 266, October 1869, page 548, who was one of the Judges of the Calcutta High Court, pertinently observes ;—

"After the solemn promises we have made to natives of India to employ them wherever they are fit ; after the complete success which has attended the appoint-

ments of Baboo Sumbhoo Nath Pandit and Baboo Dwark Nath Mitter to Judgeships in the Highest Court in India, we cannot long overlook the strong and constantly increasing claims of natives to a large share in judicial offices, and it seems to us equally clear that under present circumstances the whole administration of Justice in India must thus by degrees ultimately pass into the hand of natives"

In the Calcutta Review No. LIX. 1858, page 20, we find the following on the subject ;—

"Members of the Bombay bar have stated that 'with a few distinguished exceptions, the decisions of the natives were in every respect superior to those of the Europeans.' Mr W. W. Bird, formerly acting Governor General states in his evidence, the native Judges have great advantage over the Covenanted Service, because they understand the natives better, they are better able to judge of the value of native testimony.'

But the highest authority that we can quote to prove the truth of our assertion, is that of the late Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Selborne, who, as reported in the *Times* of April 10th 1883, spoke as follows from his place in Parliament;—

"My Lords, for some years I practised in Indian cases before the Judicial committee of the Privy Council, and during those years there were few cases of any imperial importance in which I was not concerned. I had considerable opportunities of observing the manner in which, in civil cases, the native Judges did their duty, and I have no hesitation in saying—and I know this was also the opinion of the Judges during that time—that the judgments of the native Judges bore most favorable comparison, as a general rule, with the judgments of the English Judges. I should be sorry to say anything in disparagement of English Judges, who, as a class, are most anxious carefully to discharge their duty ; but I repeat that I have no hesitation in saying that in every instance, in respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of the soundness and satisfactory character of the judgments arrived at, the native judgments were quite as good as those of English Judges.'

We can cite innumerable authorities in support of the high ability of Natives in the administration of Law and Justice ; but those already adduced are sufficient for our purpose.

A Zillah or District Judge who is generally a Covenanted Civil Servant is quite unprepared for the due discharge of the duties entrusted to him. The following extract from the minute of Mr. Loch, who was formerly himself a Zillah Judge, and was one of the Judges of the Calcutta High Court, fully corroborates the accuracy of our statement;—

"An Assistant," (a member of the civil service who has just come out from England) "remains at the Sudder Station of a district for a very short period. In the course of a year from his joining it he is liable to be sent to take charge of a subdivision. For the next fifteen years of his career he is employed in the duties of a magistrate and collector. Without any training in the particular duties of a civil judge, or *any knowledge of the law by which his proceedings are to be guided*, a man after fifteen or more year's service as magistrate and collector, or both, is transferred to the bench, and expected to control a number of subordinate courts, the judges of which may have commenced and continued their judicial career before he entered the service."

That the employment of Natives largely in the higher ranks of the Judicial Department is necessary on the score of their

ability and a better and more efficient administration of Justice, we have no doubt. The functions of a Civil Judge are onerous and responsible. To discharge them properly requires high skill, and great intellectual powers. The province of Law is very intricate, involving as it does questions and issues of much perplexity to puzzle the mind of a Jurist. When Natives have competency to take up such duties, there exists no ground of their incompetency in discharging functions other than those of Judicial in superior or higher grades of the public service. Our deliberate conviction is, that Natives of India just now are decidedly fit to hold higher appointments almost in every Department of the State where they might be placed.

In the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to enquire into the operation of the Act III and IV, William IV, Chapter 85, for the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories, ordered to be printed on the 29th of June 1852, will be found a considerable mass of evidence in connection with the question of the extent to which Native Agents may advantageously be employed in the service of the Indian Government. The subject was carefully considered by the committee that seems to have been assembled on fourteen different days, ranging between the 3rd of May and the 26th June inclusive. The witnesses examined composed of several illustrious gentlemen.

The evidence of Mr. T. C. Melvill who was the first witness examined in both houses, chiefly on the subject of admission of Natives to the Covenanted Civil Service, was the foremost and most important; we therefore give it below ;—

"563.—Are you aware of any instance in which a native has been appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company?

No such appointment has ever been made.

564.—Do you think there would be any objection to a native receiving that high appointment?

Yes, I think there would ; and if the committee will allow me I will take this opportunity of explaining the grounds of my objection, and showing the distinction which now exists between the European and native servants of the Government. England must be regarded as holding India for the benefit of the people of that country, and our first and chief duty is to provide them a good Government : all our systems of administration should be framed with a view to the advancement of the happines and prosperity of the natives of India ; if the natives were competent from their moral qualities and from education, to fill offices under the Government, their exclusion would be a practical wrong ; first, because the natives of a country have the first claim, when qualified, to share in the administration of its affairs ; and secondly, because native agency must always be more economical to the State than foreign agency. I have already stated to the Committee, that up to a comparatively late period, it was considered unsafe to employ the natives in any offices of trust, owing to a serious defect of moral character. The removal, in part at least, of that pre-

judice, combined with the impossibility of providing a sufficient amount of European agency, led to the arrangements commenced in 1827, and since largely extended, for committing magisterial and judicial functions to natives; and now, as I have before said, the principle in progress, throughout the civil administration of India, is *native agency and European supervision and control*; this principle is maintained by the distinction between the Covenanted and the Uncovenanted services; and the time has clearly not yet arrived for breaking down this partition, which would be the immediate effect of putting natives into the Covenanted Service; the salutary deference now paid to Europeans would thereby be weakened, if not annihilated. In the case of the Army, the principle which I have mentioned is maintained in the distinct classification of European and native officers, the admission of natives as cadets would destroy the distinction, and ultimately, involve the placing of regiments under the command of natives—a result for which we are certainly not yet prepared; the question seems to me to be one only of time, any attempt unduly to accelerate it, might be prejudicial to the natives themselves, and injurious to the Government. The encouragement now given to the employment of natives in situations of trust, affords, I think, ample evidence, that there is no disposition to exclusiveness, further than what is necessary for the public good.

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568.—Although you do not think the natives are now so qualified, you still think that the time may come when they will be qualified to act, without any detriment to the interests of British India, as Covenanted servants of the company in any grade?

I do; I think the question is only one of time"

We cannot resist the temptation of quoting also the evidence of Mr Mill on the question, which is not less interesting, and throws a flood of light on the same;—

"3111.—Is not a native rendered eligible for any appointment under the last Charter Act?

The last Charter Act took away all legal disabilities, but there is a practical exclusion, and so there must be, until the natives are much improved in character.

3112.—But legally, a native of India is eligible for any appointment?

He is.

3113.—He is not excluded because he is a native of India, but he is excluded because he has not passed through Haileybury?

That would exclude him from the Covenanted Civil Service.

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3116.—If the natives of India were to occupy a very large portion of the higher civil and military appointments of the country, do you suppose that we should continue to maintain the dependence of India upon this country?

If the natives were allowed to wield the military force of India, I think it would be impossible to maintain British ascendency there, but I think it would be perfectly possible to open to them a very large share of the Civil Government without its having any such effect.

3117.—Without having any European supervision?

I do not think you could make a native Governor-General, but I think natives might in time be appointed to many of the administrative offices.

3118. Do you think they might be Members of Council?

Not, I should think, at present; but in proportion as the natives become trustworthy and qualified for high office, it seems to me not only allowable, but a duty to point them to it.

3119.—Do you think, that in those circumstances the dependence of India upon this country could be maintained?

I think it might, by judicious management, be made to continue till the time arrives, when the natives shall be qualified to carry on the same system of Government without our assistance."

Both Mr. J. G. Melvill and Mr. J. S. Mill agreed in the appointment of the natives of this country to high offices in the Civil Department, and in giving them a larger share in the general administration of the country. Mr. Mill even went to the length of saying that when they shall have reached a height of qualification for Self-Government, which would render their exclusive administration of the Empire advantageous to the general happiness of the people, it will be their (Englishmen's) duty to leave them to govern themselves without their "assistance." Of course what he stated will no doubt be an accomplished fact hereafter. But the general purport of the evidence of Mr. Mill tends to show that the period did not arrive to employ natives in all situations, though they were being gradually put in positions of trust and responsibility as far as it was possible to do so under the then existing circumstances of India. The question therefore was only *one of time.* About thirty five years have elapsed since the committee referred to above, was held. At present there is a vast change in the condition of the country. Natives are not now what they had been in the days when Mr. Melvill and Mr. Mill tendered their evidence. We do not say that the time has fully arrived to at once appoint indigenous agency to all higher posts in the State Service. Our contention is, that the door for the Natives in entering largely in the higher grades of the general service should with equity be more liberally opened to them, that they might find no difficulty in attaining their desired object.

Section 87 of the Act 3 and 4 William IV, C. 85, runs as follows;—

"That no native of the said Territories (His Majesty's Indian Territories) nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Government."

The above was enacted under the Charter Act of 1833. A Native of India was therefore legally eligible for any appointment, except in the Covenanted Civil Service from which he was excluded because he did not pass through Haileybury. The Charter Act of 1853 however opened the door to the privileged service by general competition. No doubt it is a most liberal measure, one on which there could hardly be any complaint. By the system in force, the best men are selected without grudge to any party. It knows no distinction, except that of approved

merit, and is freed from all taints of jobbery, favoritism, and injustice. No classes of Her Majesty's subjects in any part of the British Empire are excluded from the competition. The system possesses many advantages, tending as it does to produce a high standard of excellence in the pampered service. But the question is, how many Natives of India, since the competitive system has come into force, did go to England to compete for the service, and how many have been returned as successful candidates? The number we believe stands so infinitesimal that it can be counted on a finger's end. What is the cause of the Native candidates being so very small in such a prize or high competition? The answer is obvious. The examination is open to all the subjects of the Queen, British Indian and Colonial, though in the case of the Natives of this country, the entrance to the coveted service has been practically barred by the present low limit of age, and by London being made the *locale* of the examination. Natives of India, circumstanced as they are, feel great hardship to undergo the high expense they have to run in competing for the service. Not only so, the prescribed low limit of age prevents them from going out of their country so early for the purpose. These form no small drawbacks for the people to appear at the Examination. Hence they grudge much for the obstacles placed before them in their competing for a service which, under the advanced state of the country, they do not unreasonably claim. Fully we do endorse the following appropriate and eloquent remarks on the subject by the late Baboo Ram Gopal Ghose, in the monster-meeting held in the Town Hall on the 29th July 1853 ;—

"Now he (Baooo Ram Gopal Ghose) argued whether reasonably or not let the public of India and of England judge, that the system which proposed to educate the inhabitants of this country in as high a degree as they could be educated, and at the same time to stop the door of exclusion in their faces, from the higher prizes of the public service, was an anomaly in itself, and a cruelty to them. (Hear Hear.) It was to impart a propelling impetus to the mind of a nation, and then raise an adamantine wall to stay its progress: it was to communicate an upward spring to the energies of a people, and then hold over them a ponderous weight, a mountain to crush them down. (Cheers). Such a system was absurd and inconsistent in the extreme. It would be tantalising the educated youths of this country—it would be trifling with the hopes and aspirations of a nation. Better far to declare openly that India should be governed, not for the benefit of the governed, but for the sole advantage of the governors. Better to do away at once with the freedom of the Press, and at one fell swoop abolish all vestiges of any political rights and privileges, prohibit all public meetings, and proclaim through the length and breadth of the land, that the hand that wrote a petition be lopped off on the block. But God be thanked that such a course of conduct was utterly impossible in the present day, and under the Government under which the natives had the good fortune to live."

The above fully illustrates the position of the Natives in competing for the Civil Service. Great difficulty do they experience in the matter. It is therefore indispensably necessary that all obstacles in the way of their entering in the class of Covenanted Servants should be removed. Arrangements ought to be made to hold the Examination in India also, and candidates of this country should be tried by the same test as that applied to English candidates in England. As recommended by the Public Service Commission, the limit of age should be raised to 23 as the lowest. When people are disabled from holding inferior or ministerial appointments after the age of twenty-five, it is difficult to determine why there should be a different or more restricted ruling on the subject in regard to the Covenanted Civil Service, unless the object be, as it seems, to simply oust the Natives from that service. Men at too unripe an age must in no wise be allowed to administer or hold the affairs of the country. The result of the proposed arrangements will be highly beneficial to the Government, and the poor subjects of Her Majesty's Government in India. It will tend to the gradual enlistment of Native Agency in the higher ranks of the Civil Department, and the removal of all complaints now made on the subject. Natives of this country must no longer be thrust aside from entering the pale of the privileged body of public servants, nor deprived of rights to which, on the score of their ability and education, they are not unjustly entitled.

We are no doubt aware of the advantages of the Natives of India being called on at London to compete for the Civil Service. But they fall short, we believe, of the many obstacles that intervene in the way. If successful English candidates who have generally little or no practical knowledge of India, can take up its administrative functions although they never visited or staid in the country before, there is no ground why the children of the soil thoroughly educated in their own Universities, should not be competent to manage the affairs of their own land without visiting England. Baboos Ram Gopal Ghose, Kristo Das Pal, Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee, Dwark Nath Mitter, Sumbhoo Nath Pundit, &c, had never seen England. And yet they were men of high abilities and sound knowledge, and were held in great estimation as much by the Government as by the people at large.

As in the Covenanted Service, candidates are selected by open competition, the selection of men for the Uncovenanted Service needs likewise be restricted to the same course. The system of

Clerkship Examination in the Upper and Lower Divisions of the Ministerial Service that has been introduced since few years ago, is one of much benefit to the service, as well as to the people. But we fail to understand why it is confined only to few Secretariat and other public offices, instead of being extended to all Departments of the public service. The anomaly requires to be removed by the enforcement of a general system of Competitive Examination in all branches of Government service without distinction

It is said that Natives are naturally wanting in spirit, activity, perseverance, and zeal—qualities absolutely necessary for the proper discharge of functions in the higher ranks of the Government service. The statement is not wholly true. More to the domination of a foreign yoke for centuries and centuries than to their innate habits, their little inertness or inactivity may be attributed. It thrashed out all political life from them, although it is being again resuscitated by the influence of English education and Western ideas. Having been deprived of all opportunities to enjoy a fair share in the administration of their country, and a fair field for the free exercise of their natural gifts, they are forced to remain in a state of inactivity. The great illustrious statesman, Mr. John Steuart Mill, says ;—

"What a Native of the country of average practical ability knows as it were by instinct, they (the foreign rulers) have to learn slowly and after all imperfectly by study and experience."

India has no lack of able statesmen and skilled administrators among her peoples. All that is wanted is the provision of scope for the exercise of ability in the British Provinces to make this as clearly discernible of British India as it is of the Native States.

There are disadvantages resulting from the internal administration of India by British officials other than those already mentioned. Unacquainted are they generally with the language, manners, laws, and customs of the country. When very young, i e. at a very unripe age, they are allowed to hold magisterial powers higher than those conceded to the same officials under any civilized administration. They are obliged to take leave on furlough for the renovation of their health. By interests and associations at home their minds are wholly distracted, and consequently the work in hand suffers interruption. Little insight do they get into the character and conduct of the people.

Major Chesney in his "Indian Polity" lays down what is generally considered to be the true doctrine, namely, that when an

appointment can be equally well filled by a Native and by a European Government is under the moral obligation to select the former. For the interests of the State and those of the Indian subjects, it certainly behoves the authorities to act conformably to the above just and considerate policy.

Even in the regime of the Mosulmans in India, we find that Akbar, the greatest Mahomedan Sovereign of Hindoostan, whose noble example and policy of administration are always held up in high estimation for the conduct of all civilized Governments in the world, not only placed Hindoos in charge of the responsible and onerous functions of his Empire, but even admitted them to the command of his armies. A writer in the Calcutta Review No. LXXXVIII, February 1867, page 385, says ;—

"We cannot doubt that one great reason which prompted Akbar to confer the high offices of State upon Hindoos was on account of the greater ability, the stricter integrity, that they displayed."

We hope the British rulers of India, not unlike Akbar, should allow the Natives of the country to hold higher offices largely in the Civil and Military Departments of the public service. The privilege of putting them however in charge of armies, is a question too difficult and delicate to deal with under the existing circumstances of the country.

The above facts and circumstances of the case as stated, afford irresistible arguments in favor of the bestowal of superior and higher posts under the Government of India, *largely* on the *bona-fide Natives of the land,* in preference to *foreign officials.* Time has fully arrived when a new line of policy in regard to this important question should be forthwith adopted, in defiance of all prejudicial and bureaucratic influences on the subject, and the unfounded clamors of the Anglo-Indian community against the children of the soil in matters calculated to improve their present position. The policy of monopoly and exlusiveness for the most part, still followed in the present system of administration in India, needs at once be put down for the good of the country. We most respectfully crave that His Excellency the Most Hon'ble the Marquis of Lansdowne, the present Viceroy and Governor General of India, would graciously be pleased to give the matter his best consideration, and act as he has already expressed, according to the spirit or tendencies of the present day.

ASIATICUS.

## *THE CAVALRY HORSES AT GRAVELLOTTE*

(FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL GEROK.)

Not a cloud in the sky, burning hot was the day,
Fiercel-ycontested and bloody the fray;
But the fever-excited brows to relieve,
A coolness came down with the shadows of eve.
From the skirt of the forest down there in the vale,
The 'recall' of bugle is borne on the gale,
Thrice sends the signal its summon so clear,
By twos and by threes the dragons re-appear;
In troops and in bands, all glory and stern,
Silent and weary the riders return.
But all come not back, for on yonder red plain,
The wounded are groaning mid heaps of the slain.
This morning at muster how gay was their mein,
Now gash'd and disfigured their corpees are seen!
—Bewilder'd and maidden'd to left and to right,
The riderless steeds rush past in affright,
As appears in the sky the evening's bright star,
Again the shrill bugle rings out from afar.
—O, see that black charger, its nostrills all wide,
With ears pointed forward, it neighs in its pride!
O, look on its right at the gallant dark bay!
On its left tho' sore wounded, swift gallops the grey!
They form in fair line as headlong they race;
Each charger, tho masterless, knows its own place.
They hear the 'recall' and madly they spurn
The heath with their hoofs, and in order return.
—And riderless steeds three hundred and more,
Were counted at eve when the battle was o'er,
—Over three hundred men valiant and keen,
Lay stiff on the field where the combat had been.
How fierce was the fight, and how heavy the cost,
For fully a fourth of the troopers was lost.
In that host not a craven,—the horses there, too,
Tho' riderless, still to their standard were true!
So, in future, when one about Gravelotte reads,
Let him thinks of the Guards and of also their steeds!

O. C. DUTT.

## RECONSIDERATION.

When an enthusiastic and honest man, full of great schemes for the world's improvement, finds his path impeded and his motives questioned by many that he believes would benefit by his reforms he should sit down to think. He will be pretty sure if he does to recognize faults either in his facts or in his methods He will at all events do well to submit everything to a thorough introspection lest the vexation begotten of interference and opposition may of itself prevent his doing his critics justice, or a too open expression turn good humoured criticism and merely passive opposition into bitter and determined enmity. His object which is to unite would at once be defeated.

I would venture to apply this example to the National Congress which at the moment discussing its fourth assembly will do well to reconsider its position Otherwise the very best among its friends and promoters, men without a single object but the good of India, may find it impossible to separate what is good from what is imperfect in the character and aims of the Congress, and may abandon it altogether

I do not think the Congress need seek excuses for suggesting reform Reform commends itself to every mind. Improvement is possible to every country at every time. Its suggestion is never derogatory to a country or to a Government. The world is always changing and human institutions, industrial social and political must change with the times. It is true that men are apt to dislike change but that is owing to a wise prescience, which seems almost a principle of our nature, called conservatism, and which prefers evils it knows of to those it cannot foresee: and to the fact that change is not always reform. Reform, except in very exceptional and deplorable cases, is from the beginning a change for the better, and that, radicals and conservatives alike are seeking for. It is only change of this natnre that the Congress should suggest.

It would not be unnatural to ask why it should be necessary in India for people to discuss political reform outside the circle of

the established government. For such discussions have frequently led elsewhere to unfortunate results, which no one wishes to see repeated in India. It is for this reason, In English-speaking countries governments encourage the idea that they are the servants of the people, and though in India this is not so, still the Government of India has, in some measure, caught the habit of waiting for an expression of the popular view before acting. So much so that it is an increasing fashion to assume that what the people want they will ask for, and what they do not ask for, they do not want : and no one can find fault with this assumption, for it secures at least that no changes shall be introduced that people do not understand

India no doubt is the one portion of the British Empire wherein Government still runs ahead of public opinion in salutary reform ; but the people are slowly catching the Government up and before very long, as education progresses, they are likly to be its respected advisers.

This is a general reason for discussing reform. But there is a particular reason as well. The Indian Government, though executively absolute, is not a free Legislature. It cannot do what it likes. On the contrary, it is governed by the India Office, which in its turn is despotically though capriciously controlled by party majorities in the House of Commons, and influenced by strong city interests The Indian Government without an alteration of the constitution could not carry out a reform, however necessary it might consider that reform, if owing to insufficient knowledge in the House of Commons or to overwhelming English commercial or financial opposition, it could not carry with it the Secretary of State for India. I may have to return to this point again. I mention it as a common justification for the discussion in India of reforms in a popular way. The Indian Government, executively among the strongest in the world, is legislatively tied hand and foot a prisoner to the Secretary of State and to the changing and arbitary powers and influences behind the India Office. It is from England that difficulties will come, not from the Indian Government. And well judged Indian opinion will strengthen the latter's hands, not weaken them.

In order to consider reform fairly, it is first no doubt necessary to have in India a well informed public opinion.

The confusion of ideas existing in the British House of Commons and in England generally about Indian affairs is deplorable enough, but it really is quite as bad in India where the ignorance and indifference ordinarily displayed upon matters concern-

ing the peasantry are most unfortunate. To instance the normal state of opinion upon current matters, on both sides Mr. Samuel Smith, a traveller in India, rises in his place in the House of Commons and declares on the authority of Indian opinion, that the worst that can be said of the people's condition is a fact. Sir Richard Temple, an Indian civilian of 30 years' standing, an Ex.-Lieutenant-Governor and Famine Commissioner, than whom no one ought to know more of India, contradicts him flatly. Some say that India is financially the soundest empire in the world. Others, on the other hand, maintain that in order to believe this, assets have to be valued highly that are without value at all. Here in India the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce contradicts the President of the National Congress. The independent English papers contradict the native journals and each other. The official press sneers at both. Allowing for the possibility of these opposite testimonies applying to different times and places there is clearly a divergence of opinion reconcileable only on the supposition that the facts are positively known to neither side properly.

It is of course the educated classes who must supply these facts antecedent to reform; and so make reform easy. And they must be facts,—facts such as would be accepted in a court of law, names, times, places, all complete and in order, and open to verification. They must not be beliefs, not opinions. In such a matter beliefs and opinions may take one to the shut door of the home of Indian economic knowledge, but not inside, and it is there only that law should originate

The Congress should set itself to provide facts. It is the great service it can do the country to supply them. England will never listen to its suggestions without them. England on the contrary will quote the present opposing witnesses and plead for rehearing after rehearing and put off the soundest reforms on the mere ground of insufficient and conflicting evidence.

The first requisite for the organization of public opinion is therefore special arrangements for the collection of popular facts, and the next a special literature for their record. The Indian daily press does not yet fulfil this function though some of the best of the English papers are beginning to give place to disquisitions on the everyday life of the people in their daily issues. Nor is there any monthly or other periodic literature devoted to describing either in narrative or romance from eye witness the condition of the people, their hopes and fears, their joys and their sorrows.

This want the Congress has not supplied, though it could do so. On the contrary its Secretary has endeavoured to foist on the people by means of adroit polemical literature, views regarding the British Government of which they are innocent. That is to say instead of endeavouring patiently to collect true facts, it has hastily disseminated erroneous opinions.

In considering the organization of opinion, all the Indian races have to be taken account of. They have to be welded into a whole for political purposes. Their aspirations have to be satisfied, their religions conciliated, and their traditionary feuds composed.

But this is not all, when this has been done and India is combined on some one measure of reform that divides it but not at all, there is the British Nation to be convinced. For the British Nation is the final court of appeal, and is the initiating power in Government. It cannot be ignored, and it and its parliament must be considered beforehand, in all projects for the reform of Indian institutions.

Judging of England by the medium only of speeches and proclamations from the throne, her intentions towards India are loving and just and unmixed with reservations of self-interest or self-aggrandizement. And allowing for the imperfections of our common nature this is no doubt a true description. Certainly, if the British Government of India ended suddenly now, history would say that its intentions had this character, and that they had been worthily fulfilled. Purity of administration, education, peace, internal order, famine relief, and imperial construction and defence, afford a brilliant record of the period now drawing to a close. It is only if that splendid list of services is to be continued into the future into national prosperity and imperial peace, that England has now to be asked to reconsider her position with respect to India in certain matters.

England is slow to believe that mistakes have been made, or that mistakes can have been made. That is natural. The very suggestion that all is not right is met by a storm of patriotic disapproval; as when Professor Freeman was wrongly believed to have said that England's real sentiments were—"*Perish India*".

But if what is being said is true, and is supportable by facts, very serious mistakes have been made: and it is now the duty of India to shew England that she must not rest satisfied with motives only, with the mere repetition of her very noble watchword of *India for the Indians*, but that her efforts to give it practical effect, must be more decided and consistent with her protestations. It

looks as though during the next few years, and before reform will be possible, the ideas of England in respect to the condition and and needs of India in practical details must be remodelled ; new sources of information opened up ; and new advisers enlisted. Or progress may cease. And here there is a difficulty at the outset. For regarding the organization of opinion in England for the better government of India it may fairly be said that a worse arrangement cannot be conceived than the present one, in which the destinies of this great empire are left dependent on accidental party majorities in the overworked and bewildered Common's House of Great Britain and Ireland : where those destinies are not even sensibly discussed.

Yet bad as things are the Congress is still further complicating them by a so-called Political Agency of no recognised character whatever and which connects itself with the wrong party.

When asked to consider an appeal for a great measure of Indian Reform, England will be swayed by two main arguments. They are the argument from interest, which I may call the Commercial argument, and the argument from pride, or the Imperial argument. Eventually perhaps England's interests and England's pride may go hand in hand towards the consolidation of her Asiatic empire. But at present the argument from interst predominates : and is complacently inferred to be the main spring of all good and beneficent legislation in India. This is the effect of the lax attention given lately to Indian affairs in England. Thought and study are required to remedy the evil.

To this end it is the imperial argument that must be encouraged in people's minds. Once convince England that its commercial system (*for instance*) may not be the god-send to India that it is believed to be, and that by insisting on it England fails to reach the high ideal of her proclamations, and to fulfil her trust ; once do that, and England will quickly respond to India's wishes ; for no nation as Lord Beaconsfield said in a memorable speech is at bottom more instinctively Imperial than the English. No country more readily upsets mere money interests than does England when she finds them impeding progress. All her history points to this, and it is a fact for India to cherish.

But for such enterprises upon English public opinion only the Government of India is fitted. The political agency is unfit. It is allying itself with the Commercial party.

The machinery that has to be set in motion in order to obtain reform is seen to be very complicated. Education has to organize

public opinion in India. It has to combine all the Indian races, native and domiciled and naturalised on one prominent measure of reform, and then it has to carry with it the Government of India. It has to persuade England through her Imperial instincts that what it asks for is right and proper, and that to refuse it will be disastrous. It has to convince England of that. England has then to give effect to her assent through the Parliament and the India Office. In every one of these stages the facts will be sifted. They may be misrepresented: and certainly they will be opposed. India's wishes will be constantly sent back to the previous stage for more information. A false step anywhere may put the whole process back a generation: and then it may be too late.

And the very first stage has not yet been reached satisfactorily. For, though the main facts of the condition of India are pretty well understood by a few, they cannot be said to be generally known, and without substantiated facts, there can be no effective public opinion. Public opinion acting in ignorance of facts breeds lawlessness and violence: and the facts are certainly not available in in a form to convince England.

Nor has any measure of reform that will combine India as yet been discovered.

On what grounds we may inquire are based India's claims for Reform?

A reply to this question can be found in the Native Press and in the proceedings of the National Congress. It is that her grounds for demanding reform are many, but primarily that her people, and especially her peasantry, *are miserably and desperately poor* That is the general complaint. In detail we learn that nine-tenths of the people are agriculturists, and that the proportion is growing by the destruction of industries. That the agriculturists who live on the poorer soils, the area of which is constantly becoming a more formidable portion of the whole, have but one safe-guard against *chronic famine* and that is *chronic debt.* That the better-off farmers are equally in debt. That the average earnings per head of the whole population is a sum of Rs. 27 in the year, from which Rs. 3 are taken in taxation. That there are no savings. That the great majority of the cultivators being never out of debt, even the pittance mentioned is not their own. It belongs to the money-lender, who has made advances in kind to the cultivator as the latter has required them. The poorer cultivator's earnings are therefore the money-lender's income, and not his own. He has no credit balance, and his credit depends on the prospective

That lastly there is the ever-present danger of drought: in which event, if as is often the case, there is no likelihood of a crop, the cultivator is sold up and starves: and all this, it is asserted, is the effect not of natural conditions, they can be and have been elsewhere overcome, but of mistaken economic laws.

A painful picture is here presented to us. The picture of a people so near to the dust from which they sprang that a single season's drought will return them thereto. Of a Government ignorant of its powers to give value to the life of its subjects.

If it is a true picture, a case for reform has been made out. But it has to be proved true, or disproved and our minds set at rest.

The gist of the complaint I have just recapitulated lies as it seems to me in the smallness of the peoples' average earning. It is comprised in the fact (if it be a fact) that India's population of over 200 millions, earns for its own subsistence only about 120 rupees for a family of five persons in the year. That is Rs 10 a month for the business, the pleasure, and subsistence of a father, mother and three children, and if the average is this low figure, the minimum will be still less, and it becomes then no longer surprising if over large areas there are populations destitute of capital or savings, in debt and chronic distress, living from hand to mouth, dependent on the yearly rains for life and death.

The kernel of Indian reform must, one would think, lie here. Not in restricting taxation and the expenditure of the State, though that matter should not be lost sight of: but in the use of law to strengthen the wretchedly weak earning power of the peasantry.

Sir Evelyn Baring has given his name to the belief that the average earnings of the British Indian peoples are Rs. 27 a head, a year. The average earnings of the Turkish people, the worst off in Europe, are from £4 to £5 The people of England earn eight times that sum on the average.

The Congress then insist on the dangers that must ensue from so unnatural a state of affairs. It can dwell on the normal dangers arising from an indebted and depressed peasantry: and give prominence to the further danger to be apprehended from such a peasantry's ambition when awakened and educated by European ideas, and stimulated by European literature and example. It may pass on further to emphasize the loss to the people and to the State by insufficient employment, and the ever present likelihood of a total loss of employment by failure of the annual rains.

If the Congress represents this, it will have done its duty and no more. If the occasion arise and it does not do this, it will be throw-

ing away the enlightenment and powers for good that European education and example are bestowing on India. But before everything it must ascertain and prove the facts and these at present no one outside the Government knows anything about And the Congress must work with the Government in ascertaining the true condition of people and their more obvious requirements.

The Government has a right to this. The right of having so far conducted India on the road to unity and prosperity. It is a moral right, not one of might only. No one can prove they can do better, and many may do much worse. And the people do not wish for change and are incapable of asking for it. The social industrial and economic condition of the people are what require the attention of the Congress, and not their political representation. The Congress has to recognize that it is on the wrong road. That the Government as it exists is historically and manifestly competent to deal with any facts that may be put before it, that for the Congress to be of use it should seek to be the mouthpiece of the masses for the expression of their true wants in social and industrial reform I repeat that political representation they do not want.

Till the Congress accepts this position it will find the best friends of the people, friends who were at first anxious to help it, holding aloof, and, if it perpetrates such matters as the *Catechism* and *Conversations*, actively arrayed against it.

F. BEAUCLERK.

# *ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.*

*Bishad—A Tragedy By Grish Chandra Ghose.*

As a Bengalee playwright, the author of "Bishad" already enjoys a reputation amongst the frequenters of the Native Stage. His productions have come to be the favourite stock-in-trade of some of our theatrical bodies and have been put on their boards times without number, The piece before us as its title indicates is a tragic play with a plot which, though free from all attempt at ingenious complexity, claims perhaps to carry a moral in its own way.

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*Karnadhar—A Vernacular monthly periodical—Edited By Haran Chander Rokhit, Sakha-tallo-prokashaka Press No. 19. Cornawallis Street.*

We have before us three parts of this new publication. The contents are fairly readable, and argue considerable thoughtfulness on the part of the writers. From the list of contributors it may be expected that *Karnadhar* will hold its own in the domain of vernacular periodical literature, and repay intelligent study. The promise is fairly hopeful and while we wish the projectors success in this enterprise and the publication a long life, we may take the opportunity of advising them to confine themselves to the bounds of pure *belles lettres*, and not to launch upon the troubled waters of politics.